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CONFIDENTIAL.

PART II.

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

AFFAIRS

IN

THE HERZEGOVINA.

January to March, 1876.

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CONFIDENTIAL.

Further Correspondence respecting Affairs in the Herzegovina.

No. 1.

*Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.**—*(Received January* 1, *at night.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, January* 1, 1876, 7 P.M.

COUNT ANDRASSY has communicated to me a copy of his note sent yesterday to London.

It refers to the imperfect execution of the former reforms and the want of confidence, therefore, of the Christians in the promises of the Sultan, and proposes that the Representatives at Constantinople should ask, not in a collective note, but in an identic manner, for an official communication of the Edicts of the 2nd of October and 12th of December, and a notification of the acceptance by the Porte of the points suggested in the note as necessary for the pacification of the insurgent provinces.

These are entire religious liberty, abolition of farming of the taxes, a law appropriating the direct taxes in the insurgent provinces to local purposes under the control of the Councils, promised by the Firman of the 12th of December, the institution of a Mixed Commission of Mussulmans and Christians to control the execution of the reforms, and, lastly, the improvement of the material position of the agricultural population by applying some of the arrangements proposed in a Firman published after disturbances in Bosnia in 1858, or by the Government redeeming, as in Bulgaria twenty years ago, the rent charge on land and by sales to the peasants on favourable terms of waste lands belonging to the State.

Count Andrassy believes his proposals will secure peace, but if no settlement is effected before the spring, that Montenegro and Servia will join the insurgents.

In reply to my inquiries, he said that as yet no means had been taken to prevent Montenegro and Servia from obtaining arms, but if they resisted the wishes of Europe, something might be done for that purpose.

In answer to a telegram from General Ignatiew to Prince Gortchakow, reporting excitement and anxiety at Constantinople, he has been told to remain quiet till the arrival of instructions in conformity with note, and then to follow them strictly.

Pray consider this confidential.

No. 2.

Rashid Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—*(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, January* 3, 1876.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Constantinople, le* 16 *Décembre,* 1875.

MON télégramme du a porté en résumé à votre connaissance les nouvelles réformes que Sa Majesté notre auguste Maître a daigné octroyer à tous ses sujets sans distinction par son Firman Impérial du 13 Zilcadé, 1292 ($\frac{1}{13}$ Décembre, 1875). Vous trouverez aujourd'hui sous ce pli *in extenso* la traduction de ce Rescrit Souverain.

Je ne saurais assez rappeler ici, M. l'Ambassadeur, les intentions magnanimes et

* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Constantinople, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

la sollicitude généreuse dont Sa Majesté a déjà donné tant de preuves éclatantes pour tout ce qui a rapport au progrès moral et matériel de son Empire.

Voulant plus que jamais accorder une protection spéciale au commerce et à l'agriculture, régulariser le fonctionnement de la justice, et asseoir l'administration en général sur des bases sérieuses et radicales en rapport avec les besoins réels et la situation de ses vastes états, Sa Majesté Impériale vient de couronner dignement son œuvre de haute justice et d'équité en décrétant ces nouvelles réformes dont je me propose ici d'expliquer la portée et de faire en particulier une analyse succincte au point de vue de leur importance et de leur utilité pratique pour le progrès économique et social de l'Empire.

En première ligne se place la réorganisation de la justice.

Le principe réuni de la constitution générale de l'autorité judiciaire et de la composition particulière de chacun de nos Tribunaux a été, il y a plusieurs années, décrété et mis en vigueur en Turquie. La Haute Cour de Justice, comprenant les Cours de Cassation et d'Appel, et ayant sous sa juridiction directe les Tribunaux de Première Instance, a fonctionné, vous ne l'ignorez pas, sous l'empire d'une codification appropriée aux mœurs du pays et en rapport en même temps avec les exigences de l'époque.

A côté de ce système qui fonctionne également les Tribunaux du Chéri investis des mêmes pouvoirs et attributions judiciaires, sauf la classification, mais différant, dans quelques points essentiels, sous le rapport des dispositions légales et de la procédure.

Il fallait donc, tout en confirmant et en respectant la loi du Chéri et son application, loi dont les traditions antiques, la doctrine élevée et les dispositions toutes conciliatrices, toutes d'équité et de conscience, ont su maintenir intacts les principes fondamentaux de la justice et les institutions du pays, il fallait, dis-je, en présence des conflits de juridiction et des dispositions contradictoires qui se produisaient dans les attributions respectives et le fonctionnement proprement dit des Tribunaux du Chéri et ceux Nizamyés, définir nettement les attributions de chacun de manière à maintenir, autant que possible, l'uniformité de la jurisprudence, la régularité des procédures et opposer un frein aux envahissements naturels du pouvoir.

C'est dans ce but légitime et salutaire que le Firman Impérial, comme vous voudrez bien le remarquer, sépare la Haute Cour de l'action directe exercée jusqu'à ce jour sur elle par le Ministère de la Justice, établit l'inamovibilité des juges, sauf révocation fondée, avec des règlements fixant leurs droits à la retraite, place sous la juridiction de la même Cour les Tribunaux de Commerce qui dépendaient du Ministère du Commerce, désigne à la présidence des Cours d'Appel des chrétiens des provinces les Naïbs, afin que ceux-ci soient à même d'examiner, séparément et indépendamment de leurs fonctions civiles, l'examen, sous le rapport du Chéri seulement, des sentences rendues par les Tribunaux du Chéri, puis de connaître en leur qualité de Président du Tribunal du Nizamié, en dernier ressort, de toutes les affaires civiles, correctionnelles, et criminelles proprement dites. Le Firman relève et c'est là le point capital qui tranche définitivement, comme je l'ai mentionné plus haut, les attributions respectives, relève, dis-je, à la Haute Cour de Justice et à ses tribunaux subalternes les procès entre les sujets Musulmans et Chrétiens et autres communautés, ou entre ces dernières et les Chrétiens, ou entre ceux-ci ou les communautés non-Musulmanes elles-mêmes. Ce qu'il réserve au Chéri ce sont seulement les procès entre les sujets Musulmans.

Pour mettre une innovation aussi radicale en harmonie avec le nouvel état de choses de façon à ne pas trop heurter, *en résumé*, les susceptibilités légitimes réciproques, et à traduire immédiatement en faits la distinction et la définition des pouvoirs et prérogatives ainsi établies, on codifiera les divers lois et règlements pour amener une procédure uniforme et régulière.

Comme complément à cet édifice de faisceaux judiciaires et pour accorder à ses fidèles et loyaux sujets dans les provinces la plus large part dans tous les moyens tendant à sauvegarder leurs biens, leur honneur et leurs intérêts, Sa Majesté Impériale a daigné les autoriser à élire eux-mêmes tous les membres des tribunaux qui sont des conseils administratifs provinciaux, et les mettre ainsi à même de voir toutes les garanties publiques d'administration, d'ordre et de justice confiées au patriotisme et au dévouement de leurs mandataires choisis par eux librement et sans aucune ingérence du pouvoir. Ainsi, cette position de ces conseils et tribunaux offrant les garanties voulues par l'élection locale, et mise sans coup fêrir en pratique de l'axiome d'éternelle équité, "Locus regit actum," lui a été la mobile qui a dicté ces mesures. Il va sans dire que la composition des dits conseils et tribunaux avec le mode d'élection qui vient d'être indiqué ne se fera jamais à leur détriment, défini par des instructions spéciales.

Les Tribunaux de Commerce ayant été, comme je l'ai dit plus haut, soustraits à l'influence du Ministère de Commerce, dès lors cette Administration aura à s'occuper exclusivement des améliorations tendant à développer le commerce dans l'Empire, à écarter toutes les entraves qui en arrêtent l'extension, et à mettre surtout tous les moyens en pratique pour encourager et faire prospérer l'agriculture, principale ressource destinée à assurer la richesse du pays, qui s'y prête si admirablement par sa position géographique, sa fertilité, et les aptitudes foncièrement laborieuses et agricoles de ses populations.

Votre Excellence relèvera sans aucun doute de la lecture du Firman Impérial toute la sollicitude vouée à la réforme de l'assiette de l'impôt.

En effet l'expérience démontre journellement que la diversité des contributions dans toutes les parties de l'Empire en général, et dans certaines autres en particulier, parties où les voies et communications ne sont pas encore sérieusement établies, et où par conséquent un contrôle sévère et incessant ne saurait encore être exercé, cette diversité, dis-je, occasionne journellement des difficultés et complications dans le mode de la répartition et du prélèvement des impôts. Dans l'origine, les populations étaient soumises à un régime plus simple d'imposition qui n'avait pas autant de ramifications que maintenant. Il est vrai que la consommation et dès lors les contributions augmentent en proportion du bien-être des habitants et des besoins de la civilisation; mais ces besoins de confort et de luxe sont encore inconnus à une grande partie de nos populations dont une des qualités essentielles est la sobriété et l'amour du travail des champs, et qui, par conséquent, ne pourraient facilement se déshabituer de leurs mœurs antiques et patriarcales. Dans cette situation, établir des impôts pour des consommations et usages qui ne sauraient encore avoir leur raison d'être, et dont l'habitude n'a pas encore pénétré dans les mœurs, ce serait créer des entraves à la perception, des causes de souffrance pour les contribuables, et dès lors un état de choses anormal. C'est précisément ce qui a lieu chez nous à l'heure qu'il est, et c'est ce qui a engagé le Gouvernement Impérial à songer à alléger, dans la mesure du possible, ainsi qu'il a fait tout récemment pour le quart supplémentaire de la dîme, certaines contributions qui pèsent sur les populations sans offrir aucun avantage réel pour le Trésor, et à simplifier davantage l'assiette de l'impôt, en l'unifiant dans une juste proportionnalité, et en dégageant ainsi de tout obstacle le mode de la répartition et du prélèvement.

Dans cet ordre d'idées, et pour donner dès à présent au système projeté un commencement d'exécution, Sa Majesté Impériale s'est plu, dans ses sentiments de paternelle sollicitude, à charger ses sujets eux-mêmes du prélèvement de l'impôt dans leur sein, par le canal de percepteurs de leur propre choix, sans que les zaptiés (gendarmes) puissent désormais, comme ils le faisaient jusqu'à ce jour, exercer aucune ingérence dans le recouvrement des impôts.

Ce sont toujours les mêmes intentions généreuses qui viennent de dicter, simultanément avec ce privilège, que les zaptiés, dont le choix n'a malheureusement pas été l'objet de tous les soins voulus, et qui a donné lieu à maintes plaintes et actes vexatoires, soient à l'avenir choisis parmi les personnes réunissant les qualités nécessaires et jouissant en particulier de l'estime et de la confiance de leurs concitoyens.

Ces mesures, dont l'importance et l'efficacité n'échapperont point à l'attention de votre Excellence, jointes au décret qui ordonne d'entourer de plus de garanties le système de prestation en défendant d'une manière absolue les corvées en général et les réquisitions forcées, prouvent d'une manière indiscutable que la Sublime Porte, tout en proclamant de grands principes d'égalité et de justice, a en surtout en vue de traduire sans retard ces principes en faits, et d'en ordonner dès à présent la mise en vigueur, se réservant d'en étendre les avantages complets au fur et à mesure de leur application. C'est ce point surtout que votre Excellence voudra bien développer et faire ressortir autour d'elle de façon à réduire au silence, par des raisons convaincantes et palpables, nos détracteurs.

La partie du Recueil Impérial qui dégage des rouages compliqués de l'administration de l'Evkaf la délivrance des titres des propriétés immobilières, en confiant ces attributions à la Direction Générale des Archives, seule administration où le mode d'enregistrement s'est le mieux conservé, mettra fin aux entraves de toute sorte qui ne manquaient pas de se produire à la suite du mode de délivrance différant dans plusieurs provinces et de l'absence aussi de ces documents dans plusieurs autres.

L'impôt de l'exonération du service militaire perçu sur les sujets non-Musulmans de l'Empire subit à son tour une réforme sérieuse. Quoi de plus juste que l'acte qu'use en vertu duquel notre auguste Maître fixe des limites éminemment équitables à la perception de cet impôt, qui ne frappera plus le contribuable qu'à partir de l'âge de vingt ans à quarante ans, tandis que, jusqu'à ce jour cette contribution ne distinguait point d'âge? Alléger, d'un autre côté, la partie de la population qui verse son sang pour le trône et la

patrie, de la moitié d'une contribution de même nature, contribution qui lui pesait si lourdement, n'est-ce pas là une nouvelle réforme bienfaisante et sérieuse? De pareilles mesures dispensent de tout commentaire, tant elles sautent, pour ainsi dire, aux yeux et sont destinées à produire immédiatement leur effet.

Mais ce qui est sans contredit le plus digne de remarque et devant, par conséquent, avoir les meilleurs résultats au point de vue de l'économie sociale et pratique, c'est l'abolition d'un usage coutumier, d'après lequel les habitants de certaines localités ne possédaient pas de terres. En effet, les habitants Chrétiens de ces localités, sans être précisément attaché à la glèbe seigneuriale, comme l'étaient jadis les serfs en Europe, avaient pour seul avantage de jouir, dans une certaine mesure, des produits de ces terres, mais sans les posséder. Une Loi Agraire telle qu'on la pratiquée anciennement et de nos jours dans certains pays n'aurait pas manqué, en cas où elle serait appliquée d'une manière analogue chez nous, d'amener les plus graves perturbations dans les rapports des propiétaires avec le paysan, ainsi que l'expérience l'a démontré partout où l'on a voulu agir de la sorte. Nous ne pouvions, d'ailleurs, y songer, contraire comme elle l'est à la morale et aux droits publics par suite du caractère de spoliation qui s'y rattache. La Sublime Porte s'est donc arrêtée à la mesure qui vient d'être décrétée, celle de donner entière liberté aux paysans des dites localités de devenir propriétaires. Il est évident, et un avenir prochain le démontrera victorieusement, que, libre de toute entrave et dégagé de toute restriction locale, la population agricole trouvera amplement à acheter des terres incultes considérables qui s'y trouvent, et qui ne demandent qu'à être cultivées. D'un autre côté, elle deviendra, par le nouvel état de choses et d'après les dispositions d'une loi spéciale dont le texte vous sera bientôt transmis, facilement et naturellement propriétaire des terres qui se vendent journellement par voie d'adjudication dans ces endroits, et qui, après la nouvelle mesure décrétée, continueront à être vendues sur une plus vaste échelle encore, attendu que les propriétaires actuels, par suite de l'affranchissement de leurs *quasi* vassaux, verront des bras manquer aux travaux de leurs champs, et se trouveront, dès lors, dans l'obligation d'entrer en composition avec leurs fermiers.

Votre Excellence comprendra aisément que de cette manière toutes les éventualités de nature à amener des faits regrettables seront *ipso facto* écartées, et le but n'en sera pas moins atteint avec plus de certitude et de célérité.

Enfin, les privilèges et immunités accordés *ab antiquo* aux communautés non-Musulmanes et à leurs chefs spéciaux sont par le même acte souverain non-seulement confirmés d'une manière solennelle, mais encore ils viennent de recevoir une plus large consécration dans les nouvelles facilités qui sont accordées, sans restriction aucune pour la construction de leurs églises, de leurs écoles, et de tous leurs autres établissements nationaux. En outre, les dispositions testamentaires, qui naguère devaient passer par la loi du Chéri et recevoir sa sanction pour être reconnues valables, sont aujourd'hui dispensées de cette obligation, et comme conséquence logique des raisons qui ont milité en faveur de la séparation des pouvoirs et attributions des Tribunaux respectifs elles seront purement et simplement respectées telles qu'elles, c'est-à-dire, qu'elles auront force de loi, à moins qu'il ne se produise des plaintes contre les tuteurs et exécuteurs testamentaires, auquel cas l'Administration devra naturellement intervenir.

Telles sont, M. l'Ambassadeur, les améliorations radicales qui viennent d'être solennellement décrétées.

Le Gouvernement Impérial est fermement décidé à tenir la main à leur exécution stricte et immédiate; et, confiant en l'amitié et en la juste appréciation du Cabinet de St. James, il est certain que ces réformes, et en particulier les sentiments de sollicitude spontanée et généreuse de notre auguste Souverain qui les ont dictées, recevront toute son approbation.

Nous avons rempli consciencieusement les devoirs qui nous incombaient en présence des besoins et de la situation de l'Empire; nous vouerons à l'avenir également tous nos efforts pour assurer de plus en plus le bien-être de nos fidèles et laborieuses populations, et pour développer de plus en plus ces réformes en proportion des progrès moraux et matériels du pays. Nous n'avons plus qu'un vœu à formuler, c'est celui de voir les malheureuses populations égarées de l'Herzégovine rentrer bientôt dans la voie de l'obéissance pour jouir, à leur tour, et à l'égal de leurs concitoyens des autres parties de l'Empire, des faveurs si généreusement accordées par Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan à tous ses sujets.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) RASCHID.

No. 3.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 3, 1876.)

(No. 441. Very Confidential.)

My Lord, *Buda-Pesth, December 27, 1875.*

DURING a private conversation with Count Andrassy last night, I observed, with reference to the information which I have reported in my despatch No. 430 of the 25th instant, as received from his Excellency, that I understood General Ignatiew to have disapproved of the suggestion that the Ambassadors at Constantinople should exercise a joint control over the measures for carrying out the reforms to be introduced into the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

He answered that, if I had received information to that effect, it could not have come from General Ignatiew, who, he had every reason to believe, had been the proposer and constant supporter of the scheme. At all events, several weeks ago, a Memorandum had been communicated to him from St. Petersburgh, which he understood had been drawn up by General Ignatiew, in which it is set forth that the Porte should be allowed to take the initiative in suggesting reforms, and that the Ambassadors should subsequently consider how far they were sufficient to "criticise them," and then control their application. Count Andrassy said he had discouraged this proposal from the first as impracticable, and as one which would be considered by the Porte inconsistent with the dignity of the Sultan. It had, however, been accepted by Prince Gortchakow, and brought forward again with some modifications on his Highness' return to St. Petersburgh, but it had now been, he was glad to say, entirely abandoned. In making these observations his Excellency added that, if General Ignatiew had represented himself to have disapproved of the proposal, he should like Prince Gortchakow to know it, but he could not himself conveniently represent General Ignatiew to have been holding language so inconsistent with what he believed to be the truth. His Excellency said that he had entire confidence in the pacific intentions of the Emperor Alexander and of Prince Gortchakow, but there are, doubtless, persons around them who do not sympathize with their views, and would gladly bring on serious complications in Turkey, while General Ignatiew seemed as much from personal vanity and ambition as from national inspirations to intrigue with the disaffected subjects of the Sultan, and to endeavour to create misunderstanding between the Turkish Government and his colleagues. Count Andrassy appeared, however, to think that the proceedings of the Russian Ambassador had rather injured than advanced the interests of Russia in the east, having alienated from her the sympathies of the Greeks, and of the Bulgarians, and of the Christians generally, while he was looked upon with suspicion by the Turks. Therefore, though he knew Count Zichy to be "in his Excellency's pocket," he had not found, upon the whole, any great inconvenience from the relations existing between them.

I said that I entirely shared his confidence in the pacific intentions of the Emperor Alexander, but I asked whether there was not some reason to think that the Russian Government might be taking military precautions, so as to be in a position to support their own interests in the event of the insurrection in Bosnia extending to other provinces, and the present difficulties of the Porte becoming more formidable. The newspapers, he said, had certainly spoken of military preparations for that purpose, but as far as he could learn, there had been merely the ordinary autumnal movement of troops, and there did not appear to have been any measures adopted of an unusual character. I answered, that from what I had heard myself, I believed his view of the case to be entirely correct, but I could not forget that such rumours were also rife and explained away before the famous Russian declaration abrogating the neutrality of the Black Sea, and that nothing could have exceeded the apparently frank and confidential relations existing between Prince Gortchakow and myself, at the very moment when his declaration was on its way to England. Count Andrassy, after an expression of surprise at this description of my own experiences, said that the Russian Minister at Vienna, on that occasion, had to dine, somewhat to his discomfort, with the Turkish Ambassador, having the declaration in his pocket, and observed that there is such a general want of truthfulness in the Russian national character, that one may be exposed to surprises in dealing with the Government, but he hoped that on the present occasion there was no cause for apprehension.

I then spoke to him of your Lordship's reference, in a speech at Edinburgh, to the Herzegovina question, and I expressed surprise that your observations had been criticised in the Vienna newspapers as unfriendly to Austria. He answered that the press frequently adopted false views, but that your Lordship's statement had been entirely satisfactory to

himself, as it represented the matter in its true colours, and if he had been called upon to speak upon the subject publicly, he would have held exactly similar language.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 4.

Count Andrassy to Count Beust.—(*Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Count Beust, January* 3, 1876.)

Buda-Pest, le 30 Décembre, 1875.

DÈS l'origine des troubles de l'Herzégovine, les Cabinets Européens intéressés à la paix générale ont dû fixer leurs regards sur des événements qui menaçaient de la mettre en péril.

Les trois Cours d'Autriche-Hongrie, de Russie, et d'Allemagne, après avoir échangé leurs vues à cet égard, se sont unies pour employer en commun leurs efforts d'apaisement.

Ce but semblait trop conforme au vœu général pour qu'invités à s'y associer par l'organe de leurs Représentants à Constantinople, les autres Cabinets ne se soient pas empressés de joindre leurs efforts aux nôtres.

Les Puissances se sont mises d'accord pour user de toute l'influence dont elles disposent, afin de localiser le conflit et d'en diminuer les dangers et les calamités en empêchant la Serbie et le Monténégro de participer au mouvement.

Leur langage a été d'autant plus efficace qu'il a été identique, et a, par conséquent, témoigné de la ferme volonté de l'Europe de ne point permettre que la paix générale fût mise en péril par des entraînements irréfléchis.

Les Cabinets ont en outre offert au Gouvernement Turc les bons offices de leurs Agents Consulaires pour concourir à l'apaisement de l'insurrection. En poursuivant cette tâche, ils ont eu soin également d'éviter toute ingérence et de ménager la dignité, les droits, et l'autorité du Souverain.

Les Délégués ne devaient pas s'ériger en commission d'enquête ni se faire les avocats des vœux des populations insurgées. Ils avaient pour mission de leur ôter toute illusion quant à une assistance du dehors, et de les exhorter à se disperser, après avoir exposé leurs vœux et leurs griefs. Les Puissances se réservaient seulement de soutenir auprès du Gouvernement Turc celles des demandes des insurgés qui seraient trouvées légitimes; cette action conciliante des Cabinets attestait suffisamment l'intention amicale qui avait présidé à leurs bons offices. Elle témoignait qu'à leurs yeux il y avait une solidarité complète dans les intérêts de l'Europe, de la Porte, et des populations insurgées, afin de mettre un terme à une lutte ruineuse et sanglante et d'en prévenir le retour par des réformes sérieuses et des améliorations efficaces de nature à concilier les besoins réels du pays avec les légitimes exigences de l'autorité.

Tel est en peu de mots l'historique de l'action exercée par les Puissances depuis que l'insurrection a éclaté.

Les Cabinets ont été jusqu'à ce jour guidés surtout par le désir d'éviter tout ce qui eût pu être interprété comme une ingérence prématurée de l'Europe.

Dans cet ordre d'idées tous les Cabinets se sont bornés à conseiller au Gouvernement du Sultan de ne pas s'en tenir aux seules mesures militaires, mais de s'attacher et combattre le mal par des moyens moraux destinés à prévenir des perturbations futures.

En agissant ainsi les Cabinets avaient en vue de fournir à la Sublime Porte l'appui moral dont elle avait besoin, et de lui donner en outre le temps de pacifier les esprits dans les provinces soulevées, espérant que tout danger d'une complication ultérieure se trouverait ainsi écarté.

Malheureusement leurs espérances ont été déçues. D'un côté, les réformes publiées par la Porte ne semblent pas avoir eu en vue l'apaisement des populations des provinces insurgées, ni être suffisants pour atteindre ce but essentiel. De l'autre, les armes Turques n'ont pas réussi à mettre fin à l'insurrection.

Dans ces circonstances nous croyons que le moment est venu pour les Puissances de convenir d'une marche à suivre en commun, afin d'empêcher que le mouvement en se prolongeant ne finisse par compromettre la paix de l'Europe.

De même que les autres Puissances nous avons applaudi aux bienveillantes intentions qui ont inspiré les récents manifestes du Sultan, l'Iradé du 2 Octobre et le Firman du 12 Décembre contiennent une série de principes destinés à introduire des réformes dans l'organisation de l'Empire Ottoman. Il y a lieu de croire que ces principes, s'ils sont

traduits en dispositions législatives sagement conçues, et si surtout leur mise en pratique correspond pleinement aux vues éclairées qui les ont dictés, apporteront de sérieuses améliorations dans l'administration de la Turquie.

Nous ne pouvons nous dissimuler toutefois que les réformes annoncées ne sauraient, à elles seules, avoir pour effet d'arrêter, même momentanément, l'effusion du sang dans l'Herzégovine et la Bosnie, ni à plus forte raison d'asseoir sur des bases solides le repos futur de ces parties du territoire Ottoman.

En effet, si l'on examine le contenu de l'Iradé du 2 Octobre et du Firman du 12 Décembre, on ne peut s'empêcher de reconnaître que la Sublime Porte semble s'être préoccupée plus de principes généraux qui, lorsqu'ils auront été précisés, pourront servir de bases à l'administration de l'Empire, que de la pacification des provinces aujourd'hui soulevées.

Or, il est de l'intérêt du Gouvernement Ottoman que la pacification soit assurée avant tout; car tant qu'elle ne sera pas obtenu, il serait impossible de mettre en vigueur les principes même que la Porte a proclamées.

D'un autre côté, l'état d'anarchie qui sévit dans les provinces nord-ouest de la Turquie n'implique pas seulement des difficultés pour la Sublime Porte, il recèle aussi de graves dangers pour la paix générale, et les divers États Européens ne sauraient voir d'un œil indifférent se perpétuer et s'aggraver une situation qui, dès à présent, pèse lourdement sur le commerce et l'industrie, et qui, en ébranlant chaque jour davantage la confiance du public dans la conservation de la paix, tend à compromettre tous les intérêts.

Aussi croyons-nous remplir un devoir impérieux en appelant la sérieuse attention des Puissances Garantes sur la nécessité de recommander à la Sublime Porte de compléter son action par telles mesures qui paraissent indispensables pour rétablir l'ordre et la tranquillité dans les provinces ravagées en ce moment par le fléau de la guerre civile.

A la suite d'un échange confidentiel d'idées qui a eu lieu entre nous et les Cabinets de St. Pétersbourg et de Berlin, il a été reconnu que ces mesures doivent être recherchées dans une double direction. D'abord sur le terrain moral, et en second lieu sur le terrain matériel.

En effet, l'état matériel même des habitants Chrétiens de la Bosnie et de l'Herzégovine est dû, en dernière analyse, à leur position sociale et morale.

En examinant les causes fondamentales de la situation pénible où l'Herzégovine et la Bosnie se débattent depuis tant d'années, on est frappé tout d'abord des sentiments d'inimitié et de rancune qui animent les habitants Chrétiens et Mahométans, les uns contre les autres. C'est cette disposition des esprits qui a rendu impossible à nos délégués de persuader aux Chrétiens que les autorités Turques pouvaient avoir la volonté sincère de redresser leurs griefs. Il n'est peut-être pas de contrée dans la Turquie d'Europe où l'antagonisme qui existe entre la croix et le croissant prenne des formes aussi acerbes. Cette haine fanatique et cette méfiance doivent être attribuées au voisinage de peuples de même race jouissant de la plénitude de cette liberté religieuse dont les Chrétiens de l'Herzégovine et de la Bosnie se voient privés. La comparaison incessante fait qu'ils ont le sentiment d'être courbés sous le joug d'une véritable servitude, que le nom même de râia semble les placer dans une position moralement inférieure à celle de leurs voisins; qu'en un mot, ils se sentent esclaves.

Plus d'une fois, l'Europe a eu à se préoccuper de leurs plaintes et des moyens d'y mettre un terme. Le Hatti-Houmaïoun de 1856 est un des fruits de la sollicitude des Puissances. Mais aux termes même de cet acte, la liberté des cultes est encore limitée par des clauses qui, surtout en Bosnie et dans l'Herzégovine, sont maintenues avec une rigueur qui chaque année provoquait de nouveaux conflits. La construction des édifices consacrés au culte et à l'enseignement, l'usage des cloches, la constitution de communautés religieuses se trouvent encore assujettis dans ces provinces à des entraves qui apparaissent aux Chrétiens comme autant de souvenirs toujours vivaces de la guerre de conquête qui ne leur font voir dans les Musulmans que des ennemis de leur foi, et perpétuent en eux l'impression qu'ils vivent sous le joug d'un esclavage qu'on a le droit et le devoir de secouer.

Le dernier Firman touche bien ce point de la liberté de religion, ainsi que l'avaient déjà fait du reste le Hatti-Chérif de 1839, le Hatti-Houmaïoun de 1856, et d'autres actes émanés de la Sublime Porte. Il confirme les pouvoirs dont sont investis les patriarches et autres chefs spirituels pour les affaires de leurs communautés respectives et pour le libre exercice de leurs cultes, mais il leur assigne "pour limites les droits et autorisations qui leur ont été octroyés." Il promet aussi des facilités pour la construction des églises et des écoles, promesse qui a été plus d'une fois consignée dans des documents officiels, mais qui ne saurait tranquilliser parce que sa réalisation dépend des autorités provinciales qui,

subissant la pression locale, ne pourront même les mettre à exécution, à moins que le principe ne soit hautement proclamé.

Le Firman qui vient d'être promulgué ne dépasse donc point la mesure de ce qui a été accordé par le Hatti-Houmaïoun, lequel, ainsi que je l'ai fait ressortir plus haut, entoure la liberté religieuse de restrictions qui, dans le cours de ces dernières années, ont provoqué de nombreux conflits. Rétrécies comme elles le sont, les concessions dont il s'agit ont toujours été insuffisantes pour contenter les Chrétiens. A plus forte raison en sera-t-il ainsi aujourd'hui, après les événements qui sont venu ensanglanter le pays et qui n'ont fait qu'envenimer l'antagonisme qui sépare les deux croyances. Une fois l'insurrection étouffée, l'élément Mahométan se considérant comme vainqueur, cherchera sans doute à se venger sur les Chrétiens des pertes qu'une lutte aussi violente lui a fait subir. Un état de choses qui rende possible la coexistence des populations qui viennent de se combattre avec tant d'acharnement ne pourra donc être assuré que si la religion Chrétienne est placée en droit et en fait sur un pied d'égalité complète avec l'Islamisme, que si elle est hautement reconnue et respectée et non pas tolérée, comme elle l'est aujourd'hui. C'est pourquoi les Puissances Garantes doivent selon nous non-seulement demander à la Porte, mais obtenir d'elle comme première et principale concession, une liberté religieuse pleine et entière.

L'égalité devant la loi est un principe explicitement proclamé dans le Hatti-Houmaïoum et consacré par la législation. C'est sans doute pour cette raison que les actes récents du Sultan ont omis d'en faire mention.

Mais, tout en étant obligatoire en droit, ce principe n'est pas encore généralement appliqué dans tout l'Empire. De fait, le témoignage des Chrétiens contre les Musulmans est accueillie par les Tribunaux de Constantinople et de la plupart des autres grandes villes, mais dans quelques provinces éloignées, telles que l'Herzégovine et la Bosnie, les Juges se refusent à en reconnaître la validité. Il importerait donc de prendre des mesures pratiques, pour qu'à l'avenir les Chrétiens n'aient pas à redouter des déni de justice.

Un autre point qui appelle un remède urgent c'est le fermage des contributions. Déjà le Hatti-Chérif de 1839, en parlant de ce système, s'exprimait dans les termes suivants: "Un usage funeste subsiste encore, quoiqu'il ne puisse avoir que des conséquences désastreuses: c'est celui des concessions vénales connues sous le nom d'Iltizam. Dans ce système l'administration civile et financière d'une localité est livrée à l'arbitraire d'un seul homme, c'est-à-dire, quelquefois à la main de fer des passions les plus violentes et les plus cupides."

Et le Hatti-Houmaïoum de 1856 porte ce qui suit: "On avisera aux moyens les plus prompts et les plus énergiques de corriger les abus dans la perception des impôts, notamment des dîmes. Le système de la perception directe sera successivement et aussitôt que faire se pourra substitué au régime des fermes dans toutes les branches du revenu de l'Etat."

Malgré ces déclarations formelles le système du fermage est encore debout dans toute son étendue.

Aujourd'hui la Sublime Porte fait entrevoir des réformes dans cette direction, mais sans rien préciser. Le Firman du 12 Décembre qualifie de nouveau d'anormal le régime de perception des contributions actuellement en vigueur. Il ordonne de rechercher un mode d'unification des impôts. Il prescrit encore de prendre des mesures "pour prévenir l'arbitraire dans la perception de la dîme par l'intermédiaire des fermiers," mais il n'abolit pas le fermage.

Si l'on veut donc enlever à l'insurrection un aliment essentiel et incessant, l'un des points qu'il faut demander à la Porte, c'est qu'elle émette la déclaration nette et catégorique que le régime du fermage des contributions est supprimé, non-seulement de droit mais de fait, pour la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine, et il faut que cette mesure reçoive une application immédiate.

Une des causes qui aggravent encore le fardeau matériellement, déjà si lourd, des impôts en Bosnie et dans l'Herzégovine, c'est que les habitants se croient exploités financièrement au profit du centre. Ils ont la conviction que le rendement des contributions n'est point consacré à subvenir aux nécessités de la province elle-même, mais que le total des sommes recueillies est immédiatement dirigé sur Constantinople pour être employé à l'usage du Gouvernement central.

Il serait donc nécessaire d'alléger moralement le poids des charges que la province a à supporter, en obtenant que, sans préjudice de ce qu'exigent les dépenses de l'Empire, une partie du produit des taxes payées par la province soit réservée à des destinations profitables à ses propres intérêts.

Dans ce but la Porte devrait déclarer que le revenu des contributions indirectes serait, comme par le passé, affecté aux besoins de l'Empire tout entier, mais que les fonds

provenant des contributions directes resteraient dans la province et seraient exclusivement appliqués dans son intérêt, à féconder ses ressources et à augmenter son bien-être.

L'exécution de cette disposition devrait être placée sous le contrôle de la Commission Elective dont il va être question dans le cours de ce travail.

La triste condition des Chrétiens de la Bosnie et de l'Herzégovine tient en grande partie à la nature des rapports qui existent entre la population des campagnes et les propriétaires fonciers. Les difficultés agraires ont toujours eu un caractère tout particulier d'aigreur dans les pays où la classe des propriétaires diffère, soit par la religion, soit par la nationalité, de la masse des cultivateurs. On n'a que trop d'exemples des luttes passionnées qui ont été la conséquence d'une situation pareille.

Dans les Provinces dont nous nous occupons la presque totalité des terres qui n'appartiennent pas à l'Etat ou aux mosquées se trouve entre les mains des Musulmans, tandis que la classe agricole se compose de Chrétiens des deux rites. La question agraire s'y complique donc de l'antagonisme religieux.

Après la répression de la première insurrection des Begs de Bosnie en 1851, le servage a été aboli; mais ainsi qu'il arrive souvent en pareil cas, cette mesure, au lieu d'alléger la condition des paysans, n'a fait que l'aggraver. Ils ne sont plus traités par ceux-ci avec les mêmes ménagements qu'autrefois. Aujourd'hui il n'y a plus en présence que deux intérêts et deux religions antagonistes. A partir du moment où la disparition du régime féodal est venu transformer les anciens serfs en fermiers ou métayers, les pratiques excessives des propriétaires ont provoqué de nombreux soulèvements partiels ou généraux. Un mouvement de ce genre ayant éclaté en 1858 dans le nord de la Bosnie, la Porte s'est trouvée amenée à s'occuper des contestations qui y avaient donné lieu. Des délégués des deux parties furent mandés à Constantinople, et après de longs pourparlers, dans lesquels l'intercession officieuse de l'Internonce de Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi eut sa part, un firman du Sultan fut obtenu dont les dispositions semblèrent à cette époque propres à concilier assez heureusement les intérêts des agriculteurs fonciers. Toutefois ce firman n'a jamais été mis en vigueur.

Il y aurait lieu d'examiner si quelques unes des dispositions de ce document ne pourraient pas aujourd'hui encore servir de point de départ à un arrangement équitable, apte à améliorer la condition de la population rurale, ou s'il conviendrait de faire intervenir le trésor public pour faciliter l'exécution des mesures à prendre dans ce but, à l'instar de ce qui a eu lieu, il y a une vingtaine d'années, en Bulgarie, où les charges foncières ont été rachetées au moyen de l'émission de titres publics dits *sekims*. Nous sentons que la tâche est difficile et que son accomplissement ne saurait être l'œuvre d'un jour; mais nous croyons qu'il est important d'y travailler, afin d'améliorer le sort de la population rurale dans la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine, et ne fermer ainsi une des plaies béantes de l'état social de ces provinces. Il ne nous paraîtrait pas impossible de trouver une combinaison qui permît graduellement aux paysans de se rendre acquéreurs, à des conditions peu onéreuses, de parcelles de terrains incultes que l'état mettait en vente. Tout en continuant, s'ils le désiraient, à cultiver à titre de fermiers les propriétés de leurs compatriotes Musulmans, ils arriveraient successivement à posséder eux-mêmes un petit immeuble qui leur assurerait une certaine indépendance, et les mettrait à l'abri de leurs exactions.

Si l'on songe au peu de créance que rencontrent auprès des populations Chrétiennes les promesses de la Sublime Porte, on ne peut se dissimuler que les réformes promulguées ne pourront inspirer la confiance nécessaire qu'à condition que l'on crée en même temps une institution propre à offrir une certaine garantie que ces réformes seront sérieusement appliquées. En se bornant à remettre leur exécution à la discrétion des Gouvernements de la Province, on ne parviendrait pas à surmonter la méfiance dont je parle. Il y aurait donc lieu d'établir une Commission de notables du pays, composée par moitié de Musulmans et de Chrétiens, et élue par les habitants de la Province suivant un mode qui serait déterminé par la Sublime Porte.

Je viens d'exposer les points dont il faudrait obtenir l'application aux Provinces soulevées pour pouvoir se livrer à l'espoir fondé d'une pacification.

Ces points, les voici:

La liberté religieuse, pleine et entière;

L'abolition du fermage des impôts;

Une loi qui garantisse que le produit des contributions directes de la Bosnie et de l'Herzégovine soit employé dans l'intérêt de la Province même, sous le contrôle des organes constitués dans le sens du Firman du 12 Décembre;

L'institution d'une Commission Spéciale, composée en nombre égal de Musulmans et de Chrétiens, pour contrôler l'exécution des réformes proposées par les Puissances, ainsi que de celles qui ont été proclamées dans l'Iradé du 2 Octobre, et dans le Firman du 12 Décembre;

Enfin, l'amélioration de la situation agraire des populations rurales.

Les premiers points pourraient et devraient être réalisés immédiatement par la Sublime Porte, le cinquième graduellement aussitôt que faire se pourra.

Si indépendamment de ces concessions, qui nous paraissent les plus essentielles, la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine obtiennent encore les réformes suivantes indiquées dans le dernier Firman, un conseil provincial et des tribunaux librement élus par les habitants, l'inamovibilité des juges, la justice laïque, la liberté individuelle, la garantie contre le mauvais traitement, la réorganisation de la police dont les agissements ont soulevé tant de plaintes, la cessation des abus auxquels donnent lieu les prestations pour des travaux d'utilité publique, une juste réduction de la taxe d'exemption du service militaire, les garanties à donner au droit de propriété;—si toutes ces réformes dont nous demandons la communication par la Porte, pour en prendre acte solennellement, sont appliquées dans les provinces insurgées, qui, à en juger par le texte du Firman, sembleraient ne pas devoir en bénéficier dès à présent, on pourrait espérer de voir ramener la paix dans ces contrées désolées.

Je me résume. Les promesses indéfinies de l'Iradé du 2 Octobre et du Firman du 12 Décembre ne pourront qu'exalter les aspirations sans les contenter. D'un autre côté il est à constater que les armes de la Turquie n'ont pas réussi à mettre fin à l'insurrection. L'hiver a suspendu l'action, le printemps la verra renaître. La conviction que, le printemps venu, de nouveaux éléments fortifieront l'action, que la Bulgarie, les Crétois, &c., viendront grossir le mouvement, est générale parmi les Chrétions. Quoiqu'il en soit, il est à prévoir que les Gouvernements de Serbie et du Monténégro, qui, jusqu'à ce jour déjà, ont eu bien de la peine à se tenir à l'écart du mouvement, seront impuissants à résister au courant, et dès à présent, sous l'influence des événements et de l'opinion publique dans leurs pays, ils semblent s'être familiarisés avec l'idée de prendre part à la lutte, à la fonte des neiges.

En présence de cette situation, la tâche des Puissances, qui dans l'intérêt de la paix générale veulent écarter les complications ultérieures, devient bien difficile. L'Autriche-Hongrie et les deux autres Cours Impériales, en suite d'un échange d'idées confidentiel, se sont rencontrées dans la conviction que, si l'on se bornait à attendre l'effet des principes proclamés par le dernier Firman—principes qui d'ailleurs, dans l'intention de la Porte, ne semblent pas devoir être immédiatement appliqués aux pays soulevés, on n'obtiendrait d'autre résultat que de voir le conflit prendre une plus grande extension au sortir de l'hiver. Les trois Cabinets pensent donc que l'unique chance d'éviter de nouvelles complications se trouve dans une manifestation émanant des Puissances et constatant leur ferme résolution d'arrêter le mouvement qui menace d'entraîner l'Orient.

Or, ce but ne saurait être atteint par le seul moyen d'une injonction à l'adresse des Gouvernements Princiers et des populations Chrétiens sujettes du Sulton. Pour que cette action très difficile en elle-même ait une chance de réussite, il importe absolument que les Puissances soient à même d'en appeler à des actes clairs, indiscutables, pratiques, et spécialement propres à améliorer la situation de l'Herzégovine et de la Bosnie; en un mot, que leur action puisse s'appuyer sur des faits et non sur des programmes. Ce n'est qu'ainsi que les Cabinets se trouveront en mesure de faire valoir avec vigueur leurs conseils pacifiques.

Il est une autre difficulté—et c'est la plus grande—qu'il faut surmonter à tout prix, si l'on veut pouvoir compter sur un résultat tant soit peu favorable. Cette difficulté, c'est la défiance profondément enracinée que toute promesse de la Porte rencontre auprès des Chrétiens. Une des causes principales de cette méfiance doit être recherchée dans le fait que plus d'une mesure annoncée dans les derniers rescrits du Sultan a déjà été proclamé dans des hatti-chérifs antérieurs sans que le sort des Chrétiens en ait éprouvé une amélioration appréciable.

Aussi les Cabinets croient-ils absolument nécessaire d'obtenir que le Gouvernement du Sultan confirme, au moyen d'une Commission officielle, ses intentions consignées par rapport à l'ensemble de l'Empire dans l'Iradé du 2 Octobre et dans le Firman du 12 Décembre, et qu'il notifie en même temps aux Puissances son acceptation des points ci-dessus mentionnés, qui ont pour objet spécial la pacification des provinces insurgées.

Sans doute que par ce moyen les Chrétiens n'obtiendraient pas la forme de garantie qu'ils semblent réclamer en ce moment, mais ils trouveraient une sécurité relative dans le fait même que les réformes octroyées seraient reconnues indispensables par les Puissances, et que la Porte aurait pris ouvers l'Europe l'engagement de les mettre à exécution.

Telle est la ferme conviction sortie d'un échange d'idées préalable entre les Cabinets d'Autriche-Hongrie, de Russie, et d'Allemagne.

Votre Excellence est chargée de porter ce point de vue à la connaissance du Cabinet de St. James, et d'obtenir son concours à l'œuvre de paix dont tous nos efforts tendent à assurer le succès.

Si, comme je l'espère, les vues du Gouvernement Anglais se rencontrent avec les nôtres, nous lui proposerions par égard pour la dignité et l'indépendance de la Porte de ne point adresser à celle-ci nos conseils dans une note collective, mais de nous borner à inviter nos Représentants à Constantinople à agir conjointement et d'une manière identique auprès du Gouvernement du Sultan dans le sens que nous venons de développer.

Vous voudrez bien, M. le Comte, donner lecture de la présente dépêche à M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, et lui en laisser copie; et je vous serais reconnaissant de me faire connaître aussitôt que possible l'impression qu'elle aura faite sur son Excellence.

Recevez, &c.

No. 5.

*Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received January* 3, 6·15 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, January* 3, 1876, 3·30 P.M.

COUNT ANDRASSY having returned to Pesth, I have asked Baron Hofmann what taxes are alluded to in Count Andrassy's note as direct and indirect, and he could not give me any clear or definite answer.

No. 6.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received January* 3.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, January* 3, 1876.

(Very Confidential.)

THE Russian Ambassador, who called on me to-day, evidently expected that if Count Andrassy's proposals are supported by the six Powers and accepted by the Porte there is to be some communication afterwards with the insurgents, with a view to the pacification of the provinces.

Count Andrassy, however, stated to me yesterday that if the Turkish Government accepted his proposals, further action would be left to them. There seems, therefore, to be no agreement as yet between Austria and Russia on this point, or as to the means of acting on the insurgents if not satisfactory, or of restraining Servia and Montenegro.

M. de Novikoff appeared to dislike the idea of closing the frontiers of these Principalities, but he criticized so as to betray suspicion of its motives the toleration hitherto shown to insurgent Chiefs and Slav Committees, and the inefficiency of the occupation of the Dalmatian frontier.

No. 7.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.†

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, January* 3, 1876, 5·45 P.M.

AUSTRIAN note delivered to-day by Count Beust.

No. 8.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 3.) *Foreign Office, January* 3, 1876.

Sir,

I TRANSMIT, for your Excellency's information, the accompanying copy of a communication which I have to-day received from the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at this Court,‡ containing the project of reforms proposed to be submitted by his Government to the Porte.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

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* Repeated to Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.

† Similar telegrams were addressed to Lord A. Loftus, Lord O. Russell, Lord Lyons, Sir A. Buchanan, and Sir A. Paget.

‡ No. 4.

No. 8*.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. St. John.

(No. 1. Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, January 3, 1876.*

RUMOURS having reached Her Majesty's Government that the Russian Government are concentrating a large body of troops in Bessarabia, on the Turkish frontier, I have to instruct you to endeavour to ascertain confidentially whether there is any truth in this report; and you will not fail to keep me informed of any movements of Russian troops in that locality.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 9.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 4.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, January 3, 1876.*

I HARDLY see how a note such as proposed by Count Andrassy could be addressed to the Porte, for most of the reforms suggested by him have already been adopted by the Porte.

The Firman of 12th December was officially communicated to the Embassies a day before it was promulgated, and they could not ask that it should be communicated a second time. A proposal to appoint a Mixed Commission of Mussulmans and Christians to control the execution of the reforms could not be made, for one was appointed a fortnight ago, and sits daily to organize details.

Religious liberty is proclaimed, except as regards rendering Christians liable to military conscription.

The abolition of farming of the tithes is resolved upon.

The constitution and duties of the provincial Councils are being defined.

The remedies required for the improvement of the position of the agricultural population will come under the consideration of the Reform Commission, but they can only be judged of by persons intimately acquainted with local habits and traditions, and I am not qualified to express an opinion upon those alluded to in Sir A. Buchanan's telegram.

It is quite true that there is excitement and anxiety at Constantinople, and this should make the Powers careful not to do anything likely to cause exasperation among Mussulmans, which might be the effect of an identic note such as is proposed.

No. 10.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 4.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Constantinople, January 4, 1876, noon.*

I LEARN confidentially that telegraphic instructions have been sent by the Porte to its Representatives abroad, stating that information, derived from various sources, leads to the belief that the project of reforms, as drawn up by Count Andrassy, having been communicated to the Great Powers, would be probably presented for adoption to the Turkish Government in the form of an identic note on the part of the three Northern Powers.

In view of such an eventuality, the Porte has directed its Representatives to state that the Porte, having at all times evinced its disposition to follow friendly advice of its allies, could not now accept an identic note such as the one proposed without a disregard of the Sultan's sovereign rights which it is bound to uphold.

Should, however, the identic note be presented to the Porte in spite of its objections, the course proposed to be taken by the Grand Vizier in regard to it is to declare to the three Ambassadors that, though he consents to receive note from mere deference and courtesy, his doing so must not be held to imply any intention on the part of the Turkish Government to adopt the reforms that may be proposed in it.

No. 11.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 4.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Constantinople, January 4, 1876, 3 P.M.*

THERE is reason to believe that the Porte learnt intention of the three Powers to send in an identic note from the Russian Ambassador.

Several days ago, he said to a person, who has reported his words to me, that the Porte was resolved not to accept such a note.

No. 12.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, January 4, 1876, 4·40 P.M.*

THE Austrian Government do not propose an identic note.

The words of the Austrian despatch are, "We propose, out of regard for the dignity and independence of the Porte, not to address our advice to it in a collective note, but to confine ourselves to requesting our Representatives at Constantinople to act conjointly and in an identic manner towards the Sultan's Government in the sense we have explained."

No. 13.

*The Earl of Derby to Lord Odo Russell.**

(No. 5.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, January 4, 1876.*

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your information, a copy of a despatch addressed by Count Andrassy to Count Beust,† embodying proposals for Turkish Reform. This despatch was communicated to me yesterday by Count Beust.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 14.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 5, 1876.)

(No. 863.)
My Lord, *Pera, December 24, 1875.*

IT appears from the despatches of Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna and St. Petersburgh that it had been understood by the Russian Government that the Reform Firman was, in the first instance, only to be communicated to the Representatives of the Great Powers, but was not to be published until after an exchange of ideas between them and the Porte.

I do not imagine that there was ever any ground for such an expectation.

I am aware that a suggestion to that effect was made to the Porte, but I was informed at the time that it had not been entertained, as the Grand Vizier held that measures already sanctioned by the Sultan could not be kept back in order that they might receive the ratification of the Embassies.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 15.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 5, 1876.)

(No. 864. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Pera, December 24, 1875.*

THE Austrian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, and expressed the satisfaction with which he had found from the despatches which he had received by yesterday's post, that Count Beust had been able to report to his Government the perfect

* Similar despatches were addressed to Sir A. Buchanan, Lord A. Loftus, Sir H. Elliot, Lord Lyons, and Sir A. Paget.
† No. 378.

agreement which your Lordship had expressed in their views in regard to the question of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I said that your Lordship no doubt cordially shared in Count Andrassy's wish to arrive at an early pacification of the revolted districts, and that you would be glad if Her Majesty's Government could concur in the measures which the Austrian Government proposed with a view to it, but as your Lordship had not yet been informed of Count Andrassy's project, you could not as yet have pronounced any opinion.

As Count Zichy spoke to me to-day with an absence of the reserve which he had hitherto so carefully observed, he must undoubtedly have received instructions to draw closer to Her Majesty's Embassy, and I gladly met him in a corresponding spirit.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 16.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 5, 1876.)

(No. 865.)
Constantinople, December 24, 1875.

My Lord,

COUNT ANDRASSY has stated to Sir Andrew Buchanan that Austria had no intention of becoming the gendarmes of Europe.

I would submit to your Lordship that, while Austria could not reasonably be called upon to assume such extended duties, Europe has a right to expect that she should not, by neglecting them within her own territories, endanger the general tranquillity.

The opinion which has been expressed to Sir Andrew Buchanan by competent judges, that it is within the power of Austria to put an end to the insurrection in a fortnight by effectually occupying her own frontier, has been held throughout by every person acquainted with the nature of the present movement.

There has been much talk of the possibility of an Austrian occupation of Bosnia becoming necessary, but the occupation which is really called for is that of Dalmatia by troops not placed under commanders who openly sympathize with the Turkish insurgents.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 17.

Rashid Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, January 5.)

(Télégraphique.)
Constantinople, le 3 Janvier, 1876.

NOUS apprenons de différentes sources que le projet de réformes élaboré par le Comte Andrassy aurait été achevé et communiqué aux deux autres Cours Impériales, et que des pourparlers auraient été entamés entre les Grandes Puissances pour arriver à une entente et nous communiquer ce projet avec demande d'exécution, sous la forme d'une note identique ou collective. Quoique cette nouvelle ne nous ait été confirmée d'aucune part, nous croyons devoir, en prévision de l'éventualité à laquelle elle a trait, faire connaître dès à présent notre manière de voir et la façon dont nous envisageons une telle proposition, si elle venait à se produire dans les termes que j'ai indiqués. Votre Excellence sait avec quel sentiment de déférence la Sublime Porte a toujours accueilli les conseils qui lui ont été donnés par les Puissances amies et alliées du Sultan, toutes les fois que ces conseils lui sont parvenus sous forme d'avis amicaux. Mais nous déclarons, dès à présent, pour ne laisser subsister aucun doute, aucune équivoque sur nos intentions, dont ces mêmes Puissances se sont toujours plu à constater la loyauté, que, si, contrairement à toute attente, et malgré nos efforts tendant à éviter une telle extrémité, une démarche de cette nature venait à se produire, nous nous verrions dans la pénible nécessité de la décliner, et cela uniquement en vue de sauvegarder le principe des droits souverains de la Sublime Porte. Je le répète, rien, jusqu'à l'heure qu'il est, n'est venu confirmer l'existence d'une telle combinaison; et l'assurance qui nous a été donnée par le Comte Andrassy, lors de la communication qui lui a été faite du dernier Firman, de ne point nous créer des difficultés et des embarras, nous permet d'en douter; mais je n'en crois pas moins devoir vous prier de vous énoncer dès à présent dans ce sens auprès de son Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

No. 18.

Rashid Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, January 5.)

(Télégraphique.)
Constantinople, le 4 Janvier, 1876.

UNE des réformes inscrites dans le récent Firman Impérial est le droit accordé à tous les sujets de Sa Majesté le Sultan d'élire directement et en toute liberté les membres des Tribunaux et des Conseils siégeant tant dans les vilayets que dans les sandjaks et les cazas. La Sublime Porte vient, sur cette base, d'élaborer des instructions réglant le mode d'élection. Le texte de ces instructions, qui ont déjà été sanctionnées par Sa Majesté, vous sera transmis par le prochain courrier.

No. 19.

Lord Tenterden to Musurus Pasha.

(Private and Immediate.)
Foreign Office, January 5, 1876.

Dear Musurus Pasha,

I AM not yet in a position to give any answer to the request which you asked me to convey to Lord Derby, and about which you were so good as to say you would call to-day. I let you know as early as I can to prevent you having the trouble of coming to the Office as you proposed.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

No. 20.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 5.)

(Telegraphic.)
Constantinople, January 4, 1876, 9:30 P.M.

THE probability of an identic note being sent by the Powers has produced great sensation at the Porte.

Minister for Foreign Affairs is unwell, and I have not seen him; but the Grand Vizier spoke to me with unusual energy of his determination not to receive any official communication on the subject of reforms. If the Powers have remarks to make about them they may submit them unofficially, but he declares that he will not lay any official communication before the Sultan, who, having upon his advice consented to important measures of reform, would regard it as an affront.

No. 21.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Paget.

(Telegraphic.)
Foreign Office, January 5, 1876, 4·40 P.M.

THE Italian Chargé d'Affaires has been here, and says the Italian Government have agreed to the Austrian proposals as to Turkish reforms.

There was some obscurity about the telegram he had received.

Is it true that the Italian Government has acceded?

No. 22.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.[a]*—(Received January 5, 5·30 P.M.)*

(Telegraphic.)
Rome, January 5, 1876.

AUSTRIAN note has been delivered to M. Visconti Venosta, who is disposed to join in identic action at Constantinople. He considers it desirable, in order to secure the speedy pacification of the insurrection and the maintenance of concord between the Powers.

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[a] Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Constantinople.

No. 23.

Memorandum of Conversation between Lord Tenterden and M. de Martino.

THE Italian Chargé d'Affaires called to-day and said that, though not instructed to do so, he would communicate to me officiously a telegram from his Government.

He then read to me in French a telegram saying that the Italian Government would accede "aurait donné son concours" to the Austrian proposal.

I asked him what was the precise meaning of this—had they done so already, or were they going to do so? The word was ambiguous, and on a matter of such importance I should like to be quite clear as to what I should report.

He said he had no doubt it meant they had acceded.

I have, however, telegraphed to Sir A. Paget to inquire.

I cannot say that this hurried accession, without communication with us or with the other Treaty Powers, has a friendly look.

T.

January 5, 1876.

No. 24.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 6.)

(No. 11.)

My Lord, *Paris, January* 5, 1876.

THE Duc Decazes spoke to me yesterday of the despatch from Count Andrassy on the Herzegovina insurrection, dated the 30th of last month, which had been communicated to him by the Austrian Embassy here.

The Duke told me that he had no hesitation in saying in general terms that, in his opinion, the proposals entertained in the despatch should be agreed to by the Powers parties to the Treaty of Paris, and should be recommended by them to the acceptance of the Porte.

His Excellency proceeded to observe that, with regard to these proposals, there were three points to be specially regarded; first, their efficacy towards putting an end to the insurrection; second, the nature of the reforms pressed upon the Porte; and thirdly, the mode in which the Porte should be addressed on the subject.

To speak first of the efficacy, the Duke would (he said) not hesitate to express the conviction that it would prove much greater than might be thought at first sight. The insurrection was, in fact, kept afloat mainly by the current of opinion in its favour, which existed in Europe generally, but more particularly in Russia and in the Slavonic Provinces of the Austrian Empire. Now, if the insurgents should refuse to accept an arrangement recommended to them by all Europe, and especially by Russia and Austria, the Governments of those two countries could have little difficulty in directing the public opinion of their own subjects into another channel.

A further cause of the persistence of the insurgents was the help now covertly given to them by Servia and Montenegro, and the expectation of an open declaration by those Principalities in their favour in the spring. It could not, however, be doubted that Russia and Austria had ample means of making their counsels prevail in Montenegro and Servia, if they were determined to do so. Lastly, it was to be remembered that, without marching into the Herzegovina, Austria had the power of reducing the insurgents to extremities by taking really stringent measures on her own frontier. There were then on the whole, the Duc Decazes thought, sufficient grounds for hoping that Count Andrassy's proposals, if adopted by the Powers, would have the effect of bringing the insurrection to an end.

As to the particular reforms proposed, they appeared to the Duke to afford no ground for reasonable objection on the part of the Porte. Religious liberty, the abolition of the system of farming out the taxes, the amelioration of the condition of the rural population, were reforms which had been promised over and over again by the Porte.

There was, however, one point which made the Duke hesitate a little as to the course to be taken by the Powers. This was the proposed appropriation of the produce of the direct taxes exclusively to local purposes in the Herzegovina and in Bosnia. This concession, if accorded to those two provinces, could hardly be withheld from the rest of the Empire. Might not this effect so great a diminution of the resources of the Central Government as to impair its means of fulfilling its engagements to its creditors?

The Duke had been somewhat reassured by being told that the tax on sheep, and other branches of revenue more particularly assigned as securities for the loans, were regarded as indirect, not direct, taxes. Still he thought that this matter was one which required the special attention of Governments whose subjects were holders of Turkish stock.

A demand that the acceptance of Count Andrassy's proposals by the Porte should be officially announced to the Powers, and, moreover, that the Iradé of the 2nd October, and the Firman of the 12th of December, should be officially communicated to them, would, in the Duc Decazes' opinion, be perfectly reasonable. Such a step on the part of the Porte would be no novelty. The Sultan had, on previous occasions, solemnly announced to the Powers the reforms which he had accorded to his subjects, and the Hatti-Humayoun of 1856 had been appended to the Treaty of Paris. For his own part, the Duke had, he went on to say, expressed to the Ottoman Ambassador, when he received from him a copy of the recent Firman, his surprise and regret that it was not communicated to him formally and officially.

With regard to the mode in which the Porte was to be addressed, the Duc Decazes thought that the Austrian despatch showed careful consideration for the independence and dignity of the Porte, and for the positions of the several guaranteeing Powers. The course which would be actually taken would, he seemed to think, be the following:—The proposals would, he supposed, be presented to the Porte in writing by the Austrian Ambassador, and would then be supported verbally by the Representatives of the other Powers.

The Duke proceeded to say that he considered that it would be very much to the advantage of the Sultan to comply with the proposals frankly and immediately. It seemed to become more and more evident that the Porte could not put down the insurrection by its own means; and even if it did succeed in doing so, it would hardly be able, without support from abroad, to impose upon the victorious Mussulman population such relations with the subdued Christians as could be tolerated by public opinion in Europe. By making it apparent that it had the support of all the European Powers, and was acting in close accord with them, the Porte would place itself in the best position now open to it.

In conclusion, the Duke remarked that, if Count Andrassy's proposals did in fact do no more than patch up the rents in the Turkish Empire for a short time, still the preservation of peace in Europe, if only for a few years, was an object well worthy of the efforts of civilized Governments.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 25.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 6.)

(No. 12. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Paris, January* 5, 1876.

AT the close of the conversation respecting the Austrian despatch, which is reported in my immediately preceding despatch No. 11 of to-day, the Duc Decazes read to me a telegram from Constantinople, from which it appeared that General Ignatiew had been saying that the Porte was extremely indignant at the intended intervention of the Guaranteeing Powers in the internal affairs of the Empire, and had resolved upon refusing to receive Count Andrassy's proposals.

The Duke observed that this could only mean that General Ignatiew was himself inciting the Porte to take this line.

The circumstance had, his Excellency went on to say, made him reflect very seriously on the danger which might be the result of a refusal, on the part of the Powers, to support the proposals of the three Emperors, or, on the part of the Porte to accept them.

Russia would then be in a position to say that she had made every possible sacrifice in the interest of peace, and of the maintenance of the *status quo* in the Levant; that her endeavours had been thwarted by the European Powers, and her counsels set at nought by the Porte, and that, therefore, it only remained for her to consult her own interests, and to give effect to her sympathy with the victims of Ottoman oppression, who were connected with her by ties of religion and of race.

That such would be the general feeling in Russia, the Duke did not doubt, and it

might, he thought, be difficult for the Government to resist the popular will in such a case, even if it had a strong desire to do so.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 26.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 14.)
Foreign Office, January 6, 1876.

Sir,

HER Majesty's Government approve the language held by your Excellency in your conversation with the Sultan on the subject of the Reforms which His Majesty has lately sanctioned, as reported in your despatch No. 844 of the 19th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 27.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 16.)
Foreign Office, January 6, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE received your despatch No. 834 of the 14th ultimo, stating that the Grand Vizier had asked for your opinion as to the expediency of a military demonstration against Montenegro, unless satisfactory assurances could be obtained from the Representatives of the Great Powers that a more strict neutrality would be observed by that Principality in regard to the conflict in the Herzegovina; and I have to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the reply which you returned to the Grand Vizier's communication as reported in your despatch above-mentioned.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 28.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 17.)
Foreign Office, January 6, 1876.

Sir,

HER Majesty's Government approve the language held by your Excellency to the Sultan, as reported in your despatch No. 845 of the 19th ultimo, on the subject of the insurrection in the Herzegovina, and the facilities which the insurgents had been allowed in crossing the Dalmatian frontier of Austria.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 29.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 18.)
Foreign Office, January 6, 1876.

Sir,

HER Majesty's Government approve your Excellency's proceedings, as reported in your despatch No. 836 of the 15th ultimo, with reference to the request of Hussein Avni Pasha for your advice as to proceeding to Salonica, and his intrigues against the Grand Vizier.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 30.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 20.)
Foreign Office, January 6, 1876.

Sir,

WITH reference to your despatch No. 846 of the 19th ultimo, reporting your conversation with the Grand Vizier respecting the omission from the Firman of a provision, by which the provinces should send delegates to Constantinople to submit their wishes and complaints, I have to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve your proceedings in this respect.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 31.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 7. Most Confidential.)
Foreign Office, January 6, 1876.

My Lord,

HER Majesty's Consul at Kertch having reported that he is informed on good authority that a large body of Russian troops is at present concentrated in Bessarabia, near the Turkish frontier, I have to instruct your Excellency to endeavour to ascertain confidentially, through Colonel Wellesley, what truth there is in this report.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 32.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 6, 5 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)
Rome, January 6, 1876, 3·45 P.M.

M. VISCONTI VENOSTA has informed me that the Cabinet of Vienna and the Italian Government will support the Austrian project at Constantinople.

The German and Russian Ministers have urged this course, and the French Minister has announced that his Government will also join in common action.

The Turkish Minister has been to speak in sense of Sir H. Elliot's telegram of 4th instant.

M. Visconti Venosta replied that there was no question of a collective or identic note, but that Italian Government could not refuse to join recommending a course which, if adopted, they considered likely to be beneficial under the circumstances, and in no way derogatory to the dignity of the Sultan.

Seems to be anxious to know the views of Her Majesty's Government.

No. 33.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 7.)

(No. 7.)
Vienna, January 4, 1876.

My Lord,

THE Vienna papers state that the Servian Government have sent an order to a manufactory at Prague for 40,000,000 of metallic cartridges for breech-loading rifles, to be delivered within a year, at 25 florins per 1,000. The "Neue Fremden Blatt," however, understands that the order has been declined by the Directors of the establishment on the ground that they have not a sufficient number of unemployed workmen for executing so large an order; and as it is possible that the export of the cartridges might be prohibited, they cannot incur the risk of purchasing new machines.

This statement is so apparently circumstantial, that I think it right to report it to your Lordship, although on my inquiry at official sources I could obtain no authentic information on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 34.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 7.)

(No. 6.)
My Lord, *Vienna, January 4, 1876.*

THE Vienna papers report that the Prince of Montenegro has succeeded in contracting a loan at Brussels for 5,000,000 fr. at 8 per cent., to be paid off in nine years by half-yearly instalments of 400,000 fr. It is also hinted that the arrangement was effected with the concurrence and assistance of certain Diplomatic personages.

Here it is thought improbable that if Prince Nicolas has obtained so large a loan, that he could have done so on the security of his own resources.

With reference to the subject I have the honour to inclose an extract from the "Correspondance Autrichienne" relative to an interchange of letters said to have taken place between the Prince of Montenegro and Prince Gortchakow, in which, in reply to Prince Nicolas' representations as to the difficulty of maintaining his neutrality, he is assured that if he will persevere he will secure some eventual advantages to his country.

It is said here also that some hope has been held out to His Highness that, if he remains neutral, representations may be made at Constantinople in favour of his wish to obtain a port, and some other additions to his territory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 34.

Extract from the "Correspondance Autrichienne" of December 21, 1875.

D'APRES ce qu'on a écrit à la "Correspondance Politique" de "source Slave, digne de foi," le Prince Nikita a adressée, par l'intermédiaire du Consul-Général de Russie à Raguse, M. Yonini, au Prince de Gortchakow, une lettre autographe pour lui faire connaître les dangers auxquels l'expose l'état passif du Monténégro. En même temps il donne au Chancelier de l'Empire Russe connaissance d'un complot que l'Archimandrite Dutchito, résidant à Belgrade, l'un des principaux chefs Herzégoviniens, avait ourdi contre lui. Le Prince Gortchakow aurait soumis la lettre à l'Empereur Alexandre, qui a fait écrire en son nom au Prince de Monténégro de faire courageusement face à toutes les difficultés de la situation actuelle et de ne sortir à aucun prix de l'expectative; il y a lieu d'espérer que dans un avenir qui n'est pas bien lointain la situation du Monténégro s'améliorerait dans un sens ou dans un autre. Le dernier passage de la réponse envoyée de St. Pétersbourg pour apaiser les esprits a été l'objet des commentaires les plus encourageants; et de fait non-seulement le Prince Nikita s'est rassuré, mais il a en outre pris la résolution de suivre strictement le conseil que lui a donné l'Empereur Alexandre de persévérer dans la neutralité observée jusqu'à présent.

No. 35.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 7.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, January 6, 1876.*

IT is a great relief to the Porte and to all my colleagues to learn that there is no intention of sending an identic note.

No. 36.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 7.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Vienna, January 7, 1876.*

WITH reference to Sir A. Paget's telegram of yesterday (?), the Russian Ambassador having asked me some days ago whether I thought the Representatives at Constantinople

should receive identical instructions if Austrian proposals are supported by all the Powers, I said that, if there were no other objection, the time lost in preparing such instructions would be a serious one; and it seemed to me a better course, and a less offensive one to the Porte, would be merely to instruct the Representatives to recommend the expediency of its adopting the suggestions in the Austrian despatch.

I reported this conversation to the Italian Minister, and I wrote privately in the same sense by the messenger to Sir H. Elliot, calling his attention also to the views of Lord Stratford, and to the opinion of the Ragusa correspondent of the "Times" that a decision of the Powers that the provinces should continue Turkish, would paralyze insurrection.

Messenger detained at Cracow.

No. 37.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 7, 1876.)

(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, January 7, 1876.*

TURKISH Ambassador has made communication to German Government in the sense of Sir H. Elliot's telegram of the 4th instant.

German Minister for Foreign Affairs received it *ad referendum*, without comment.

No. 38.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, January 7, 1876, 4 P.M.*

THE following telegram appears in the "Times" of this afternoon:—

Count Zichy, the Austrian Ambassador, has semi-officially communicated to the Grand Vizier Count Andrassy's scheme of reforms in Turkey. The Grand Vizier, in conversation with Count Zichy, is represented to have rejected any idea of foreign mediation, and to have stated that the Porte would itself give the populations the necessary guarantees of reform.

No. 39.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, January 7, 1876, 4:20 P.M.*

IS the statement in the "Times" I have telegraphed to you, as to Austrian proposals having been communicated to the Porte, true?

No. 40.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 7, 7 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, January 7, 1876.*

TURKISH Ambassador informed Prince Gortchakow that Grand Vizier would not accept officially any proposal of reform prejudicial to the independence of Turkey. Prince Gortchakow urged the Ambassador the danger if Turkey refused the counsels of Europe.

To an inquiry of Russian Ambassador at London as to the course which would be taken by the Allied Powers in case Turkey or the insurgents refused compliance, Prince Gortchakow has answered that these eventualities refer to second phrase of question, when England might abstain if she thought fit. Prince Gortchakow is of opinion that if Europe is united, Porte will yield. He informed me that France and Italy have accepted the Austrian proposals.

No. 41.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 8.)

(No 23.)

My Lord, *Mostar, December 27, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch of the 13th instant sent to Sir Henry Elliot, in which I relate the substance of a conversation I had with Server Pasha on that day. I have since learnt that Raouf Pasha reached Nicksich, but with troops alone as an advanced guard, and having seen nothing of the insurgents he sent word to Shefket Pasha to come on with the convoy of provisions. This officer, it is said, on entering the Douga Pass, was attacked by a strong force of insurgents, and was forced to return to Gatzko, having lost some seven hundred horseloads of various stores, and that Raouf Pasha is at present blocked up at Nicksich. This report has been stated in secret by various Turkish officers who have just arrived here, but I can only affirm that it is highly probable. As a matter of fact, confirming this rumour, I may state that Selim Pasha left this in haste on the night of the 25th with three guns and a battalion which had just arrived from Klek with ammunition, and which was to have returned there to bring up further supplies. It is said he was to take on two more battalions from Nevissine. This movement was executed as secretly as possible. The Turks are in force in the Douga, as Raouf Pasha left Trebigné with twelve battalions, and Shefket Pasha had at least five or six more at Gatzko, so that there must be some serious affair to require further reinforcements. I shall wait to this evening to see if I can obtain more precise information, and shall then telegraph to Sir Henry Elliot notice of what is passing.

It is most difficult at present to ascertain anything correctly. The authorities make a point of denying everything to the disadvantage of the Government, and it is only in secret that anyone dares to speak of passing events, so that my colleagues and myself are reduced to the necessity of seeking our information among the whispers of the population and the indirect indications which may confirm them.

Your Lordship will remark the incorrectness of Server Pasha's declaration to me, that Nicksich had been provisioned, and I may observe that his Excellency is always far too ready to affirm what he hopes may be true than to wait the confirmation of facts. However, after the telegrams published more than two months ago by his Excellency stating that the insurgents were returning to their homes in great numbers, and the astounding denial of the murders at Popovopolie, and the emigration which ensued, no possible doubt can exist as to the value of the official information given by the Turkish authorities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure in No. 41.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Mostar, December 23, 1875.*

THIS afternoon I paid a visit to Server Pasha, who informed me that Raouf Pasha had reached Nicksich, which he has re-provisioned, and that he did not meet with a single insurgent. His Excellency said that he considered the insurrection as finished, and that the Government had now only to deal with a few bands of brigands. I replied that I should only be too glad to be convinced that the insurrection was at an end, but remarked that these few bands of brigands were the picked men of the revolt, and that they managed to keep in activity all the battalions in the Herzegovina. That a similar brigandage indefinitely prolonged was a ruinous expense to the Porte, and that until it was entirely put down, it seemed to me very indifferent whether it was called insurrection, civil war, or brigandage; as the Government was not master of the country, security was not established, reforms could not be properly carried out, and commerce was ruined.

His Excellency, however, quite agreed with me that peace could not be re-established unless Austria and Montenegro changed entirely their attitude and action. He also said that this was a matter which could only be settled by the Government, and that he felt his mission at an end. He could promise nothing more than he had already proclaimed. He had no negotiations with insurgents to conduct, and that he had written

to the Porte to state this, and that he thought his further presence in the Herzegovina would be rather a disadvantage than otherwise.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. H. HOLMES.

No. 42.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 8.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, January 7, 1876.*

I HAVE received no telegram from you about statement of "Times" about communication of the Austrian proposals to the Porte.

No communication of them has been made to the Porte.

No. 43.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 8.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, January 8, 1876.*

I HAVE received your telegram *en clair* of yesterday.

Austrian Ambassador says that he has made no communication officially or unofficially of Count Andrassy's proposal, and that he has not seen the Grand Vizier for the last ten days.

No. 44.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 10.)

(No. 10.)

My Lord, *Berlin, January 3, 1876.*

THE Turkish Ambassador informed me some days since that he had officially communicated the Sultan's last Firman to the German Government, through Herr von Bülow, and his Excellency, on receiving it, had stated that the Chancellor would lose no time in submitting it to His Majesty the Emperor.

I have since asked Herr von Bülow what the German Government thought of the new Turkish Reform Bill, but his Excellency told me that the documents communicated by the Turkish Government, being very long, were still under consideration.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 45.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 10.)

(No. 11.)

My Lord, *Berlin, January 3, 1876.*

THE Austrian Ambassador tells me that Count Andrassy's note respecting the pacification of the Herzegovina having been approved and adopted by the Russian and by the German Governments, had been sent to London, Rome, and Paris on the 31st ultimo, and would probably be delivered to-day to your Lordship. His Excellency expressed the anxious hope of his Government that Count Andrassy's proposals would meet with the approval and support of Her Majesty's Government. The German and Russian Ambassadors have also received instructions to give their full support to the Austrian note.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 46.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 10.)

(No. 14. Most Confidential.)

Berlin, January 8, 1876.

My Lord,

MY Turkish colleague called here to tell me that he had received from Raschid Pásha, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the telegram of the 3rd instant for communication to the German Government, respecting Count Andrassy's note, which was also communicated to your Lordship by Musurus Pasha on the 5th instant.

His Excellency said he had communicated it verbally to Herr von Bülow, and from the way he said so, I gathered that he regretted his Government had not waited to see what Count Andrassy's note contained before they protested against it.

He told me in strict confidence that after reading Count Andrassy's note he had written to Raschid Pasha this morning to say that, although he saw nothing in it which the Sultan's Government need object to, since the proposed reforms are mostly contained in the Sultan's Firman of the 12th December, yet he feared that the communication of the note by the three Northern Powers would be a cause of embarrassment to his Government, because the Firman excluded the insurgents from the enjoyment of its beneficial provisions until they laid down their arms and made their submission, while the Austrian note on the contrary made no such reservation. This the Sultan could not well retract at the dictation of the Northern Powers without loss of dignity.

To refuse the Austrian project of reform simply would be imprudent, since it would offend the Northern Powers, whose good offices the Sultan had solicited, and might increase their sympathies for the insurgents.

It appeared to him that the difficulty might be turned in the following manner; I copy from the Ambassador's own draft, which his Excellency very kindly allowed me to read:—

"Lorsque le projet Andrassy lui sera communiqué le Gouvernement Impérial pourrait le trouver acceptable et regretter même de ne l'avoir pas connu plutôt. Le Sultan ou la Sublime Porte permettrait à chaque Ambassadeur individuellement de se l'approprier et de l'appliquer aux districts insurgés aussitôt que ceux-ci présenteraient une adresse de soumission. Si, comme tout le porte à croire, les Cours du Nord désirent sincèrement l'apaisement des troubles et le maintien de la paix générale, qui sont l'objectif de leur accord actuel, il ne leur serait pas difficile d'obtenir une telle démonstration. D'ailleurs pour leur faciliter cette tâche, l'on aviserait au moyen d'amener une suspension tacite des hostilités. Immédiatement après l'adresse, dans sa constante sollicitude pour le bien-être du pays, Sa Majesté Impériale pourrait, sans qu'avis préalable n'en eût été donné, faire bénéficier toutes les provinces des dispositions du projet Austro-Hongrois amalgamées avec celles du Firman du 12. Le rescrit Impérial qui formulerait ces faveurs serait officiellement communiqué aux Représentants des six Puissances en réponse à leurs démarches identiques. Le mode de solution que je viens d'avoir l'honneur d'esquisser à grands traits aurait dans mon intime conviction pour effets immédiats de sauvegarder la dignité et les droits du Souverain, de parer aux exigences de la situation, de profiter aux pays, et de nous ramener l'opinion publique."

His Excellency said he would be very glad if this idea could be submitted to your Lordship and to Sir H. Elliot, and, if approved, supported by his Excellency at the Porte.

At the same time he was anxious not to be named, and begged I would consider his communication as confidential.

I should be obliged if your Lordship would allow Aristarchi Bey's suggestion in his Government to be communicated to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 47.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 10.)

(No. 3.)

Rome, January 5, 1876.

My Lord,

WHEN I called upon Chevalier Visconti Venosta yesterday morning his Excellency informed me that he had received the Austrian note relative to the affairs of Herzegovina, and that he was then expecting the visit of Count Wimpffen, who was to call upon him by appointment. My interview with his Excellency was therefore necessarily somewhat hurried.

On my asking M. Visconti Venosta his opinion of the Austrian programme, and whether he would be prepared to join in the steps proposed to be taken at Constantinople, his Excellency replied that before giving an official answer he must, of course, confer with the President of the Council, but as far as his own impression went he must say, speaking in the first place of the proposed reforms, that he saw nothing in them which the Christian population had not fairly a right to claim, and which the Porte had not, with the exception perhaps of the redemption of the rent-charge on land, already manifested an intention to accede to. He thought also in the interests of Turkey as well as for the maintenance of harmony and concord amongst the Powers in settling this question, it would not be advisable to reject the idea of identic action at Constantinople in order to obtain from the Turkish Government an official notification of their acceptance of the points suggested. The Turkish Government had, in fact, officially communicated the Firman of the 2nd of October and 12th December, and it would surely, therefore, be worth their while with the view to securing the pacifying influence of the Imperial Governments over the Christian population to notify their acceptance of the Austro-Russian project.

If the Porte was able itself to quell the insurrection the matter might perhaps be looked at differently as regards the dignity of the Turkish Government, but as yet there was nothing, his Excellency said, to warrant such a belief, and if order was not re-established before the spring there could be no doubt the chances in favour of the Turkish arms would be diminished by reason of the additional strength which the insurgents would receive from the adjoining provinces.

But M. Visconti Venosta's chief anxiety is the maintenance of union between the Powers in dealing with this question, and that the affairs of the east should again be brought under the collective control of all the Powers parties to the Treaty of Paris, instead of their continuing to be treated by only three of them. He is desirous of this, not only with a view to the speedy settlement of the question immediately under discussion, but with a view to the preservation of peace, and M. Minghetti, whom I saw afterwards, spoke to me in the same sense. If all the Powers acted together on the present occasion, his Excellency observed, each Government would have its voice in directing the subsequent course of events, whereas, if the projects of the Imperial Government were not now supported, and the insurrection continued, Austria and Russia might think fit to claim their liberty of action, and the consequences of this might be very serious.

M. Minghetti mentioned to me that he had met M. Marinovitch (whose name is, perhaps, familiar to your Lordship in connection with Servian politics) at dinner at the Russian Minister's the evening before, and that this gentleman, after speaking of the difficult position in which the Prince of Servia and his Government were placed by having to restrain the national movement, insisted strongly on the necessity of some solution of the Herzegovina question being arrived at before the spring; for, otherwise, it would be quite impossible to prevent the Servians and Montenegrins joining the insurrection.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. PAGET.

No. 48.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 10.)

(No 4. Confidential.)

St. Petersburgh, January 5, 1876.

My Lord,

GENERAL LE FLO, the French Ambassador at this Court, who returned here on the 24th ultimo, was received by the Emperor in a private audience on the 27th instant.

His Excellency informs me that he found His Majesty suffering from the effects

of a slight cold, and much depressed by the illness of the Grand Duchess Maria Nicolaevna.

In the course of conversation His Majesty referred to the unsatisfactory state of affairs in the northern provinces of Turkey, and said that Austria was now preparing proposals for their pacification, which would be submitted to the Governments of Europe for their approval and co-operation.

His Majesty observed that he need scarcely repeat to General Le Flô that he never had entertained, nor did he entertain, any aggressive intentions against Turkey, nor any idea of occupying Constantinople. His Majesty said that the reported existence of the will of Peter the Great, on which these ambitious views of Russia were supposed to be based, was a pure fiction. No such will had ever been made, and there was no foundation for the ambitious projects which current reports had attributed to it.

(General Le Flô had told me that the supposed will of Peter the Great, to which the Emperor alluded, had been fabricated at Paris by the Emperor Napoleon I, previous to his campaign against Russia.)

The Emperor continued to assure General Le Flô that all he desired was the maintenance of the *status quo*, and that peace and order should exist in the Turkish Empire. But, said His Majesty, there were certain eventualities which he could not permit. First, he would never allow the possession of Constantinople to fall in the hands of any great Power; secondly, he would not permit the creation of a Byzantine Empire under the auspices of Greece. He was anxious to maintain the best relations with Greece, but the Greeks, said His Majesty, must remain at Athens.

His Majesty expressed hopes for the success of Count Andrassy's proposals, and that they would meet with the concurrence and support of France, as also of England; but there were mingled with these hopes some doubts as to their efficacy in restoring peace and order in the insurgent provinces. But he had faith in Christian Europe, who could not longer permit the oppression and sufferings of the Christian population under Mussulman rule.

The Emperor expressed great confidence in the Emperor Franz Joseph, and in Count Andrassy, and trusted that by the joint efforts of Europe the general peace would be preserved.

In referring to the joint action of the three Empires, His Majesty said that he could only repeat what he had previously made known that the sole object of the union of the three Empires was for the maintenance and security of peace.

In taking leave of General Le Flô, His Majesty gave expression to his sympathy for France, and his esteem and admiration for the Marshal-President.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS

No. 49.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, January 12, 1876.*

YOUR telegrams of the 6th did not reach me till last night.

My colleagues tell me that Her Majesty's Government are disposed to adhere to the Austrian scheme. My language is that I know nothing of the way in which it is viewed by Her Majesty's Government, but I strongly advise the Porte not to be predisposed against the overtures intended to facilitate the pacification of the Herzegovina.

General Ignatiew is doing his utmost to inspire distrust of Count Andrassy.

It is very desirable that the Porte should be informed in what manner a favourable reception of the communication will benefit, if the insurgents continue their resistance.

An intimation that the Consular Commission would in that case be withdrawn, would have some weight with the Porte.

No. 48*.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 11.)

(No. 7.)

My Lord, *Rome, January 7, 1876.*

MY despatch No. 3 of the 5th instant will have prepared your Lordship for the announcement that Chevalier Visconti Venosta has informed the Cabinet of Vienna that the Italian Government accedes to the proposals of the Austro-Hungarian Government respecting the reforms for the benefit of the Christian populations in Turkey, and that the Italian Government will consequently be prepared to join the other Powers in recommending at Constantinople the adoption of Count Andrassy's proposals.

M. Visconti Venosta acquainted me with this decision yesterday morning, and he then proceeded to tell me that, after his interview with Count Wimpffen on the 5th instant, alluded to in my above-named despatch, he had been visited by the German and Russian Ministers, who had come on the part of their respective Governments to urge the Italian Government to give their support to the Austrian programme.

Since then the French Minister, his Excellency informed me, had called to say that his Government had received the Austrian communication, and had decided on associating themselves with the other Powers in advising the Sultan's Government to accede to the suggestions it contained.

M. Visconti Venosta then went into an examination of the reforms contained in Count Andrassy's proposition, and showed, by comparing them with the Imperial Firmans, that there was, with the exception of some details of small importance, nothing in them which the Sultan had not already manifested his intention to accord to his Christian subjects. In some respects, indeed, his Excellency contended the concessions in the Firmans were even more ample than those which were advocated in the Austrian proposals. But nothing could be more complete, he said, than the programme set forth in the Hatti-Humayoun of 1856, which had been replaced, so to say, by the Firmans of the 2nd of October and 12th of December; but what had come, his Excellency inquired, of the promises therein held out, and how were the Christian populations to be persuaded to have faith in the execution of the Firmans after the total failure in the fulfilment of the Hatti-Humayoun?

With the view, therefore, to a pacification of the insurrection, it was necessary, in the opinion of the Italian Government, his Excellency said, to be able to offer the insurgents, as an inducement to lay down their arms, a moral guarantee for the faithful accomplishment of the reforms which were promised. His Excellency did not profess to have implicit faith in the pacifying effect which might be produced upon the insurgents by the adoption of the course proposed by the Austro-Hungarian Government, but, at the same time, there could be no doubt that the fact of the reforms being officially communicated to the Great Powers, as the result of their diplomatic action, was calculated to have greater weight in the eyes of the insurgents, and to inspire them with greater confidence in regard to their execution, than the simple issue of the Firmans bereft of any such moral guarantee and authority.

For this reason, as well as for that—of even greater importance in the eyes of the Italian Government—of preserving union amongst the Powers, and of again bringing the affairs of the East under the collective control of all the Cabinets parties to the Treaty of Paris, the Italian Government had, his Excellency said, thought it advisable to adhere to Count Andrassy's proposal, and his Excellency hoped to hear that Her Majesty's Government had adopted the same course.

M. Visconti Venosta then informed me that the Turkish Minister had been to him the day before yesterday, and said that he had received a despatch from his Government, stating that the Porte had reason to believe that there was a question amongst the Powers, parties to the Treaty of Paris, of addressing either a collective or an identic note, calling upon the Sultan's Government to notify to them officially their adherence to certain reforms which had been elaborated by the Cabinet of Vienna, in reference to the position of the Christian subjects of the Sultan, and that he, the Turkish Minister, had been directed to inform the Italian Government that the Turkish Government would consider such a step as an attempt to infringe upon the Sultan's prerogatives, and could not, therefore, receive the communication.

M. Visconti Venosta said he had replied to Caratheodori Effendi by saying that the

communication which he had received from the Cabinet of Vienna was as yet to be considered as of a strictly confidential nature, and that he could not, therefore, of course, impart to him its precise tenor. He could inform him, however, that there was no question in it of either a collective or an identic note, but that the Italian Government could not refuse to join with other Powers in recommending a course which, if adopted, they considered likely to be beneficial under the present circumstances, and which would be in no way derogatory to the dignity of the Sultan. He should, therefore, greatly deprecate any premature decision on the part of the Turkish Government not to receive such communications as might be made to them upon this subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 50.

Raschid Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(*Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, January 13, 1876.*)

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Sublime Porte, le 29 Décembre, 1875.*

J'AI l'honneur de transmettre ci-joint à votre Excellence, pour son information, copie du télégramme que j'ai adressé aux Représentants de la Sublime Porte accrédités près les trois Cours Impériales relativement à l'attitude du Monténégro vis-à-vis des événements de l'Herzégovine et à sa participation directe à l'insurrection qui désole cette province.

Les diverses communications du Ministère Impérial ont mis votre Excellence à même d'apprécier la manière de voir de la Sublime Porte à ce sujet.

Je la prie donc de s'inspirer des considérations esquissées dans cette pièce pour éclairer l'opinion publique autour d'elle, et redresser les erreurs de la presse généralement si mal informée.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) RASCHID.

Inclosure in No. 50.

Raschid Pasha to the Representatives of the Sublime Porte at Vienna, Berlin, and St. Petersburgh.

(Télégraphique.)

LES précédentes communications de mon Département ont fait connaître à votre Excellence quelle a été l'attitude du Monténégro vis-à-vis de l'insurrection Herzégovinienne.

Dès le début de cette malheureuse affaire, les trois Cabinets Impériaux, en en prévoyant le caractère particulier, avaient, dans le but de localiser la lutte et d'obtenir ainsi une prompte pacification, fait entendre à Cettigné des conseils et des représentations, et exercé même une salutaire pression pour amener le Monténégro à se renfermer dans les strictes limites d'une loyale neutralité. Cette action que la Sublime Porte a accueillie comme une nouvelle et précieuse preuve des dispositions bienveillantes et amicales des trois Cours et de leur résolution de l'aider moralement à entrer dans la voie de l'obéissance des sujets égarés, cette action n'a pas été malheureusement efficace. Le Prince Nicolas a tout promis, mais n'a aucunement réalisé ses promesses. Aujourd'hui il est avéré que les chefs des insurgés n'ont pas cessé un seul instant de prendre leur mot d'ordre à Cettigné ; le déplacement même dans ces derniers temps du théâtre de la lutte, rapproché complètement de la Principauté, témoigne qu'on ne se fait aucun scrupule de rendre le contact immédiat entre la révolte et la population de la Montagne-Noire. Les informations parvenues à la Sublime Porte, qu'elles émanent de ses autorités ou des sources différentes, établissent toute cette participation de façon à exclure jusqu'à l'ombre d'un doute ; et, comme si ce n'était pas assez, les faits, dont quelques-uns sont récents, se sont chargés de révéler la réalité. Ce serait, nous regrettons de le dire, se faire étrangement illusion que de prendre à la lettre les assurances de loyale neutralité du Prince Nicolas, ou d'ajouter créance entière à ses déclarations, lorsque, placé en présence de faits indéniables, il se dit débordé et impuissant à se faire obéir par son peuple entraîné. Aussi avons-nous toujours considéré l'attitude de cette Principauté comme la cause unique et permanente de la durée de l'insurrection et de la vitalité qu'on essaye de lui attribuer. Si l'on peut expliquer par les devoirs et les sentiments d'humanité, par les affinités de race et les relations établies entre populations qui vivent en rapports journaliers, que des milliers de familles aient été reçues, installées et abritées dans la Tchernagore, ce qui a permis à l'élément valide de cette partie de la population, ainsi dégagée de tout souci et de toute préoccupation, de se jeter dans l'insurrection, nous nous demandons comment l'on pourra expliquer l'envoi de vivres, d'armes et de munitions aux rebelles, la présence dans leurs rangs de bandes de Monténégrins, formées dans la Principauté ; la faculté laissée aux insurgés, qui, poursuivis par les troupes, cherchent un refuge derrière la ligne de démarcation, de se réformer en sûreté, de se ravitailler pour retourner reprendre la lutte, sans qu'on ait, comme corollaire de cette faculté, songé un seul instant à les interner, ainsi que l'exigent les règles les plus élémentaires de la neutralité.

Ainsi donc, le Monténégro alimente de toutes les façons l'insurrection ; il lui prodigue les vivres et les munitions ; il lui offre un refuge en cas de défaite ; il lui fournit un con-

tingent énorme, ainsi que l'ont révélé les derniers combats dans lesquels plusieurs milliers de Monténégrins étaient engagés.

Or, cette situation n'a pas cessé de préoccuper la Sublime Porte dont les efforts ont été, vous le savez, constamment dirigés vers une prompte pacification de l'Herzégovine, l'apaisement de la révolte, la cessation de l'effusion de sang; toutes choses qui, suivant notre ferme conviction, s'obtiendront aisément et rapidement, grâce aux moyens dont dispose le Gouvernement Impérial, si l'attitude du Monténégro s'accentue d'une manière correcte et conforme aux lois de la neutralité.

C'est dans cet ordre d'idées que, tout récemment encore, nous avons entretenu les Représentants des trois Cours Impériales, en leur faisant sentir que, pour que les vœux que leurs Souverains et les Ministres qui dirigent la politique de leur pays ont exprimés, de voir l'insurrection terminée rapidement, et qui répondent si bien au désir de notre auguste Maître et à celui de son Gouvernement, puissent se réaliser à bref délai, il est temps et grand temps que le Monténégro modifie sa ligne de conduite dans le sens que nous n'avons cessé de demander, et qu'il s'engage à persévérer dans la voie correcte où il sera entré. Ces Messieurs ont cru voir dans nos observations on ne peut plus justes et modérées une modification de nos dispositions et de nos tendances vis-à-vis de la Principauté; impression que nous nous sommes hâtés de faire disparaître, en ajoutant que les sentiments et les dispositions de la Sublime Porte envers le Monténégro n'avaient jamais cessé d'être bienveillants, et que précisément, pour leur conserver ce caractère, nous avons consenti en plus d'une occasion, et notamment dans les circonstances actuelles, à faire le sacrifice de nos plus légitimes griefs.

Messieurs les Représentants des dites Puissances s'étant réservés de prendre les instructions de leurs Gouvernements, il est probable que c'est par leur canal que nous recevrons la réponse à notre démarche.

J'ai cru, toutefois, devoir en entretenir votre Excellence pour qu'elle soit elle-même au courant, et veuille bien, dans le cas où elle serait interpellée, tenir un langage inspiré par les considérations ci-dessus résumées. Votre Excellence voudra bien en même temps inspirer et éclairer sur ces affaires la presse qui en a une notion insuffisante, afin de l'amener à une saine appréciation du véritable état de choses.

No. 51.

Règlement relatif aux Attributions du Conseil Exécutif.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, January 13.)

(Traduction.)

UN Conseil Exécutif permanent a été institué à la Sublime Porte en vue de mettre entièrement et graduellement à exécution, dans toutes les provinces de l'Empire, les dispositions du Firman Impérial, récemment promulgué, au sujet des réformes générales.

Ce Conseil, placé sous la présidence de son Altesse le Grand Vézir, est composé d'un nombre suffisant de membres permanents pris parmi les hautes dignitaires et autres fonctionnaires de l'État, et d'un Secrétaire-Général. Les Ministres en activité feront de droit partie de ce Conseil.

Les rapports des Ministères et des vilayets relatifs à l'exécution des dispositions du Firman Impérial seront référés au dit Conseil, qui est chargé de faire rédiger et transmettre sans retard tant les réponses aux questions qui pourraient être posées dans les dits rapports que les ordres Viziriels qu'il sera jugé nécessaire d'adresser pour les instructions et les explications à donner sur l'exécution des dispositions du Firman Impérial.

Les membres permanents du Conseil Exécutif se réuniront tous les jours et veilleront à la prompte et entière exécution de leur mandat. Les délibérations sur les affaires urgentes auront lieu sous la présidence de son Altesse le Grand Vézir et en présence de tous les membres conseillers ordinaires et extraordinaires.

Les membres permanents sont chargés de surveiller l'exécution des réformes dans les provinces; toutefois, vu la nécessité absolue d'exercer une surveillance incessante et de faire des investigations continuelles, un Comité de contrôle composé de personnes compétentes a été attaché à ce Conseil pour le fonctionnement permanent du service en question dans les provinces.

Le Conseil Exécutif étant ainsi chargé de veiller à l'exécution et au contrôle des mesures prévues, de leur côté, les délégués désignés par la confiance des populations sont autorisés à porter à la connaissance de la Sublime Porte toutes les plaintes légitimes ainsi

que tous les actes qui viendraient à se commettre contrairement à la justice et aux ordres de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan.

Le Conseil Exécutif, tout en veillant à l'exécution de ces réformes, est autorisé à étudier et à soumettre à la Sublime Porte d'autres projets de réformes.

Les attributions du Conseil Exécutif définies par le présent règlement recevront ultérieurement les développements que l'expérience aura rendus nécessaires pour activer l'effet des réformes décrétées.

No. 52.

Précis of a Despatch from the Duc Decazes to M. d'Harcourt, dated Paris, January 4, 1876, *and communicated to the Earl of Derby, January* 13.

THE Duc Decazes begins by referring to his telegram of January 3, informing M. d'Harcourt of the communication of the Austrian proposals for the pacification of the Herzegovina, and of the manner in which the French Government were disposed to receive them.

The Duke states that he has nothing to add to his observations already suggested by the Vienna note, and incloses in his despatch the text of the Austrian proposals.

Austria, his Excellency goes on to say, considers the reforms promised by the Porte in the Iradé of October 2, and in the Firman of December 12, as well-timed concessions ("concessions heureuses"), which form the basis of an important improvement in the condition of the Christians of Turkey, provided that they are really carried out. The particular reforms which she demands are only the development of principles laid down in former acts of the Sultan, and their application to the present state of affairs.

The Duc Decazes says that on this account he sees in the Austrian programme nothing absolutely new, certainly nothing unexpected, and consequently nothing which need cause anxiety to the Porte, or embarrass the Powers.

As regards the guarantees which the Cabinet of Vienna proposes to demand from the Porte, the despatch affirms that they are justified by precedent. The document setting forth the privileges claimed in 1856 by France, England, and Austria, in favour of the Christian populations (the Hatti Humayoun), was communicated to the Powers who signed the Treaty of Paris, and the most solemn form was thus given to the engagement made.

To require at the present moment from Turkey the communication from the Governments of the document which is to replace the "Hatti Humayoun," is only to ask that she should renew a step which she did not consider in any way as contrary to her dignity, when it was a question of her assuming a position as a European nation upon this condition.

To refuse to accept the Austrian proposals would now place the Ottoman Empire in a most critical position.

The Duc Decazes then says that, though unwilling to exaggerate the insurrection in the Herzegovina, it is yet impossible to overlook the sensation it has created, and which has found an especially powerful voice in the English press.

It would be dangerous to reject the offer which has for its object the termination of the insurrection in the Herzegovina, for it is impossible to mistake the extent of the complications which will inevitably arise in a few weeks if the Porte has not been able before then to obtain the assistance of the Powers to put an end to the war.

The Duc Decazes also incloses a despatch from M. de Vogüé, which his Excellency says will show M. d'Harcourt that this danger is felt at Vienna, where the result of the steps taken at Constantinople is anxiously awaited. The Duke states that he had already instructed M. d'Harcourt to communicate with Her Majesty's Ministers on these matters, and that he has to-day again recurred to the subject in a fresh telegram.

The direction of Eastern affairs used to rest formerly with France and England, but it has now passed into other hands; nevertheless, what they are now asked to do does not in reality differ from the policy which they themselves formerly pursued. The Duc Decazes here states that he does not entirely adopt the views of M. de Vogüé with respect to the XIth Article of the Treaty of Paris. The signatories of the Treaty of Paris never intended that this Article, in stipulating for non-intervention in the internal administrations of the Turkish Empire, should prevent them from making their observations to the Porte, if the "Hatti" were not carried out.

France and England, in fact, have often intervened, either to obtain the execution of engagements, or to solicit fresh concessions.

The Duke asks what will happen if the Sultan engages again now by an official communication to carry out certain reforms determined upon? And his answer is: That which has taken place since the Treaty of Paris. If circumstances compel it, the Cabinet will address their observations to Constantinople, and they will obtain the success which circumstances permit. The question of right will remain the same, and the reciprocal duties of the Sultan and the Powers will remain unchanged. The French Government have, therefore, no reason for not approving the Austrian proposals, and trust that if the English Government feel any hesitation, it will disappear when they consider the common interest which they share with France in maintaining the principle of a joint action, especially at a moment when every effort is necessary to prevent the extension of the insurrection in the Herzegovina to the whole of Turkey, and the danger which would result therefrom to the general peace of Europe.

Inclosure in No. 52.

Memorandum of Despatch addressed by M. Vogüé from Vienna to the Duc Decazes.

Vienna, January 1, 1876.

M. VOGÜÉ had telegraphed to the Duc Decazes concerning the communication which had been made to him by Count Andrassy, consisting of a despatch addressed by him to Count Apponyi, and inclosing the proposals of the three Northern Courts relative to the pacification of the Herzegovina. M. Vogüé says, that, as a copy of this despatch must have been transmitted to the Duc Decazes by the Ambassador of Austria-Hungary, he will not dwell on it any further; at the same time he thinks he ought to give an account of the conversations which he had on the 1st January with Count Andrassy and with the Russian Ambassador.

He says that the Duke is aware of the part which both the above have taken in the negotiations which have preceded the framing of this despatch; that he will be interested in knowing their commentaries on their common work, at the moment when he will himself be called upon to deliberate on the serious determinations in which the French Government is invited to take part.

Count Andrassy had invited M. Vogüé to come and call upon him at the Foreign Office on the 1st January at noon.

The Italian Minister and the English Ambassador had received similar invitations —one for 11 o'clock, the other for 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

The Minister began by drawing a picture of the general situation, not very different from one which he had drawn a few days previously. He spoke of the necessity of pacifying the insurgent provinces of Turkey; the complications which would inevitably arise in the spring if this end were not attained; the impotence of the Ottoman Government; the inefficacy of the reforms which it had promulgated; the incredulity with which the insurgent provinces would receive the promises, which besides, from the very terms of the Firman, were not made to them. A European sanction was necessary to cause the insurgent provinces to accept the reforms announced and the additional practical measures which the three Courts had studied. This sanction possibly existed in the official communications which would be made by the Porte to the guaranteeing Powers of the sovereign acts which would contain the programme of the reforms granted. If this communication was obtained, as it must be, the situation might be temporarily averted. Measures might then be taken with the insurgent provinces and neighbouring Principalities, not by means of an armed intervention—an idea which Count Andrassy rejected—but by all available means to cause the one party to submit, the other to refrain. He did not conceal from himself the difficulties which would attend this work; at the same time, he did not despair of success, if once the Porte gained a footing, and the co-operation of Europe was secured. This was the only means, he said, of ending so perilous a situation. Two Powers especially were interested in warding off these threatening contingencies and in maintaining the *status quo*, viz., Austria-Hungary and France—both required peace and time. At the same time, he relied on our discretion; he had taken measures that the document of which he remitted me a copy should not be made public; it was on his part an act of deference towards the Powers who had had no share in framing it; he did not wish

to be suspected of having asked them to record decisions taken in which they had had no share.

M. de Vogüé said that, without prejudging the opinion of his Government, he could affirm that you would receive this communication with the desire to strengthen and develop the understanding to which he invited us, but with the feeling of reserve suitable to our present situation.

"Do not be so modest," replied Count Andrassy; "after having been delivered from such trials as yours—after having shown, as your country and Government have, such prudence, activity, and wealth—you have a right to be heard, and not to be too modest. France has still a large share in European matters, and I will not dispute it with her."

Pleased at having drawn forth this declaration, M. Vogüé dwelt on the community of interests between the two countries, and added, that England's co-operation was required to give a European character to the proceedings.

Count Andrassy only said that he hoped for Lord Derby's adhesion, that he had taken account of his scruples in avoiding in his despatch any infringement of the sovereignty of the Sultan, and that he had no reason to believe that the English Cabinet wished to keep aloof.

During the prolongation of the conversation, Count Andrassy showed himself more and more cordial and sympathetic; but on the arrival of Sir A. Buchanan, M. Vogüé took his leave, to keep an appointment with M. Novikoff.

The Russian Ambassador had announced his visit with an urgency which was remarkable; he seemed anxious to discuss a subject which, for more than a month, he had been obliged to avoid. After the first words, in spite of his care entirely to exonerate his Government, and to declare that he was only speaking in his own name, M. Vogüé understood that he wished seriously to call his attention, and consequently that of the Duc Decazes, to certain definitive points. He, too, drew a gloomy picture of possible complications in the East; speaking as if he was well informed, and very sure of the sentiments he advanced, he insisted on the necessity of rallying round Count Andrassy's project; and on this occasion he dwelt on the opinion he had of Count Andrassy's sincerity, and of the importance of supporting him. M. Novikoff said that Count Andrassy's policy was the only one which could succeed in bringing the present undertaking to a successful issue. It is essentially a policy of *statu quo*, adverse to intervention, and to annexations. Were the active and warlike policy to prevail, it is not he who would be charged with applying it.

Count Andrassy knows it very well; he knows that if the military spirit gains the ascendant, he will have to give place to a Ministry with Slav and Federalist tendencies. Then would be the danger; then there would be cause to fear all the complications, all the conflicts. The present effort must succeed.

M. Novikoff having asked M. Vogüé's opinion on the document of which he had received a communication, the latter replied (after giving an assurance that he was only speaking from personal views) that to his mind the document might be summed up briefly; he passed over counsels of reforms, and plans of commissions, mixed and otherwise; they were not far removed from the propositions of the Porte, and would doubtless have the same destiny; institutions, reforms, might be discussed, but, according to his idea, the question lay in the official communication demanded from the Porte, and in the engagement which it implies. It cannot be gainsaid, it is the destruction, pure and simple, of Article IX of the Treaty of Paris.

M. Novikoff agreed that that was the only important and serious point, for it is an engagement that is asked for, the word is there, but he did not admit that it destroyed the Treaty of Paris, it completes it: in 1856 the Powers committed a grave error in actually imposing on Turkey the framing of the Hatti-Humayoun, and in establishing the importance of this document they destroyed in advance the object of the communication which was made to them in it. They had the weakness to tie their own hands; to nullify an act for the execution of which there was no guarantee, and the non-execution of which was secured with impunity in advance; this fault committed, the signatories of the Treaty of Paris recognize and repair it with one accord; they do not destroy, they improve their work; and they make it without endangering peace, for it is Europe which speaks in defence of the cause of humanity and of justice, and to put a stop to a state of things which compromised its dignity and security.

M. Vogüé agreed, but observed that this unanimity implies the co-operation of England, and is it likely she will agree to a measure at variance with her doctrines.

M. Novikoff answered that it was a delicate point, but that England was placed in the position of having to choose the least of two evils.

He went on in an impressive manner to speak of what he dreaded in the future, the massacres, insurrections, complications, &c., descanting on the opinion which showed itself in Austria and Turkey, and on the impossibility of circumscribing the struggle. He insisted afresh on the part the French might play, did they obtain the co-operation of England.

He recalled to M. Vogüé the efforts of his Government to transform into an European question, a question which at the outset was endeavoured to be worked out by itself. He drew forth from M. Vogüé the remark that the Russian Cabinet had, in this circumstance, proved its disinterestedness, its comprehension of the wants of Europe; those of France in particular; that this should be taken into account that, in this concert, the part taken by Russia was the best, perhaps the only guarantee of peace; that England must know and understand it; that the Turks must agree to what is demanded of them, they must take it or leave it.

In conclusion, M. Vogüé states to the Duc Decazes that the act demanded by the three Northern Courts appears to be the sequel of the campaign undertaken by Russia against the Treaty of Paris, only that in re-entering the Black Sea she assured to herself an exclusive advantage, whereas now she pursues an European interest. If she draws the signitaries of the Treaty into a step which leads the Porte to subscribe to their collective will, she will virtually have destroyed the independence of the Ottoman Empire, and have given to Europe alone the right to take a part, at a given moment, in her internal affairs; in any case, she will have assured eventually to the Christian populations the sole guarantee compatible with the at least nominal preservation of Turkey.

M. Vogüé proceeds to say that he will not here examine if, from an exclusively French point of view, this situation would be preferable to the actual situation which French traditions had created; he limits himself to stating that to judge from the language of M. Novikoff, the Russian Government attach the greatest importance to the step that they advocate; that they see in it the best, perhaps the only, chance of preserving peace in the spring, and that they are pre-occupied with one point only, the adhesion of England; and he concludes by saying that if the Duc Decazes can bring about this adhesion, he will, in the eyes of the Russian Cabinet, have rendered a signal service to Europe, and improved the relations between the two countries.

No. 53.

Acting Consul Summa to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received January* 13, 1876.)

(No. 46. Consulaire.)

Scutari, le 28 Décembre, 1875.

My Lord,

J'AI l'honneur de transmettre à votre Seigneurie ci-inclus copie d'une dépêche que je viens d'adresser aujourd'hui à son Excellence l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté à Constantinople, concernant le rétour de Podgoritza de son Excellence Echref Pacha, Gouverneur de Scutari; les motifs qui l'ont engagé à s'y rendre, et les renforts que le Monténégro continue à envoyer toujours aux insurgés de l'Herzégovine.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) F. SUMMA.

Inclosure in No. 53.

Acting Consul Summa to Sir H. Elliot.

Scutari, le 28 Décembre, 1875.

Excellence,

J'AI l'honneur de rapporter à votre Excellence que depuis quelques jours son Excellence Echref Pacha, Gouverneur de Scutari, est retourné de Podgoritza, où il s'était rendu pour inspecter les troupes qui s'y trouvent et pour visiter les fortins qui sont sur les frontières, et le nouveau fortin, "Asisié," élevé entre Podgoritza et Spuz aux sommets d'une haute montagne nommé Risileaja. Ce nouveau fortin a été muni par trois pièces de canons et domine quelques villages Monténégrins.

En outre, pendant qu'il se trouvait à Podgoritza, Echref Pacha a rassemblés tous les Chefs des montagnes, appartenants entièrement au culte Catholique, et leur a demandé s'ils aideraient le Gouvernement Impérial en cas de nécessité.

Les Chefs d'unanimité lui ont répondu qu'ils étaient toujours fidèles au Gouvernement de la Sublime Porte, et qu'au premier signal qu'on leur donnerait ils seraient tous prêts à marcher contre les ennemis du Sultan.

Par cette démarche le Gouverneur de Scutari, dans le but de connaître les intentions des montagnards des environs, s'est assuré qu'il pourra compter sur leur coopération au cas d'une rupture avec le Monténégro, et, en ce qui concerne ce dernier, comme j'ai toujours eu l'honneur de rapporter à votre Excellence, le Monténégro n'a cessé, dès le commencement, d'alimenter la révolte d'Herzégovine, envoyant sur les lieux un grand nombre de Monténégrins, ce qu'il continue à faire toujours, et il n'est pas question, ainsi que le Prince déclare, d'un petit nombre de Monténégrins joints aux insurgés malgré ses ordres, mais bien de Monténégrins combattants par milliers, et ayant en tête des capitaines Monténégrins bien connus; et sans le consentement du Prince, un si grand nombre de Monténégrins n'aurait jamais pû se réunir aux insurgés, et d'après les informations les plus dignes de foi le doute à cet égard n'est pas permis.

En ce qui concerne la ville de Niksitch, je ne puis que me référer à ma précédente dépêche, datée du 30 Novembre dernier, car la place se trouve toujours dans la même situation. D'après les renseignements les plus authentiques une grande bataille y est attendue d'un jour à l'autre, et tout porte à croire que cette bataille sera décisive; car Réouf Pacha, ayant réunies des forces considérables, a pour but de ravitailler Niksitch, et les insurgés eux-mêmes très-nombreux, tâchent de l'en empêcher. Le bruit s'est répandu même que cette bataille a eu lieu et que les troupes Impériales ont remporté la victoire; toutefois, il faut pour y croire que cette nouvelle soit confirmée, et le jour sur ce sujet ne tardera pas à se faire.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) F. SUMMA.

No. 54.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(No. 15.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 13, 1876.

THE Austrian Ambassador called on the 10th instant, and said he was instructed to contradict a statement which had appeared in the "Times" to the effect that Count Zichy had communicated to the Porte the note which Count Andrassy had addressed to the Powers respecting the reforms in Turkey.

There was no truth whatever in this, and Count Andrassy felt so strongly the impropriety of such a proceeding that, had Count Zichy committed this indiscretion, he would have felt it his duty to recommend to the Emperor his recall.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 55.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 26.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 13, 1876.

I HAVE within the last two days had the honour of interviews with the French, German, and Russian Ambassadors respectively. They all concurred in expressing the strong desire of their Governments that England should not hold aloof from the representation which all the other European Powers were about to address to the Porte in favour of the acceptance of Count Andrassy's note. They urged upon me the extreme danger which would arise from a refusal on the part of the Porte to entertain their plan of pacification, the moderation of the measures proposed, and the fact that, in supporting the note, Her Majesty's Government would not in the slightest degree pledge themselves to ulterior steps, should such be taken or contemplated by any of the other Powers.

I do not think it necessary to reproduce at length the arguments employed by them.

I stated in reply that, considering the importance of the question, it was absolutely

necessary that the Cabinet should be consulted upon it, and that it was, therefore, out of power to give any answer until next week.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 56.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 14, 1876.)

(No. 24. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna Serai, December 30, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that assemblies of the chief Mussulmans of this town have lately been held in some of the mosques and at the private houses of influential persons. Numerous are the reports as to the object of these meetings, and they have created a certain amount of alarm amongst the European and Christian population. I have found it exceedingly difficult to obtain any really reliable information as to the subjects under discussion, but I believe the following particulars to be tolerably accurate:—

It would appear that the Bosnian Mussulmans have prepared a petition to the Sultan, making grave complaints against the Government officials of the province. I am not aware that they implicate any of the authorities in particular, or bring any special accusations against them, but they state that they have indirectly been the cause of the present insurrection by maladministration, and by stirring up the mutual hatred and jealousy of Christians and and Turks. They represent to His Majesty that formerly they lived as brothers with the Rayah population, and would seem to imply that the present unsatisfactory relations have only been engendered since the introduction of the "Tanzimat" by the Serdar Ekrem Omer Pasha some five-and-twenty years ago, and they ask permission to be allowed to make their own terms with the insurgents. In fact, their aim appears to be to restore the feudal system that existed formerly in these provinces, and to reduce the Christian peasants to their ancient state of serfdom; in their ignorance, believing that it can be done, and that it would restore tranquillity to the country. It is also stated that they have protested against the nomination of a Christian to the newly-created Mutessarifflik of Gatzko.

There is no doubt that the position of the Christians, especially of the townspeople, has immeasurably improved during the last quarter of a century; but I do not think that the agricultural population is materially much better off than it was thirty years ago, when the native "Beys" and "Spahis" were all powerful. Every proprietor was then supreme master of the peasants located on his lands, and, in a rude way, afforded them protection. Cases of ill-usage were doubtless not uncommon, but as the peasant could look to no one for redress for his grievances, it was his interest to endeavour to content and conciliate his master. Of late years, however, he has been taught to look to the Ottoman Government and its employés for protection, and under a just administration he would have found his position greatly ameliorated; but as the motive power of the whole system of Government has been bribery, corruption, and religious fanaticism, a most uneven justice has been meted out in all cases between rich and poor, between Mussulman and Christian, and the complaints of the latter have not only, as a rule, brought down upon him the chastisement of his Government, but they have also been the cause of his incurring the hatred of his master and oppressor.

No doubt the Ottoman officials have much to answer for, but it may also be said in their defence that they are so tied down in all their actions by the local Medglisses that the Governor of a Province or a district, possessed of the best intentions, is almost powerless to do good or to administer justice. Anything like Municipal Government I believe to be quite impossible in the present ignorant and fanatical state of the population, both Christian and Mussulman, and, if any reforms are to be carried out in this Province, every Medgliss must, I think for a time at least, be swept away, and the Mutessarifs, Kaimakams, and Mudirs alone held responsible for the administration of their respective districts. The central authority of the Province would thus have a much greater control over what passes in the distant rural districts, and an honest and capable Governor-General might hope to see his orders fairly executed, which is almost impossible now when every matter has to be referred to the Medgliss.

The present Mutessarif of Serajevo and Vice-Governor of the Province, Ibrahim Bey, appears to be a sensible and just man, and yet acts of injustice and maladministration, which he is, I fear, powerless to control, are even at this critical period of daily occurrence. The following cases selected from numerous ones that have come under my notice within the last few months will prove to your Excellency the correctness of my assertions:

A short time before the harvest, when the tithes were being sold, the inhabitants of a Christian village called Sokolich, about eight miles from Serajevo, offered to compute with Government for their village, according to their right, for a sum of 6,000 piastres. The offer, however, was considered too small, and was refused. Not long after, a violent hail-storm caused much damage to the crops, and the Government could not obtain, even from any speculator, so good an offer as had been made by the peasants. These latter were therefore called and told to pay the 6,000 piastres they had offered. To this they demurred, as in the meantime their crops had been damaged, and a number of them were consequently thrown into prison. They at last paid 4,000 piastres; but as they declared they could not give more, they were still kept in confinement, and it was not till the month of October, after the arrival of Ibrahim Bey, that they were released.

An orthodox Christian peasant, named Peyo Komianovich, of the village of Radjich, in the district of Yaïtza, sandjak of Travnik, is the possessor of some land which has been held by his family for several generations. About fifteen years ago, his neighbour, Imam Shakir, a Mussulman, coveted one of the fields nearest to his house, and declared that he was the rightful owner thereof. The affair was brought before the Cadi of Yaïtza (who, it appears, had some sense of justice), the title-deeds were examined, and judgment given in favour of Komianovich. Four years ago the Cadi of Yaïtza was changed, and Shakir again endeavoured to obtain possession of the field; this time with better success, for although the Cadi had accepted from the Christian a bribe of seven ducats, he finally decided in favour of his co-religionist. Komianovich, however, refused to give up the field, and, in August last, Shakir, assisted by three friends, broke down the inclosure and carried off some hay and eight or ten sheep which he found in the field. On this the Christian came to Serajevo to obtain redress, and the Vice-Governor, Ibrahim Bey, ordered the Mutessarif of Travnik to see that the stolen property was restored and all damage made good. The order was disregarded, and the Christian again repaired to Serajevo, bringing his title-deeds to prove his right of proprietorship. They were examined and found to be in order, and Ibrahim Bey forwarded them to the Mutessarif of Travnik for inspection, with orders to deliver them to Komianovich, and to see that he was not molested any further regarding his property. Again the order was disregarded, and the authorities at Travnik even refused to give up the title-deeds. Finally, about fifteen days ago, Komianovich repaired for the third time to Serajevo, and again Ibrahim Bey has ordered the title-deeds to be restored immediately to their owner, with what result I do not yet know.

A certain Osman Aga, of Vranduk, is the owner of a small village of some six houses. His share of the crops, that is to say, one-third of the total produce, realizes this year 42 ducats, and yet the tax-collectors have extorted the sum of 105 ducats from the poor peasants as the amount of the "aushr" or tithe on agricultural produce due by them. In recounting this, Osman Agar remarked that it was not astonishing that the Rayahs had taken up arms against the Government.

About a month ago, an Austrian subject named Jean Udilak was attacked and robbed between Serajevo and Visoka by nine Bashi-Bazouks. The act was witnessed by a respectable Mussulman of this town named Nouri Aga Varinika, and he was called as a witness when the affair was brought before the Serajevo Tribunal. His testimony was in favour of the Austrian, and the next day he was sent for by the Vice-President and one of the members of the Tribunal, and threatened with imprisonment for daring to testify against his co-religionists.

For the baggage-horses requisitioned at Serajevo for Government service, the peasants are now paid at the rate of 3 piastres an hour per horse, instead of 1½ piastre, as formerly, and they are usually paid in advance as far as Konitza, the frontier of the Herzegovina. This is very liberal remuneration, and on such terms the peasants would always be willing to perform the service required of them. But when they get to Konitza, the authorities, who are either unwilling or unable to find other animals, force the peasants to proceed to Mostar, and thence often to the insurgent districts, for which they are never paid, and often in the end lose their animals. Last week I had occasion to send two cases to Mr. Consul Holmes at Mostar. It was with the greatest difficulty I could get a horse. At last a Mussulman peasant presented himself and accepted the load, but said he must hire a cart to take it about three miles distance, where he had his horses, which he did not dare bring into the town, as they would instantly be seized for Government service. The brother of a servant in my employ, the owner of three horses, had them seized about three months ago to carry part of the baggage of a battalion of Bosnian Redif proceeding to

Mostar. On the road, some of the soldiers threatened him, and thinking his life in danger, he ran away, leaving his animals. Up to this moment he has been able to obtain no redress; nor has he succeeded in recovering his horses. This is only one amongst many similar cases.

To give an idea also of the kind of men who, even at the present day, obtain responsible situations under Government, I may mention that a certain Mehmet Aga, who has served as Kavass in several of the foreign Consulates of this town, and from all of which he was turned away for his stupidity—a man also that can neither read nor write—has just been named Mudir of Busovatz, a district on the Brood road, about forty miles from Serajevo.

I could, if necessary, cite to your Excellency many other examples of the mal-administration which at the present moment obtains in this province, but I think that the cases I have recounted, ones that I have been able personally to verify, sufficiently depict the incapacity and corruption of the Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 57.

*Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received January* 14, *at night.*)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, January* 13, 1876, 9 P.M.

RASCHID PASHA says that unless the Austrian proposal is altogether objectionable, the Porte would much prefer that Her Majesty's Government should join in it, and not leave it in presence of Powers not so favourably disposed.

No. 58.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot

(No. 27.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 14, 1876.

THE Austrian Ambassador visited me at Knowsley on the 6th instant, in order to give me some verbal explanations on the subject of Count Andrassy's proposals for the pacification of the Herzegovina. His Excellency had already forwarded a copy of Count Andrassy's despatch for my perusal.

Count Beust and I discussed fully in conversation the various points of Count Andrassy's proposals, though I strictly guarded myself from being understood to express any formal opinion, or from committing the Government in any way, until I had had the opportunity of consulting my colleagues.

On leaving Knowsley, Count Beust left a note with me impressing upon me the expediency of avoiding, as far as possible, any reservations in our support of the Austrian representations. Any appearance of reserve, his Excellency remarked, must necessarily diminish the salutary effect which would be produced by the united effort of the European Powers to induce the contending parties to accept an arrangement. Count Beust added that, in his opinion, Her Majesty's Government, in accepting the Austrian proposals unreservedly, could even diminish their own responsibility, and throw it more upon the authors of the proposals than if they attempted to introduce modifications.

On the 13th instant, Count Beust, having heard that a paragraph in Count Andrassy's despatch had been construed as indicating an intention on the part of the Austrian Government to intervene, in the event of the insurgents continuing the conflict after the proposed reforms had been accepted by the Porte, wrote to me again to state that he was authorized by his Government to disclaim categorically any such intention.

I thanked Count Beust for his note, stating that I had never myself attached the interpretation he mentioned to any passage of Count Andrassy's despatch. I did not, therefore, require his disclaimer, though I was glad to have received it, in case I should hear expressed by others the suspicion to which he referred.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

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* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

No. 59.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 28.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 14, 1876.

THE Turkish Ambassador called upon me on the 13th instant, and proceeded to discuss the question of the Austrian note. He argued, in strong terms, against the possibility of its being accepted by the Porte. Such a course, he said, would be suicidal. The certainty of war, or the loss of a province, would be a less evil than submission to what the Sultan could only regard as an insult. It would be fatal to his influence over his own subjects, and the discontent which would be produced by such a step would even endanger his throne. He assured me that whatsoever advice might be given, or whoever might give it, the Turkish Government must decline to accept the note.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 60.

*Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received January* 15.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, January* 13, 1876, 6 P.M.

I HAVE sent the following to Her Majesty's Consul at Belgrade:—

"Is there any truth in a report which has reached the Porte that the police on the frontier (near Novi Bazar) have been replaced by regular troops, that artillery has been sent there, and line of telegraph established? An attack is stated to be meditated upon the Turkish villages in that neighbourhood, from four separate points."

No. 61.

*Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received January* 15.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, January* 13, 1876, 9·40 P.M.

I FOUND Raschid Pasha to-day extremely well disposed to receive the communication proposed by the Austrian Government in a good spirit.

He said, however, that the Porte is greatly perplexed by the difference between language held by Prince Gortchakow to the Turkish Ambassador at St. Petersburg and that of General Ignatiew here.

The former strongly urges a favourable reception, while the latter represents the project as preposterous.

Raschid Pasha asked whether I thought that the Ambassador was acting under instructions, or upon his own impulse.

I said that, in my opinion, General Ignatiew was actuated partly by personal feeling against Count Andrassy, and partly by the wish, which he had always shown, to inspire the Porte with distrust of Austria.

The Porte ought, therefore, to listen to him with caution.

No. 62.

*Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received January* 15.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, January* 14, 1876.

GENERAL IGNATIEW tells me that he has telegraphed to Prince Gortchakow that Count Andrassy's proposal is certain to be rejected if some equivalent is not promised in return.

I think this doubtful. He evidently means that an engagement should be got from Austria to close the Dalmatian frontier.

I told him that I thought the Porte would be satisfied with an understanding that

* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

it should not be interfered with if extreme measures were found necessary towards Montenegro to enforce neutrality. I believe that the moral obligation under which Austria would lie to prevent further assistance from being afforded to insurgents from her territories would be considered sufficient as regards Dalmatia, without any distinct promise to that effect.

Porte appears entitled to expect an understanding on both these points.

No. 63.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Lyons.

(No. 42. Confidential.)
Foreign Office, January 15, 1876.

My Lord,

THE Marquis d'Harcourt called upon me on the 18th instant, and read to me confidentially a despatch addressed to him by the Duc Decazes, inclosing, and commenting on, a despatch which the French Government had received from the French Ambassador at Vienna, on the subject of the Austrian project for the pacification of the Herzegovina.

His Excellency said that he was not authorized to give me copies of these papers, but he was good enough to allow me to take the accompanying *précis* of their substance.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 64.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received January* 16, *noon.*)

(Telegraphic.)
Constantinople, January 16, 1876.

I HAVE received the following from Mr. White, dated yesterday :—

"Nothing is known here about movement of any regular troops towards Novi Bazar. It is not probable, but artillery might be sent from the depôt without it being known at Belgrade. From what I am assured, it is believed that Servia is not likely to commit any provocation, as long as Montenegro is not directly concerned, or the Porte does not attack them. The latter alternative always considered possible here. All endeavours to contract a foreign loan have failed hitherto."

No. 65.

*Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received January* 16.)

(Telegraphic.)
Constantinople, January 16, 1876.

RASCHID PASHA suspects, from Musurus Pasha's report, that, in communicating to your Lordship the instruction stating that the Porte would not accept the identic note, his Excellency did not add to the declaration its readiness always to listen to the representation of friendly Governments.

He is anxious that it should not be thought that the Porte is decided to reject a communication in which the forms due to an independent Government are observed.

No. 66.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 31.)
Foreign Office, January 16, 1876.

Sir,

HER Majesty's Government approved the language which your Excellency held to Count Zichy, with reference to the affairs of the insurgent provinces, as reported in your despatch No. 864 of the 24th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

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* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Rome, Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburgh.

No. 67.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received January* 17.)

(No. 2.)
Mostar, January 3, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch of the 31st December, 1875, addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, regarding the reports of the relief of Nichsich. Up to the present moment I am unable to give any precise information. The authorities declare that Nichsich has been relieved, but from all other sources this is flatly contradicted. However, supposing that the Turks have succeeded—which, with their large force, one would think most probable, it is only a detail of the war, and is not likely, I think, to influence the condition of the insurrection.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure in No. 67.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Mostar, December 31, 1875.

ON the 28th instant I telegraphed to your Excellency as follows :—

"Nichsich is said to be revictualled, but the return of the Governor-General intercepted; all this is also contradicted. Impossible to learn what is passing. On the night of the 25th Selim Pasha, with three guns and reinforcements, left this in haste and secretly. Bashi-Bazouks refused to march. New Commander-in-chief arrives to-day. Constant Effendi has gone to Constantinople."

To-day a Christian merchant who left Gatzko on Wednesday, and arrived here to-day, reports that Raouf Pasha is at Kristach in face of the insurgents, that fighting has been going on since Monday without any decisive result, and that numbers of wounded soldiers are daily brought into Gatzko. He also says that Selim Pasha is at Gatzko with three battalions and a thousand baggage horses, awaiting orders to march with the convoy of provisions for Nichsich, but that when he left they were still there, and that Nichsih had not been relieved. This statement is confirmed by a telegram from the Russian Consul at Ragusa to my Russian colleague here.

If sometimes my despatches contradict reports previously sent, I beg your Excellency to take into consideration the enormous difficulty of learning with any accuracy what is passing. Between the enforced silence of the Turkish population, the untruthfulness of official information, and the exaggerations of the Christians, it is almost impossible for me to decide to telegraph news which I am almost certain to hear contradicted the next day. Your Excellency will notice the incorrectness of the information that Nichsich was relieved, given me by Server Pasha, as reported in my despatch of the 23rd instant.

I hear that his Excellency is recalled, and that Raouf Pasha is appointed Imperial Commissioner in addition to his functions as Governor-General. I am sure this will produce an excellent effect, and hope that I shall be better able to ascertain from him what really occurs than from Server Pasha. Raouf Pasha has shown great energy and courage, and the people speak of him with respect, which they are far from doing with regard to Server Pasha.

Ahmet Mouktar Pasha left yesterday morning for Gatzko, and I expect Raouf Pasha will soon return to Mostar.

When Selim Pasha was summoned from Mostar 500 Bashi-Bazouks were also demanded. They refused flatly to march, saying they were not soldiers, of whom there were quite enough, and whose duty it was to protect the country. Server Pasha gave them a day to reflect upon their decision, but they held to it, and the matter was allowed to drop.

If your Excellency should see Constant Effendi, and he has the courage to state the truth, he could give you a good idea of the state of affairs. I believe his object is to impress on the Government the absolute necessity of being prepared to facilitate the return of the Herzegovinian refugees, to assist them with money to rebuild their houses, to furnish them with seed for the next harvest, to feed them until that time, and to give them efficacious protection from the Turkish inhabitants.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 68.

Rashid Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, January 17, 1876.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 15 Janvier, 1876.*

RECU télégramme No. spécial 16.

Nous sommes très reconnaissants du langage et des sentiments de Lord Derby pour la sauvegarde des droits Souverains de la Sublime Porte. En même temps je crois devoir donner à votre Excellence quelques explications nécessaires sur le sens et la partie de mon télégramme circulaire du 3 Janvier, No. spécial 1. Ce que, en effet, le Gouvernement avait en vue en adressant cette dépêche, c'était de bien inspirer à ses Représentants son intention de décliner la forme de la remise proprement dite de la Note Andrassy, dont on nous faisait absolument un mystère, dont la presse de tous côtés assurait et . . . . . la teneur comme devant être très-hostile à nos intérêts, pour laquelle, enfin, on nous affirmait également de toutes parts qu'elle nous serait remise sous une forme identique, ou, dans tous les cas, signée par les Représentants des Puissances, de manière que nous eussions été obligés de répondre aussi par écrit, et *vice versâ*.

Voilà ce que nous étions précisément résolus à décliner, et ce que j'ai fait clairement entendre dans ma circulaire en question. Sans cela, il était, et il est encore bien entendu, que nous ne saurions refuser, ce qui, d'ailleurs, ne nous est jamais entré dans la pensée, d'écouter toute communication qui nous serait faite sous une forme non écrite, non signée et non remise ainsi officiellement entre nos mains, mais bien sous forme, par exemple, de communication verbale; car, dès lors, cette dernière serait censée revêtir le caractère d'un échange amical d'idées et d'observations que nous sérions évidemment heureux d'accueillir, par la raison qu'elle serait inspirée par la bienveillance des Puissances à notre égard, et que surtout la forme serait ainsi en dehors de forme officielle écrite de nature à froisser le sentiment de dignité d'un Gouvernement.

A l'heure qu'il est, nous croyons savoir que la Note du Comte Andrassy relative à des projets de réforme dans l'Herzégovine et en Bosnie serait portée à notre connaissance sous forme de communication verbale; et nous recevons de tous côtés des assurances comme quoi son contenu ne serait point de nature à léser les intérêts de l'Empire et à blesser le sentiment national. En outre, on nous assure que l'acceptation par la Porte du complément de réformes du projet du Comte Andrassy amènera nécessairement la pacification immédiate des districts insurgés.

Nous sommes donc, en présence du nouvel état de choses, tout disposés à écouter, sous la forme voulue que je viens de mentionner, les bons conseils des Puissances, et à faire nos observations là-dessus. Nous tenons avant tout que le Cabinet de St. James, s'inspirant de nos réserves qui vous ont été déjà exposées par mon dit télégramme circulaire, et que je viens de vous expliquer plus longuement, veuille bien ne pas se tenir à l'écart du concert que forment les Puissances garantes pour nous aider dans la pacification de l'Herzégovine, car c'est sur lui que la Sublime Porte a toujours compté *ab antiquo* dans toutes les questions vitales qui l'ont concernée, et c'est encore sur son concours puissant et son appui éminemment bienveillant que nous comptons.

No. 69.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 17.)

(No. 24.) *Berlin, January 15, 1876.*

My Lord,

SINCE the communication of the Austrian note to the Governments of England, France, and Italy, public opinion in Germany has been unusually agitated and apprehensive.

The rapid acceptance by Italy of the Austrian proposal gave general satisfaction, while the first news from Paris that the French Government would previously consult with that of England was the cause of great irritation, and produced angry remarks in the press about a revival of the Western Alliance against the Northern Alliance, all of which gave way to a chorus of praise as soon as the acceptance of the Austrian note by France became known at Berlin.

Great impatience for the decision of Her Majesty's Government was then expressed, and although some of the newspapers explained that no answer could be returned to the Austrian Government before Her Majesty's Ministers had met in London to take the

note into consideration, every sort and kind of absurd interpretation was put upon the delay, culminating in war rumours and a panic at the Bourse.

To the many anxious questions put to me on the subject, I have replied that the decision of Her Majesty's Government would be taken in the interest of peace, and that any and every apprehension in a contrary sense was unfounded.

The general impression appears to be that, if Her Majesty's Government encourage the Turkish Government in their resistance to the advice of the Northern Powers, which the co-operation of England with the Guaranteeing Powers would in public estimation render impossible, the allied Emperors would have to take measures to enforce their advice at Constantinople, which might lead to a disturbance of the general peace.

The excitement will subside the moment the decision of Her Majesty's Government is known, but the importance attributed to that decision by public opinion in Germany shows how great the influence of England on the Continent really is, notwithstanding an opinion to the contrary in certain quarters.

Should Her Majesty's Government, however, not see fit to adhere to the Eastern policy of the Northern Powers and reject the Austrian note and project of reform, then public opinion in Germany will probably vent its anger and disappointment by calling upon the Northern Powers to proceed with energy against the Turkish Government, disregard their resistance, and protect the Christian population against their Mussulman oppressors.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 70.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 17.)

(Telegraphic.) *Rome, January 16, 1876.*

AT the King's dinner this evening, M. Visconti Venosta said he was apprehensive as to the reports from Paris that Her Majesty's Government did not intend to adhere to the Austrian proposals. He did not presume to give advice, but he could not refrain from expressing the sincere regret he should feel at the separation of England from the other Powers on this question, and his fears of serious consequences which her separation was calculated to produce. He did not believe that acceptance of these proposals would involve the Powers who agreed to them in other measures which they might not be otherwise then disposed to support; and if concealed design on the part of any of the Powers were apprehended, he thought that declining the Austrian project would favour development of such design, whilst acceptance of the proposals by all the Powers would be the surest way to prevent its accomplishment.

No. 71.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 17, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, January 17, 1876.*

MESSENGER arrived yesterday.

The proposals of Count Andrassy, put into courteous identic instructions, would, I believe, be accepted here without much difficulty.

Count Andrassy's despatch is not in terms which would make it desirable to give copy of it to the Porte.

Most of the things asked are already granted or about to be given; but explanations will be required about some, and especially about the application of the direct taxes in the provinces.

There may be a difficulty about the mode in which the acceptance of the Porte is to be conveyed.

Porte may be brought to concede what is proposed by a Firman, supplementary to the last, which would be communicated to the Powers; but it will not, I believe, be ready to declare to them that it "accepts" disadvantages insisted on by them.

No. 72.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(No. 28.)

Foreign Office, January 18, 1876.

Sir,

COUNT BEUST called upon me at this Office on the 14th instant, and informed me that he had received communications from his Government in regard to Count Andraesey's note to the following effect:—

That, if the Porte accepted the note, it would be advantageous, on the one hand, to the Porte, inasmuch as the Powers engaged themselves not to make fresh demands, and to give their support to the Turkish Government, in the event of its acceptance; on the other hand, it would be advantageous to the Powers, inasmuch as they would be in possession of formal engagements, by the aid of which they might be enabled to restrain Montenegro, and to induce the insurgents to lay down their arms.

That, according to a telegram received from Count Zichy, Raschid Pasha had assured him that the circular instructions of the Porte had been misunderstood, and that it was far from the intention of the Porte, nor was it their desire, to prescribe conditions to the Powers as to the form in which the note should be presented. Count Zichy added that General Ignatiew had received a telegram, giving him instructions similar to his own.

That not only was it intended by Austria to act in concert with the Treaty Powers, but that it was clearly expressed in the note, that the unanimous voice of the Powers, and concessions on the part of the Porte, were relied on as means to prevent the continuance of the insurrection, and that if an armed intervention had been contemplated, the Austrian Government would have spared themselves the steps taken on the 30th December.

Count Beust said that he was therefore authorized by his Government categorically to declare that the note contained nothing which could induce the belief that an armed intervention was intended, and that the Austro-Hungarian Government have no desire to constitute themselves guardians of the peace beyond their frontiers.

That as far as any reservations which other Powers might think proper were concerned, it might be right in theory to confine recommendations for reforms to principles, but that in practice the definite proposals relating to taxes and to agrarian laws were not administrative details, but concessions most necessary to the inhabitants of the insurgent provinces.

Count Beust went on to say that it was precisely to avoid a refusal on the part of the Porte to accept the note that the acquiescence of England was asked, because in face of the unanimity of the Powers such an event was not probable. That the task undertaken by his Government consisted in doing their utmost to insure a pacification; and they considered their proposals to be such as would effect that object, and as being in no way compromising if advantage should not be taken of them.

That if the insurgents did not submit then the Porte would be left to subdue them by the force of arms, and that they would be prevented from obtaining the support derived by them from exterior aid.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 73.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 18.)

(No. 5. Consular.)

Bosna Serai, January 7, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Herzegovina, hitherto included in the Vilayet of Bosnia, has now been made a separate Vilayet, and his Excellency, Ali Pasha, formerly Ambassador at Paris, has been appointed to the post of Governor.

Ibrahim Bey, Mutessarif of the central Sandjak of Serajevo, and Vice-Governor of the province, has been raised to the rank of Vizier, and named Civil Governor of Bosnia.

The Mushir Ahmet Moukhtar Pasha has been intrusted with the supreme military command in both Vilayets. His Excellency Raouf Pasha has been named Governor-General of the Island of Candia.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 74.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 18.)

(No. 6. Confidential.)

Bosna Serai, January 7, 1876.

My Lord,

WITH regard to administrative reforms in this Province, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that slave scribes have just been appointed to the Medjliss "Temyiz-i-houkouk," or Court of Appeal, to the Medjliss "Divan-i temyiz," or Court of First Instance, and to the "Tidjaret Medjlissy," or Tribunal of Commerce: to the first a Mussulman, and to the two latter Christians.

The official newspaper, the "Bosna," of the 2nd instant has announced that the Medjlisses throughout the Province are to be reconstituted in the month of March next in the manner ordained by the law of Vilayets; and, further, that the Local Government is at present occupied in selecting a certain number of persons of known antecedents to act as Tahsildars or tax-gatherers.

It also states that the peasants' horses will not in future be forcibly taken for Government service, but that when the authorities require baggage animals they will hire them at the ordinary rate as any merchant would; and also that for every horse that dies on the road the owner will be paid an indemnity of five hundred piastres.

These are the first attempts that have been made to carry out any of the various reforms promised by Server Pasha; it remains to be seen what amount of sincerity will be shown in their ultimate execution.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 75.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 18, 1876.)

(No. 869. Confidential.)

Constantinople, December 30, 1875.

My Lord,

The Turkish Minister at Athens writes to his Government that the Greek people, who have so long remained passive spectators of the struggle in the Herzegovina, were beginning to show a greater interest in it, and to inquire whether the time was not coming when they also might be called upon to make some move.

The Russian Ambassador, in speaking to me, expresses his belief that, if the insurrection continues to the spring, the Greeks will not remain quiet; but, unless his Excellency is greatly misrepresented, he has, in speaking to Greeks frequently, coupled this opinion with a recommendation to them to prepare for what may occur, and not allow a favourable opportunity to slip.

I mentioned casually yesterday to the Greek Minister, that I understood there were persons who were advising his Government to be prepared to take their part in important events in the spring, and he made no attempt to deny it.

I learn, however, from a sure source that the Russian Ambassador has had a long conversation with M. Coundouriotti upon the pretended views of Her Majesty's Government upon Crete, and that he said that, seeing what is passing in that Island, great prudence should be inculcated upon the inhabitants, as any successful movement upon their part would not turn to the benefit of Greece, but to that of Great Britain.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 76.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 8, 1876.)

(No. 870.)

Constantinople, December 30, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE observed to your Lordship that in the Reform Firman there was an objectionable provision under which the Naibs, or expounders of the Law in the Religious Tribunals, were to be the Presidents of the Civil Courts of Appeal, and I conveyed my opinion upon that point to the Grand Vizier.

It was stated in reply that a large share in the jurisdiction having been withdrawn from the Mussulman Judges, it was thought essential to retain one as President of the Court of Appeal.

The inclosed instruction to them will diminish the objection to which the arrangement seems open.

The Courts, when sitting on appeal from the Sheri, or inferior Religious Courts, will decide them according to the Sheri or Religious law.

On the other hand, when the appeal is from a Civil or Correctional Court, the Presidents are enjoined strictly to follow the prescriptions of the law, and regulations of the Nizam.

The Presidents and all the members of the Court are to be held responsible for any detention of an accused person without judgment, and for any sentence more severe than that which is sanctioned by law.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 76.

Instructions to Presidents of New Courts of Appeal in Turkey.

Article 1. Conformément aux dispositions du Firman Impérial, récemment promulgué, les Naïbs (Juges) des Chefs-lieux des Vilayets qui occupaient naguère le poste de Présidents du Medjlissi Temyse seront appelés à la présidence des Cours d'Appel (Divani Temyse) des Vilayets.

Art. 2. Simultanément avec l'examen, par rapport au Chéri, des sentences rendues par les Tribunaux du Chéri des Sandjaks et des Cazas, les Naïbs des Chefs-lieux des Vilayets exerceront également, par autorisation de son Altesse le Cheik-ul-Islam, les fonctions déjà dévolues à eux par le Chéri.

Art. 3. Les Cours d'Appel auront à connaître des affaires civiles et correctionnelles légalement jugées. Leurs attributions sont définies par la loi. Comme ces Tribunaux sont également composés de membres élus par la population, les Naïbs auront à présider ces Cours en se conformant exclusivement à la loi et aux règlements du Nizam sans préjudice des fonctions de Chéri qu'ils exerceront à part.

Art. 4. Les Cours d'Appel auront à examiner d'après la Loi et les Règlements y relatifs les procès civils et correctionnels, qui, après avoir été instruits et jugés par les Tribunaux Nizamié des Sandjaks et des Cazas, leur auront été déférés pour être, à la demande des intéressés, jugés d'après le Nizam en seconde instance.

L'instruction et la délibération auront lieu à la majorité ou à l'unanimité des voix des membres élus de ces Cours.

Art. 5. Il importe au plus haut point d'apporter un soin scrupuleux et la plus grande impartialité dans l'instruction des affaires correctionnelles qui incombent aux Cours d'Appel, et notamment dans l'application des dispositions de la Loi du Nizam aux accusations constatées.

La détention d'un prévenu sans jugement, ou le prononcé d'une sentence qui le condamnerait à une peine plus forte que celle qu'il pourrait encourir d'après la loi, entraînera la responsabilité légale des Présidents et des membres de ces Cours.

Les instructions relatives aux Medjlissi Temyse des Sandjaks seront préparées à part.

No. 77.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 18, 1876.)

(No. 871.)
My Lord, *Pera, December* 30, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation of the instructions to the Executive Council, charged with giving effect to the Reform Firman.

The duties of the Council are not very clearly laid down; but the instructions allowed it great latitude; and I learn from one of the Christian Members, that at the sittings which have already been held, the Grand Vizier has encouraged the most liberal interpretation of the Firman.

Your Lordship will see, with satisfaction, that the populations of the provinces are authorized to send Delegates to make known to the Porte grievances of which they have to complain, and all acts not in harmony with the orders which have been issued.

A Commission of Supervision attached to the Council, is to watch over the execution of the Firman in the provinces.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 77.

Règlement respecting the Functions of the Executive Council.

(Traduction.)

UN Conseil Exécutif permanent a été institué à la Sublime Porte en vue de mettre entièrement et graduellement à exécution dans toutes les provinces de l'Empire les dispositions du Firman Impérial récemment promulgué au sujet des réformes générales.

Ce Conseil, placé sous la présidence de son Altesse le Grand Vézir, est composé d'un nombre suffisant des membres permanents, pris parmi les hauts dignitaires et autres fonctionnaires de l'Etat, et d'un Secrétaire-Général. Les Ministres en activité feront de droit partie de ce Conseil.

Les rapports des Ministères et des vilayets relatifs à l'exécution des dispositions du Firman Impérial seront référés au dit Conseil, qui est chargé de faire rédiger et transmettre sans retard tant les réponses aux questions qui pourraient être posées dans les dits rapports que les ordres Viziriels qu'il sera jugé nécessaire d'adresser pour les instructions et les explications à donner sur l'exécution des dispositions du Firman Impérial.

Les membres permanents du Conseil Exécutif se réuniront tous les jours, et veilleront à la prompte et entière exécution de leur mandat. Les délibérations sur les affaires urgentes auront lieu sous la présidence de son Altesse le Grand Vézir, et en présence de tous les membres Conseillers ordinaires et extraordinaires.

Les membres permanents sont chargés de surveiller l'exécution des réformes dans les provinces; toutefois, vu la nécessité absolue d'exercer une surveillance incessante et de faire des investigations continuelles, un Comité de Contrôle, composé de personnes compétentes, a été attaché à ce Conseil pour le fonctionnement permanent du service en question dans les provinces.

Le Conseil Exécutif, étant aussi chargé de veiller à l'exécution et au contrôle des mesures précitées, de leur côté les délégués désignés par la confiance des populations sont autorisés à porter à la connaissance de la Sublime Porte toutes les plaintes légitimes ainsi que tous actes qui viendraient à se commettre contrairement à la justice et aux ordres de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan.

Le Conseil Exécutif, tout en veillant à l'exécution de ces réformes, est autorisé à étudier et à soumettre à la Sublime Porte d'autres projets de réformes.

Les attributions du Conseil Exécutif définies par le présent Règlement recevront ultérieurement les développements que l'expérience aura rendu nécessaires pour activer l'effet des réformes décrétées.

No. 78.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 18, 1876.)

(No. 872.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 30, 1875.

AHMED HAMDI PASHA, lately Commander-in-chief in Bosnia, has been nominated Governor-General of Scutari in Albania, which has been raised into a distinct vilayet, and separated from that of Yanina.

One of the causes alleged in favour of this change is that, with a view to the removal of misunderstandings with the Prince of Montenegro, it is desirable to have at Scutari a functionary of sufficient high position to communicate directly with His Highness; whereas a Mutasarif, or District Governor, could only do so indirectly through the Governor-General, established at a considerable distance.

The real significance of the measure may, however, be gathered from the nomination of a General of Hamdi Pasha's rank to the new post.

The attitude of the Prince of Montenegro is considered to be daily becoming more hostile, and if it is persisted in, the nomination of a General to Scutari will probably be followed before very long by the dispatch of a body of troops, of which he will be able to dispose in case of an emergency.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 79.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received January* 18, 1876.)

(No. 873.)
Pera, December 30, 1875.

My Lord,

BOSNIA and the Herzegovina have been separated into two distinct vilayets, Raouf Pasha being appointed Governor-General of the latter.

He will also, I am told, exercise the functions of Imperial Commissioner, in the place of Server Pasha, who has shown little aptitude for the post.

I entertain much doubt of the expediency of this division, although arguments of weight may be urged in its favour.

In the Vilayet of the Herzegovina the Christians will be in so large a majority that in Provincial Councils, at all fairly elected, they should have a preponderating voice, whilst in Bosnia it is Mussulmans who will be strengthened by the separation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 80.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received January* 18, 1876.)

(No. 876. Confidential.)
Pera, December 31, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE frequently had occasion to report to your Lordship confidential communications with General Ignatiew in reference to the course pursued by Count Andrassy on the question of the Herzegovina, but I was not prepared to find that he would go to the length of holding the same language to a newspaper correspondent.

General Ignatiew sees a good deal of Mr. Gallenga, the special correspondent of the "Times," whom he has to some extent imbued with his own views, and he has distinctly informed him that the project which Count Andrassy is aiming at is the establishment in Bosnia of an autonomy, or some other impracticable scheme of administration, incompatible with the independence of the Porte.

Owing to the mystery in which the negotiations between Vienna and St. Petersburg have been shrouded, and the care taken by Count Andrassy to conceal his views and proposals from the Western Powers, little has been known of them, except by the information given by the Russian Ambassador, the accuracy of which there were no means of testing, and this, together with the docility of his Austro-Hungarian colleague, has enabled him to assume here the character of the supporter of the Porte against the extreme measures of Count Andrassy, and he seems now anxious that the English press should recognize it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 81.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received January* 18, 1876.)

(No. 877. Confidential.)
Pera, December 31, 1875.

My Lord,

AFTER I had written my despatch No. 876 General Ignatiew happened to call upon me, when I asked him if he had seen the Consular Report published in the "Times" of the 15th, and whether he knew who was the author of it.

He said he had seen extracts from it in the foreign newspapers, which had struck him as being very like a report, of which he had a copy, made by an Austrian Vice-

Consul at Trebigné, and if I would let him have the English paper, he would like to compare them.

I gave it to him, and this evening he has told me that he finds that he was not mistaken, and that it was a literal translation of the Austrian Consular Report of which he had spoken, although, he added, there were some passages in it not to be found in the original.

Having asked which these passages were, I was rather amused at being told that they were those which alluded to Montenegro—these, he said, had been interpolated.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 82.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received January* 18, 1876.)

(No. 878.)
My Lord, *Pera, December* 31, 1875.

A REPORT, professing to be from one of the Consuls at Mostar, was published in the "Times," of the 15th instant, the authorship of which I have been unable to ascertain; although, from the inquiries which I have made, it seems to lie between some Austro-Hungarian and the Russian Agent.

The evidence appears to preponderate in favour of the former, for a Russian Agent would not have passed so lightly over the visit of the Emperor of Austria to Dalmatia, as one of the provocatives of the insurrection, nor would he have avoided all allusion to the assistance received by the insurgents from the Austrian provinces, while the participation of the Prince of Montenegro was so openly admitted.

It is to the evidence borne upon this point by such a warm sympathizer in the movement that I am desirous of inviting your Lordship's attention.

The report establishes that, as long ago as last winter, many months before the beginning of the insurrection, the Prince of Montenegro, in reference to the Podgoritza question, invited disaffected subjects of the Porte to assist at deliberations which were intended to lead to hostilities against Turkey.

It is asserted in this report Ljubibratics took the command of the insurgents "by order of the Prince of Montenegro," and it is further shown that when there was a want of arms and ammunition, they were sent from Grahovo to the Monastery of Hossievevo, which became the head-quarters of the Montenegrin Piko Pavlovics, who took the command of the districts of Trebigné and Stolatz.

The complicity of Montenegro has been so persistently denied in certain quarters that evidence given of it in a report so little favourable to the Turks is worth noting.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 83.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received January* 18.)

(No. 3.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, January* 3, 1876.

I RECEIVED this morning your Lordship's telegram, directing me to give my opinion upon an identic note proposed by Count Andrassy, of which Sir Andrew Buchanan had transmitted to you the substance.

It is difficult to form any confident opinion upon a telegraphic abstract of a document of such a nature; but, apart from the consideration whether such a step as the presentation of an identic note at all would be a desirable course to follow, upon which I entertain the most serious doubt, I would submit that, in the shape proposed, it appears quite unsuitable for the present position of things.

Almost, if not quite, the whole of the reforms suggested by Count Andrassy having already been adopted by the Porte, I cannot see how it is now possible in an official note to insist upon their necessity.

The Firman of the 12th of December, of which Count Andrassy proposes to ask the official communication, was formally communicated to the Embassies in an official note a day before it was made public, and it would be impossible to require that this should be done a second time.

The Porte could not now be called upon to appoint a Mixed Commission of Mussulmans and Christians to control the execution of the reforms, but this very step was taken some time ago, and the Commission has been holding almost daily sittings for the last fortnight.

Religious liberty has been proclaimed, except as regards rendering Christians liable to the military conscription.

This is a point which must ultimately be obtained, but it is undoubtedly surrounded by many great and serious difficulties.

The abolition of the farming of the tithes is resolved upon, and the Commission has already been discussing the best mode of levying them for the future.

Opinions are divided as regards the total suppression of the custom of taking the tithes in kind, for many persons maintain that the peasants would look upon it as a hardship to be obliged to pay them in money.

The constitution and duties of the Provincial Councils are now under consideration, and will shortly be defined; but, although I do not distinctly gather from the telegram what are Count Andrassy's views with regard to the appropriation of the taxes in the revolted provinces to local purposes, I certainly consider that if it is suggested that the Provincial Councils should have a control over the local expenditure, it is deserving of every support.

I cannot venture to give an opinion upon Count Andrassy's suggestion for the improvement of the position of the agricultural population.

Questions relating to the tenure of land, and to the relations between the proprietors and their farmers, can only be judged by persons intimately acquainted with the local habits and traditions by which they have long been governed, and I can pretend to no such knowledge.

Previous to the publication of the Reform Firman, and the measures taken to carry it out, a communication in the sense of Count Andrassy's proposal would have been intelligible, but this is now no longer the case.

There is no doubt that the excitement and anxiety alluded to in Sir Andrew Buchanan's telegram are at present evident at Constantinople, and I have adverted to this subject in another despatch.

This renders it all the more necessary for the Powers to be careful to do nothing calculated to develop the irritation of the Mussulmans into an exasperation which might become serious; and the presentation of an identic note in favour of the Christians, whom the Government are already suspected of wishing unduly to favour, might not impossibly produce that effect.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 84.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 18.)

(No. 5.)
Pera, January 4, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE received from Mr. Sandison the inclosed report, stating that the Porte, having learnt that there was an intention on the part of the Great Powers to address an identic note to it on the subject of the reforms, had telegraphed to its Representatives abroad to inform the Governments to which they are accredited, that it could not accept such a note without a disregard of the sovereign rights of the Sultan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 84.

Mr. Sandison to Sir H. Elliot.

Pera, January 3, 1876.

Sir,

TELEGRAPHIC instructions have been sent by the Porte to its Representatives abroad, stating that information derived from various sources leads to the belief that the project of reforms, as drawn up by Count Andrassy, having been communicated to the Great Powers, would now be probably presented for adoption to the Turkish Government in the form of an identic note on the part of the three Northern Powers.

In view of such eventuality, the Porte had directed its Representatives to state to the Cabinets to which they are accredited that the Porte having evinced a ready disposition to listen to, and care to follow, the friendly advice and suggestions of its allies on all occasions, could not now accept an identic note, such as the one proposed, without a positive disregard of the Sultan's Sovereign rights, which it is anxious to uphold.

Should, however, the identic note be presented to the Porte in spite of its objections, the course poposed to be taken by the Grand Vizier in regard to it, is to declare to the three Ambassadors that, though he consents to receive the note from mere deference and courtesy, his doing so must not be held to imply any intention on the part of the Turkish Government to adopt the reforms that may be proposed in it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. SANDISON.

No. 85.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 18.)

(No. 7.)
Constantinople, January 4, 1876.

My Lord,

I WENT this afternoon to the Porte, but the Minister for Foreign Affairs being unwell, I was not able to see him.

I found, however, that the belief that the three Powers were about to address an identic note to the Turkish Government had produced a deep and painful impression.

I afterwards called upon the Grand Vizier, and although I was aware of his having said that he would not accept any official communication on the subject of the reforms, I was not prepared for the unusual energy with which he repeated this determination.

He declared that the Porte had never shown an unwillingness to listen to, and as far as possible to follow, the unofficial advice of the friendly Governments, but after the Sultan had, upon his recommendation, sanctioned important measures of reform, he would not be the medium of laying upon His Majesty the affront which would be implied by the communication of a concerted official note in reference to them.

He had, he said, already expressed himself in this sense to the Russian and Austrian Ambassadors.

I said I should advise His Highness to abstain from committing himself too far by the expression of opinions with regard to a proposal which we had not yet seen, and with the nature of which we were very imperfectly acquainted.

When its precise tenor was known he would be able to form a better judgment as to the course he should follow.

In the meantime he must permit me to remind him that he could not afford unnecessarily to disregard the wishes of Powers, whose goodwill must prove of the utmost importance, if indeed, it was not indispensable, for the suppression of the present insurrection.

If, as he had so often intimated it was their sympathy which enabled the insurgents to hold out, an opportunity of inducing them to modify this attitude should not be thrown aside out of an exaggerated feeling of dignity.

Mahmoud Pasha made no direct answer to this observation, but it appeared to produce an effect upon him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 86.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 18.)

(No. 9. Confidential.)
Pera, January 4, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE informed your Lordship that the Porte has telegraphed to its Representatives that it would not be disposed to accept an identic note on the subject of the reforms.

I have reason to believe that the Porte obtained the information which has caused so

much emotion from General Ignatiew, for I have been told by a person, who repeated it to me, that the Ambassador had mentioned to him several days before that such a note was to be sent in.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 87.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 18.)

(No. 11.) *Pera, January 4, 1876.*
My Lord,

A FEELING of insecurity and apprehension has for some time prevailed among the Christians, both in the capital and in the Provinces, and has latterly been becoming more marked.

The belief that the Government was resolved to raise them to a position of equality with the Mussulman has produced among the more fanatical of the latter an irritation not without its danger, and which, I am told, is especially directed against the foreign rather than the native Christians.

The Softas and Ulemas are known to have been frequently holding language calculated to inflame the more ignorant of their countrymen, and although their influence is not what it once was, it is still considerable.

Some of them are said to have been arrested, and although this is denied by the authorities, I am inclined to believe it.

There is a widespread distress, producing almost universal discontent, which is directed against the governing classes and against the foreigners who are looked upon as greatly responsible for it.

Constantinople depends more than any capital in Europe upon the salaries of persons in the service of the Government, and the arrears into which these have fallen affects a large portion of the population.

In the difficulty of providing for the interest upon the debt, neither salaries nor Government wages been paid for some months, and those who are dependent upon them have been in their turn unable to pay the tradesmen who supply them with the most ordinary necessaries.

This state of things is attributable by many to the expenditure required by the insurrection in the Herzegovine which they believe to be kept alive by the sympathy of the Christian countries for the insurgents.

An impression that the present Grand Vizier, Mahmoud Pasha, is the instrument of Russia renders him unpopular and distrusted by persons of the most different opinions.

The retrograde Mussulmans consider that, under Russian dictation, he is about to make them subservient to the Christians, while those who are progressive, declare that the reforms which he has announced are sufficient to ensure such an administration as is indispensable for all classes of the Sultan's subjects alike.

Political discontent, religious fanaticism, and material distress have thus combined to produce a state of feeling which cannot be seen without anxiety.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 88.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 18.)

(No. 13. Confidential.) *Constantinople, January 6, 1876.*
My Lord,

WITH reference to the official communication to the Foreign Representatives of the late Reform Firman, it may deserve mention that it was not made to the Embassies of the three Northern Powers till the morning after it had been made to my French and Italian colleagues and myself.

I am less disposed to attribute this to an accident than to wish that the Northern Ambassadors should not be the first to be able to speak of a measure which they might represent themselves as having obtained from the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 89.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 18.)

(No. 17.) *Pera, January 6, 1876.*
My Lord,

IT appears to me to be as great a relief to my colleagues as to the Porte to find that there is no intention on the part of the Powers to send in an identic note on the subject of the reforms.

They are all alive to the embarrassment which would have been caused to the Sultan's Government by such a course, and they are also aware that it would have seriously compromised the position of the Grand Vizier, whom they are anxious to support.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 90.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 18.)

(No. 18.) *Constantinople, January 7, 1876.*
My Lord,

MAHMOUD PASHA seems to be falling back into the reckless system of constantly changing the public functionaries, which threw the whole administration of the country into confusion the last time he was Grand Vizier.

Raouf Pasha, who about two months ago was appointed Governor-General of Bosnia, and a fortnight ago was named Governor-General of the Herzegovina, is now transferred in a similar capacity to Crete.

He will, no doubt, be received with satisfaction in that Island, but will be a serious loss in the Herzegovina, where he is succeeded by Ali Pasha, formerly Ambassador at Paris, who has no great administrative experience.

Ali Pasha was Vice-President of the Commission for carrying out the reforms, and is the second of its members who has been removed since it was constituted, scarcely three weeks ago.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 91.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 18.)

(No. 19.) *Constantinople, January 7, 1876.*
My Lord,

CONSTANT EFFENDI, a Christian, who was lately appointed Governor of Gatzko, in the Herzegovina, and who has been present there during the whole period of the insurrection, has been called to Constantinople to give his Government information upon the state of affairs.

Like everyone else he considers that the whole difficulty in suppressing the revolt lies much less in the resistance of the Herzegovinas themselves than in the pressure put upon them, and in the assistance given them by sympathizers beyond the Turkish dominions.

A large proportion of the refugees would, he considers, gladly return to their homes if it was not for the threats and opposition of those among whom they are living.

With respect to the number of Montenegrins engaged with the insurgents, about which the accounts have been so contradictory, he says that it is very possible that there may not be more than 500 or 600 who remain permanently in the insurgent ranks, but that, whenever a movement is to be undertaken against the troops, 2,000 or 3,000 men are brought from the Principality to take part in it.

These movements are invariably concerted at Cettinjé, and the Prince is in constant communication with the Chiefs.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 92.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received January* 18.)

(No. 22.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, January* 7, 1876.

IN reply to your Lordship's inquiry, I have the honour to inform you that I have not received the statement to which you allude as having been given in the "Times," respecting the communication of Count Andrassy's project to the Grand Vizier by the Austrian Ambassador.

I can, however, take upon myself to say that no communication on the subject of the reforms has been made by him to the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 93.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received January* 18.)

(No. 24.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, January* 8, 1876.

YOUR Lordship's telegram *en clair* of yesterday, informing me of the intelligence given in the "Times" respecting the semi-official communication of Count Andrassy's project, reached me shortly after I had forwarded my answer to the inquiry which I had previously received from you.

Although I had felt able at once to state to your Lordship that no communication about the reforms had been made to the Porte, I saw my colleague this morning who stated that he had neither officially nor unofficially conveyed the proposal of Count Andrassy to the Grand Vizier whom, he added, owing to one circumstance or another, he had not seen for the last ten days.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 94.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received January* 18.)

(No. 28.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, January* 9, 1876.

HER Majesty's Consul at Salonica informs me that reports are spreading there that the Mahommedans in that district are arming with hostile intentions against the Christians.

Mr. Blunt states that, "as far as he can learn," these reports are groundless, "and are concocted and given out by designing parties, whose object is to bring about a foreign armed intervention in this country."

I am informed that at Constantinople, where considerable apprehension is felt by the Christians of an attack upon them by the Mussulmans; many of the latter are under a fear that they are about to be attacked by the Christians.

The feeling of uneasiness exists, in fact, among both populations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 96.

*Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received January* 18, 3·30 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, January* 18, 1876, 1·35 P.M.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram of 16th and 17th instant, General Ignatiew's proceedings are known here, and it is thought that he must have seriously compromised himself with his Government. Baron Hofmann says that if Count

* Repeated to Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.

Andrassy's proposals are accepted Austria can by promoting the return of the refugees, exercise a powerful influence on the pacification of the insurgent provinces.

Count Andrassy is still at Pesth.

No. 96.

*The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.**

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, January* 18, 1876, 5·30 P.M.

CABINET agree that a general support shall be given to the Austrian note, but you should not act until you receive further instructions.

No. 97.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Odo Russell.

(No. 46.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, January* 18, 1876.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 24 of the 15th instant, and I have to express to you my approval of your language as reported therein, in reply to inquiries as to the attitude of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the Eastern Question.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 98.

*Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received January* 18, *at night.*)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, January* 18, 1876.

I LEARN that intrigues are going on at the Palace to persuade the Sultan that concessions must not be made to the revolted Provinces while insurgents continue in arms.

Unless the Grand Vizier is dismissed, there is not much to be feared from these attempts, unless concessions are insisted upon for some provinces which the Porte would not be able to grant to other parts of the Empire.

No. 99.

Count Beust to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received January* 19.)

Dear Lord Derby, 18, *Belgrave Square, S.W., January* 19, 1876.

IN order to prevent a possible misunderstanding which, however, I do not fear, I beg to remind you that, as far as you had made reservations with respect to the taxes and to the agrarian legislation, I told you that if the English Government did not feel inclined to recommend those two proposals, my Government would not insist upon England supporting them, but not that my Government had withdrawn them from their own statement.

With many apologies, &c.
(Signed) BEUST.

No. 100.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(No. 38.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 19, 1876.

THE Austrian Ambassador told me to-day that, in order to prevent any possible misunderstanding (of which, however, he had no fear), he desired that Her Majesty's

* Similar telegram sent to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

Government should understand that if Her Majesty's Government were not inclined to support at Constantinople Count Andrassy's two proposals respecting the application of direct taxation and agrarian legislation, the Austro-Hungarian Government would not insist upon requiring them to do so. That Government could not, however, withdraw them from their own statement.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 101.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received January 19, at night.*)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, January 19, 1876.*

PRINCE GORTCHAKOW expressed to me to-day his satisfaction at the reports from the Russian Ambassador in London of conversations with your Lordship.

He appeared confident of Turkish acceptance, and of submission of the insurgents to European counsels.

He stated emphatically that Russia would never permit occupation of Montenegro by Turkey, and he had made this known at Constantinople.

He wishes the maintenance in Turkey of *status quo* territorial, but not of *status quo* moral.

No. 102.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 36. Confidential.) *Foreign Office, January 20, 1876.*

Sir,

THE Turkish Ambassador placed in my hands confidentially, on the 17th instant, a copy of a telegraphic despatch which he had just received from his Government.

After expressing the acknowledgments of the Porte for the regard shown by Her Majesty's Government for the sovereign rights of the Sultan, the despatch proceeds to offer certain explanations as to the meaning and intention of the Porte's telegraphic Circular of the 3rd instant.

The object of that Circular, it is said, was to inform the Turkish Representatives of the objections entertained by the Sultan's Government to the form in which they had been led to believe that Count Andrassy's proposals for the pacification of the Herzegovina would be presented. The purport of these proposals had been kept absolutely secret from them, but the reports of the Press gave reason to suppose that they were very hostile to the interests of Turkey; it was, moreover, stated that they would be communicated to the Turkish Government in an identic form, or would at all events be signed by the Representatives of the Powers, so that the Porte would be called upon to reply in writing and *vice versâ*.

This was precisely what the Turkish Government were absolutely resolved to decline, and their determination to do so was stated in the Circular. On the other hand, they wished it clearly to be understood that they had never entertained the idea of refusing to listen to any mere verbal communication, provided as distinguished from one made in writing, signed, and so placed officially in their hands.

A verbal communication of this nature would be considered in the light of a friendly exchange of ideas and observations, which the Porte would be happy to receive, as inspired by a feeling of goodwill on the part of the Powers, and as avoiding a written official form derogatory to the dignity of an independent Government.

The Porte state that they now have reason to believe that Count Andrassy's note, embodying the project of reforms to be carried out in Bosnia and Herzegovina, will be communicated verbally, and they have received assurances from all sides that its contents will not be of a character injurious to the interests of the Empire, or calculated to wound the national feeling. They are, moreover, assured that their acceptance of the entirety ("complément") of those reforms will necessarily lead to the immediate pacification of the revolted districts.

In this new aspect of affairs the Turkish Government are quite ready to listen to the friendly advice of the Powers, given in the form above mentioned, and to make their

* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Constantinople, and Rome.

observations upon it. They are particularly anxious that Her Majesty's Government should understand the reason of the observations made in their previous Circular, and should not hold aloof from the united efforts of the Guaranteeing Powers to assist them in the pacification of the Herzegovina.

It is on England, the despatch states in conclusion, that the Porte has always relied, *ab antiquo*, in all vital questions that concerned the fate of the Turkish Empire, and upon her powerful and friendly support Turkey still continues to rely.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 103.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 37.) *Foreign Office, January 20, 1876.*

Sir,

HER Majesty's Government approve the advice given by your Excellency to the Grand Vizier, with regard to the acceptance by the Porte of the Austrian Scheme of reform in Turkey, as reported in your despatch No. 7 of the 4th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed DERBY.

No. 104.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 38.) *Foreign Office, January 20, 1876.*

Sir,

HER Majesty's Government approve your having drawn the attention of the Grand Vizier to the objectionable provision under which the Nuibs are proposed to be elected Presidents of the Civil Courts of Appeal in Turkey, as reported in the despatch No. 870, of the 30th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 105.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 47. Confidential.) *Foreign Office, January 20, 1876.*

Sir,

I INCLOSE, for your information, a copy of a telegram which has been communicated to me for my personal information by Musurus Pasha, addressed by the Porte to their Representatives at the Courts of Vienna, Berlin, and St. Petersburgh, relative to the attitude of Montenegro as regards the insurrection in Bosnia and Herzegovina.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 106.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received January 23.*)

(No. 13.) *Rome, January 17, 1876.*

My Lord,

THERE was a diplomatic dinner yesterday evening at the Quirinal, and before the entrance of the King and the Royal family, M. Visconti Venosta took me aside and said that he was greatly apprehensive from what he had heard from Paris that Her Majesty's Government was little disposed to adhere to the Austrian proposals for the pacification of the Herzegovina.

His Excellency said he could understand some of the objections felt by Her Majesty's Government, but at the same time he considered union amongst all the Powers at the

* No. 50.

present juncture to be of such paramount importance in the interests of a speedy settlement of the questions, and also in those of peace, that, without presuming to give any advice, he could not but express the deep regret he should feel if Great Britain should now separate herself from the other Powers.

I asked his Excellency if he could tell me in what the objections of Her Majesty's Government to the Austrian proposals consisted.

M. Visconti Venosta said he had heard that Her Majesty's Government demurred in the first place to some of the details of the proposals, and that they were of opinion that a project of reform having been recently put forward by the Porte, it was not right towards the Porte to set this project aside as if it were of no account; that there was also a feeling that adherence to the present proposals might insensibly lead on to other measures; and, lastly, there seemed to be an apprehension that there was possibly a concealed design ("arrière-pensée") on the part of some of the Powers who had put forward the present project.

His Excellency said that, for his part, he could not share these apprehensions. He did not believe that the acceptance of the Austrian proposals would entail any other consequences beyond those which it was intended to have; that it would always be time to draw back if other measures not considered acceptable should later be proposed; and, if any "arrière-pensée" on the part of any of the Powers really existed, he thought that declining the Austrian project would favour its development, while the acceptance of the proposals by all the Powers would be the surest way to prevent its accomplishment.

Dinner being announced, the conversation was here interrupted, and I had no opportunity of continuing it afterwards with M. Visconti Venosta, who, not feeling well, left the Palace before the "circle" was over, but M. Artom spoke to me strongly in the same sense. He said that the Italian Government would deeply regret to be separated from that of Her Majesty on the present occasion; that the acceptance by Italy of the Austrian project having already been made known, it was too late now to make any change; but that the Italian Government considered the adhesion of Her Majesty's Government as absolutely essential to the success of the attempt which was now being made with a view to the pacification of the Provinces. There could be no doubt, he said, that, although no engagement was actually taken by Austria and Russia to induce the insurgents to lay down their arms if the Austrian project was accepted by the Porte, nevertheless, if it was accepted, a moral engagement in this sense would undoubtedly be incurred by those Powers. But if Her Majesty's Government did not support the proposals, the chances were the Turkish Government would not accept them, and he submitted whether the responsibility which would then devolve on Her Majesty's Government would not be much greater than any which could follow from their joining the Powers in recommending them.

I heard from my Russian colleague that M. Marinovitch (who is still here) is of opinion that, unless the insurrection is quelled by the beginning of March it will be impossible to restrain the Servians, and that, if Prince Milan opposes the movement, he will either be deposed or assassinated.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 107.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received January* 23.)

(No. 17. Confidential.)

Rome, January 18, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAD some general conversation with M. Visconti Venosta this morning with reference to the question of Herzegovina, the Austrian note, &c.

I informed his Excellency that I had telegraphed to your Lordship the substance of what he had said to me, as reported in my despatch No. 13 of yesterday's date, and his Excellency supported, by further arguments, the sense of his previous observations. He repeated that he was far from not recognizing the objections which might be advanced to agreeing to the Austrian proposals, but at the same time he thought that, if Her Majesty's Government held aloof from the other Powers, the question would enter upon what he termed "une phase plus aigue," the result of which might be very prejudicial to a peaceful solution. From all the information he possessed, he was convinced that it was the sincere wish of Count Andrassy to avoid the annexation of either of the Provinces, or

the necessity of a military occupation. He believed also it was the desire of the Russian Government (either because they did not consider the proper moment had arrived to accomplish the ends of their traditional policy, or for other reasons), that the existing territorial arrangements in the East should not now be changed; and as for the Italian Government, their only object was that things should be patched up in any which might, at all events for the time, avert the necessity of more radical measures, and this was their reason for agreeing to support Count Andrassy's propositions.

In replying to M. Visconti Venosta, I begged his Excellency to understand that anything I might say was only the expression of my own opinion, for that I had as yet received no instructions from your Lordship upon the subject we were speaking of. I would not, I said, attempt to deny the vast importance which would attach to the decision of Her Majesty's Government in the question now submitted to their deliberation. I admitted also that, if that decision were not to recommend the Porte to adhere to the measures proposed by the Austro-Hungarian Government, the Turkish Government might, very possibly, decline to accede to them, and that serious consequences might be the result of their refusal. But, in this case, I could not help remarking that the responsibility for what occurred could not fairly be attributed to Her Majesty's Government. It seemed to me, I said, that all the Powers had been placed in a rather invidious and unfair position by the course which had been adopted by the three Imperial Cabinets, to whom it had seemed good to elaborate certain measures amongst themselves without consulting the other Cabinets, and then, when they were completed, to submit their proposals to those other Cabinets with a sort of "couteau sur la gorge" intimation that they should accept them, or be responsible for the consequences.

This, I ventured to say, did not appear to me a correct way of proceeding, either as regarded what was due to the dignity of the Powers in question, or to the maintenance of that union and good understanding which every one professed to desire, and I could not therefore help saying that, in my opinion, any one of the Powers to whom I alluded, England, France, or Italy, would at least be perfectly justified, if they acceded to the Imperial propositions, to couple their adhesion with the condition that, for the future, they were to be consulted in the elaboration of any new measures; and that, according to the terms of the Treaty of Paris, the Affairs of the East should form the subject of the collective deliberation of all the Powers who had signed the Treaty, and not be confined to three of them only.

M. Visconti Venosta was pleased to admit that there was truth in the observations I had made, and he quite agreed that in future it would be desirable that nothing should be done in reference to Eastern affairs except as the result of previous concert between all the Powers. This, in fact, as your Lordship will have seen by my previous reports, is one of the objects on which he has laid stress, in urging the concurrence of Her Majesty's Government in Count Andrassy's plan. His Excellency entered into the reasons why the rule of collective deliberation has been departed from in the present instance. Austria and Russia, he said, in addition to the general interests which were shared with all the Powers in Eastern affairs, had, in regard to the Herzegovina question, peculiar interests of their own as neighbouring Powers, and in this capacity had undertaken to devise such measures as they thought most likely to quell the agitation near their frontiers; both Powers had already done a great deal for the Turkish cause: to them it was undoubtedly due that Servia and Montenegro had not joined the rebellion. Austria had allowed the Turkish troops to disembark at Klek, which she was not bound to do. The Imperial Cabinets, therefore, might well feel that it was now time they should do something for the Christian cause.

The Italian Government, his Excellency added, did not consider themselves in any way bound or fettered with any engagement as to the future course of proceedings in consequence of having agreed to support the Austrian proposals at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 108.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 23.)

(No. 18. Confidential.)

Rome, January 19, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's telegram of yesterday's date, and to state that not having found Chevalier Visconti Venosta this morning at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, I saw M. Artom, and begged him to inform his Excellency that I had called to acquaint him confidentially that Her Majesty's Government had decided to give a general support to the Austrian note, but that Sir Henry Elliot is not to act until he shall have received further instructions.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 109.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 23, night.)*

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, January 23, 1876, 10·30 P.M.

THE Duc Decazes has read to me a first draft of despatch to the French Ambassador to be communicated to the Porte.

In it he gives a short summary in his own words of the Austrian proposals; expresses general approval of them; insists upon the necessity of the Porte communicating officially to the Powers its acceptance of them; grounds intervention of the Powers on the necessity of pacificating the Herzegovina; does his utmost all through to gild the pill for the Porte.

He avoids bringing into relief the difference between parts taken by France and the Northern Powers in preparing the proposals; makes a slight reservation about appropriation of direct taxes to local purposes; had thought of making one about agrarian proposals, but found them so little absolute or imperative that he desisted.

Duc Decazes thinks it advisable that the French Ambassador should deliver to the Porte a copy of the Austrian note, as the Ambassadors of the three Empires are, "it seems," to do.

No. 110.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 24.)

(No. 8.)

Mostar, January 10, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of my despatch of the 6th instant, addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, regarding various matters connected with passing events.

Since writing that despatch I have heard that Ali Pasha, late Turkish Ambassador at Paris, has been named Governor-General and Imperial Commissioner for the Herzegovina, Raouf Pasha is sent to Crete, and Server Pasha will return to Constantinople. Ali Pasha will be the fourth Governor who has been sent here during the last five months!

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure in No. 110.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Mostar, January 6, 1876.

Sir,

I YESTERDAY telegraphed to your Excellency as follows:—

"The Report in the 'Times' of the 15th is not by any of my colleagues. Governor-General arrived here on the 2nd. He was at Nichsich on the 29th. Socitza is said to have withdrawn from the Douga, having quarrelled with Peiko. Troops have gone into winter quarters. Governor-General sent Constant Effendi to Constantinople, chiefly to counsel an understanding with Montenegro."

I saw Raouf Pasha on the 4th; his Excellency said little about his march to Nicksich. He took provisions for the troops only, which he says ought to suffice till April. He gave money to the inhabitants and returned immediately. There was hard fighting at Christatch, and the insurgents were roughly handled without any doubt, as no triumphant telegrams were sent to Ragusa. It is reported that Peiko Paulovich, instead of supporting Socitza, went off on a plundering expedition, and that the latter then retired in disgust with his followers to Piva and left the pass free. The Douga Pass is so difficult that a few thousand men could hold it against an army, and Raouf Pasha would probably not have been able to pass unless the insurgents had withdrawn.

I see that his Excellency is annoyed that the chief command has been taken from him and given to Ahmet Mouktar Pasha. The latter has placed the troops in winter quarters. Raouf Pasha wished to have established a strong force in Baniani to secure the roads and to be near the insurgents, many of whom, he states, were very anxious for peace. There, he says, he could have succoured the indigent and rendered the task of those who remained in arms much more difficult, as they would have been deprived of the shelter they now obtain there. He even said that it would be difficult for him to remain here after the step taken by the Government in appointing Ahmet Mouktar Pasha. Raouf Pasha is admitted by every one to have shown courage, energy, and tact, and people everywhere are loud in his praise. Since the commencement of the revolt no one has done anything like so much to bring about a peaceful solution.

His Excellency told me that he had sent Constant Effendi to Constantinople, chiefly to induce the Government to endeavour to propitiate Montenegro; and obtain its loyal support to put an end to the insurrection. It is thought that a recognition of the independence of the Principality would suffice. This would probably be backed by Russia, who, it is said, is beginning to be extremely embarrassed by the course of events, fearing an European complication for which she is not prepared, and, on the other hand, foreseeing loss of influence with Montenegro if she counselled the abandonment of the insurgents without being able to show the Prince that he has profited by hitherto following her advice.

The Chiefs of the insurrection are quarrelling among themselves, and if Montenegro were to give the word, it is certain that the revolt would be at an end. Having obtained all its supplies by the connivance of Montenegro and Dalmatia, it could not exist a month if this support were withdrawn. The recognition of the independence of Montenegro would cost the Porte nothing more than a sacrifice of *amour propre*, and besides putting an end to a ruinous difficulty, it would, I think, place the Porte, with regard to future relations, in a more advantageous position with the Principality, which, with the dignity, would have to assume the obligations of an independent State. If there be any question of a cession of territory Turkey would gain instead of lose by getting rid of all the districts along the Montenegrin frontier from Piva to Zupci.

Shefket and Nedjib Pashas have been recalled, and, with the Sultan's side-de-camp, left here this morning.

Raouf Pasha is now only Governor-General of the Herzegovina, which has been separated from Bosnia, to which a Governor-General will be appointed. This, I think, is a great mistake, as the two countries are so intimately connected, that two Governors only produce inconvenience and confusion. The measure is not regarded with satisfaction here.

I am sorry to say that Server Pasha, when about to leave this, received a telegram from the Porte ordering him to remain until fresh orders. It is the universal opinion that no man has done so much to deprive the Christians of all confidence in reform as Serva Pasha.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

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* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representative at Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, Vienna, and Rome.

No. 111.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 24.)

(No. 1. Political.)
Bosna-Serai, January 14, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that the Imperial Firman of the 12th December last was published this week in the official newspaper, the "Bosnia." It has been received here with the utmost indifference by all classes, Mussulmans and Christians alike being convinced that it will never be acted upon. The former will not admit the possibility of the Christians being placed on an equality with themselves as long as a Caliph reigns at Constantinople, and the Christians ask why they should place confidence in the promises contained in the present Firman, when experience has shown them that every Imperial Edict in their favour has hitherto remained a dead letter. They, with justice, remark that if the provisions of the Hatti-Humayoun had been faithfully carried out, no new Firman would now have been necessary. The promises contained in the latter appear to them as entirely illusory, with the exception of the one article which provides that the "Bedel-i-Askerieh," or tax in lieu of military service, shall only be levied between the ages of 20 and 40. But even in this respect it does not go as far as the Hatti-Humayoun, which admitted the right of Christians to serve in the army. I do not say that such a measure would now be acceptable to the non-Mussulman population, although it is the only one that can ever place all subjects of the Porte on an equal footing, and it is a remarkable fact that it has never been one of the pretensions set forth by the insurgents.

It is hardly astonishing that no one believes it to be the intention of the Porte to put into execution this last Firman, when it is well known here that Khurshid Pasha, the Governor-General of Bosnia in 1856, received, at the same time that the Hatti-Humayoun was sent to him for promulgation in this province, secret instructions not to act upon it. I have been assured of this on the very best authority, and also that a certain Shefket Effendi, Mutessarif, or, as he was then called, Kaimakam of the Sandjak of Travnik, was dismissed from his post for disregarding such instructions. A petition in his favour was numerously signed by the Christians of the district, and presented by a highly respected Catholic priest to Khurshid Pasha, who confessed in confidence that he could not maintain Shefket Effendi in his post, as he had acted contrary to express orders from Constantinople in executing the Hatti-Humayoun.

In any case I fear that the Imperial Firman will in no way affect the present insurrection, and I am assured by persons who have intimate relations with Servia and Montenegro that these Principalities are now fully prepared for concerted action in favour of the Christians of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that nothing can ward off a general rising in the course of the coming spring. Even the Bosnian Mussulmans seem convinced that matters will not end peaceably.

I am informed from Travnik, which is a hotbed of Mussulman fanaticism, that an attack on the Christian population had been planned to take place during the Courban Bairam, and that order was only preserved by the firm attitude of the Mutessarif Raschid Bey, and by the fear inspired by the presence of a well-disciplined battalion of Anatolian Infantry.

The nomination of Ibrahim Pasha as Governor of Bosnia has been received with great satisfaction by the Mussulman population, who have expressed their thanks by telegraph to the Grand Vizier. I may here mention that his Excellency shows no inclination to cultivate friendly relations with the Consular body, but confines himself to mere official intercourse. On his arrival here more than three months ago as Mutessarif of the Sandjak of Serajevo, he paid the customary visits to the resident Consuls, but has not, I believe, since called on any of them. A week ago my colleagues and myself went to compliment him on his promotion to the rank of Vizier and Governor of Bosnia, but as yet he has not returned our call or in any way acknowledged our politeness.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 112.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 24.)

(No. 16.)
St. Petersburgh, January 7, 1876.

My Lord,

PRINCE GORTCHAKOW informed me this morning that Cabouli Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador, had made a communication to him yesterday, stating that the Grand Vizier would not be able to accept officially any communications submitting proposals of reforms which were of a nature prejudicial to the independence of Turkey. His Highness stated to Cabouli Pasha that he was not aware that any such intentions existed on the part of the European Powers, and he strongly urged on the Ambassador the danger to which Turkey would be exposed if she refused to listen to the voice of united Europe.

Prince Gortchakow, in the course of further conversation, stated that Count Schouvaloff had inquired by telegraph what course would be taken by the allied Powers in case Turkey or the insurgents refused to comply with the proposals of the European Powers.

His Highness had replied to Count Schouvaloff that these eventualities referred to the second phase of the question.

The acceptance of Count Andrassy's note did not imply any obligation for further action, and England might abstain, if she thought fit, from further co-operation. But his Highness is of opinion that if the six Powers are united in the first stage of the question the Porte will yield, and he entertained great hopes that the united action would suffice for the pacification of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Prince Gortchakow informed me that France and Italy had accepted the Austrian proposals.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 113.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 24.)

(No. 21.)
St. Petersburgh, January 19, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAD an interview with Prince Gortchakow this morning, when his Highness informed me that he had received very satisfactory reports from Count Schouvaloff of his conversations with your Lordship in regard to the Eastern question.

His Highness stated that there were two points in Count Andrassy's note which had appeared to cause some doubts in your Lordship's mind. He alluded to the employment for local purposes of the direct taxes of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the question of agrarian reforms, and his Highness seemed to be of opinion that a reserve of these points might be compatible with the general acceptance of Count Andrassy's note. Prince Gortchakow, however, only alluded to these points in general terms, without entering into any details.

In reply to my inquiry as to the form of the communication to be made to the Porte, Prince Gortchakow stated that this communication would be made in the form of identic notes.

He observed that in the present critical state of Turkey, "facts" and not "promises" were required. He had just seen the Turkish Ambassador, and has plainly told him that the Turkish Empire was in danger,—that the object of the European Powers was to save it,—and to enable it to maintain itself; but in order to do so, the reforms must be a "reality" and not a fiction.

"We wish," said the Prince, "the maintenance of the *status quo* 'territorial,' but not the *status quo* 'moral.' There is no wish to destroy the Empire, but a general wish and a common necessity to preserve it; and it can only be preserved in the way we have indicated. It is true," he said to the Turkish Ambassador, "that you may push matters to an extremity, but you will deluge Turkey with blood, and in that case Christian Europe must intervene in the cause of humanity."

Prince Gortchakow stated that a much more moderate and conciliatory disposition had manifested itself at Constantinople, and that even Raschid Pasha had expressed a hope that England would not separate herself from the other Powers.

On my inquiry whether the Porte, in accepting the proposals of the European Powers, might possibly require some equivalent, Prince Gortchakow replied that

reference had been made to this subject in the correspondence he had received from Constantinople, one of the conditions having reference to Montenegro.

His Highness stated in very emphatic terms, that Russia would never permit the occupation by Turkey of Montenegro, and I am informed that he has notified this determination in very plain terms at Constantinople; at the same time he has, by order of the Emperor, enjoined on the Prince of Montenegro the observance of a strict neutrality, and an entirely passive attitude in regard to the Herzegovina insurrection.

Prince Gortchakow expressed to me his confidence that the insurgents would submit to the counsels of Europe, if the Porte accepted the proposals of Count Andrassy's note, and if some palpable evidence was given of their immediate execution.

The three Imperial Governments, added Prince Gortchakow, were decided to carry out their measures, and he felt certain that both France and Italy would co-operate with them. He trusted that England would not separate herself in a cause in which the common interests of all were so gravely concerned.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 114.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 24.)

(No. 33. Confidential.)
Berlin, January 21, 1876.

My Lord,

THE general feeling of impatience and apprehension, described in my despatch No. 24 of the 15th instant, has vanished and made room for general expressions of satisfaction and mutual congratulations since the publication of Reuter's telegram announcing that Her Majesty's Government has decided to support the Austrian note at Constantinople.

The prospect of a refusal on the part of England to act in concert with the Guaranteeing Powers in Turkey, was thought to be fraught with danger, and everyone now appears to think that danger well over.

The Emperor and the Crown Prince spoke to me last night at a Court Concert in the same sense as everyone else, and expressed their sincere satisfaction at the decision of Her Majesty's Government.

Herr von Bülow told me that Prince Bismarck, who is laid up with a cold, had received the German Ambassador's reports from London this morning, and had been highly gratified by the account given of his Excellency's conversations with your Lordship on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 115.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(No. 39.)
Foreign Office, January 24, 1876.

Sir,

THE Austrian Ambassador called upon me on the 22nd instant, and made a communication to the following effect:—

The three Powers, before making their proposed representation at Constantinople, had been anxious to know the view which the British Government would take of it. The Austrian Government had now learned from him by telegraph that England was prepared to give that representation a general support. They had been glad to hear of this decision, which they considered themselves entitled to regard as formal and definitive, and they were prepared to make their representation without further delay. Before doing so, however, they wished to ascertain whether Her Majesty's Government had any objection to this course, or wished them to await a supplementary declaration on the part of Great Britain.

I said in reply, that I thought it would be better that before the Austrian communication was formally made to the Porte, Sir H. Elliot should be in a position to give it such support as his instructions should authorize; these instructions could not be sent in detail by telegraph, and until they arrived he would naturally feel himself unable to speak

otherwise than in very general and guarded language. I added that within the next three or four days, I hoped to be able to place in Count Beust's hands a despatch giving in full the views of Her Majesty's Government. Some conversation followed, in the course of which Count Beust took occasion to observe that the communication intended to be addressed to the Porte was not regarded by his Government in the light of mere good advice. They wanted a pledge that the reforms which they proposed should be carried into execution, failing which they would not undertake to use their influence with the Christian population to advise them to lay down their arms.

I stated in answer that I clearly understood this to be the Austrian point of view. So far as Her Majesty's Government were concerned, we were not prepared to do more than offer such friendly advice as the circumstances seemed to require, but this difference between the relative positions of the two countries need not prevent us from supporting recommendations which we believed, in the main, to be founded on sound principles.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 116.

Count Beust to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 24.)

Dear Lord Derby,
Belgrave Square, January 24, 1876.

HAVING to make, by order of my Government, some communications to you, I have the honour to submit them in writing in order to save you the trouble of an interview.

You will remember that at our last meeting I expressly reminded you that the object of our *démarche vis-à-vis* of the Porte was not to give friendly counsel only, but to obtain a definite promise that the reforms we advocate should be really carried into effect. This promise, my Government submits, should take the form of an answer to our propositions in writing, the Sublime Porte entering therein into an explicit engagement towards the guaranteeing Powers to carry out the reforms in question, without which the Cabinets could not succeed in pacifying the disturbed districts. You will remember, likewise, that Count Schouvaloff has expressed, in the name of the Russian Government, the same intention of eliciting a written engagement from the Porte on the subject.

I have been informed to-day, by telegraph, that France and Italy have unreservedly acceded to this view, and I can hardly lay too much stress on the disappointment with which my Government would view a disagreement of the British Government on this point.

I am further directed to inform you that the Porte itself has requested the Imperial and Royal Government not to delay any longer the official communication of its propositions.

Under these circumstances I trust you will excuse my expressing the hope that I will be put, by to-morrow, in possession of the note which you told me on Saturday last I might expect in two or three days. There can be no doubt that the postponement of the pacifying influence of the powers even by single days may, in the present state of affairs, be fraught with incalculable danger.

I remain, &c.
(Signed) BEUST.

No. 117.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 25.)

(No. 64.)
Paris, January 24, 1876.

My Lord,

AT the request of the Duc Decazes, I went to see him yesterday evening, to give him an opportunity of speaking to me on the subject of Count Andrassy's despatch of the 30th December, relative to reforms in Turkey.

The Duke began by telling me that he had received, both through the French Embassy at Vienna and the Austro-Hungarian Embassy here, a communication as to the course to be taken with regard to placing before the Porte the suggestions made in that paper.

This communication was (he said) to the effect that it had been determined that the Ambassadors of Austria-Hungary, of Germany, and of Russia at Constantinople, should each separately read the despatch of the 30th December to the Ottoman Minister for Foreign Affairs, give him a copy of it, and require the adhesion of the Porte to the recommendations contained in it, should be signified to their respective Governments in writing, and in a form equivalent to a solemn engagement. The Austrian communication proceeded (the Duke told me) to suggest that the Governments of France, England and Italy might proceed in the same manner, or might adopt any other form which suited them better, provided that the essential points of recommending the suggestions in the despatch, and requiring an adhesion in writing from the Porte, amounting to a solemn engagement, were provided for.

The Duc Decazes went on to say that he did not see how France could adopt the same course as that which was to be followed by the three Empires. It would, he conceived, be an extraordinary solecism in diplomacy for a Foreign Ambassador to ask the Government to which he was accredited for a solemn written answer to a document neither emanating from his own Government nor addressed to himself. In the present case it would, in the Duke's opinion, be on all accounts much better that the French Ambassador at Constantinople should communicate to the Porte no more than a despatch addressed to him by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The Duke proceeded to read me a first draft which he had prepared of a despatch for the purpose.

To the best of my recollection the substance of it was as follows:—

It began by recapitulating very shortly the communication between the Powers of Europe on the necessity of pacifying the Herzegovina.

It mentioned Count Andrassy's despatch of the 30th of December, as having been already communicated to the Ambassador, but did not inclose a fresh copy of it, nor direct the Ambassador to give a copy to the Porte.

It gave a very brief summary of the Austrian suggestions, but not in the exact words of Count Andrassy's despatch.

It expressed a general approval of these suggestions, recommended them to the adoption of the Porte, and insisted upon the necessity that the acceptance of them by the Porte should be notified to the Powers by a formal written document.

It contained a slight reservation on the subject of the appropriation of the direct taxes to local purposes. This reservation was couched in the form of an expression of confidence that this appropriation would not be allowed to diminish the resources at the disposal of the Porte for fulfilling its engagements to its creditors.

It grounded the requirement of a formal engagement from the Porte on such an engagement being indispensable for pacifying the Herzegovina; it represented the intervention of the Powers as a proof of their friendship; it pointed out that the reforms proposed were only developments of those already announced by the Porte; and argued that the formal communication by the Porte of its adoption of these reforms would be consistent with former precedents. In short, the draft seemed to have been drawn up throughout with a strong desire to render the whole matter as little unpalatable as possible to the Porte, or (to repeat the expression used by the Duc Decazes in speaking to me of it) "to gild the pill."

I do not recollect that this draft contained any special reservation of the independence of the Sultan, or suggested that any distinct promises as to the discouragement or suppression of the Herzegovina insurrection might be required as conditions for the acceptance by the Porte of the Austrian recommendations.

Having finished reading his draft, the Duc Decazes proceeded to make some comments upon it.

I must have observed (he said) that in referring to the communications between the Powers he had been careful to call them merely "pourparlers," not negotiations, and that he had not drawn any distinct line between the part taken by France and that taken by the three Imperial Governments in the preparation of the Austrian recommendations. In fact, there was (he conceived) little or nothing in them which had not been mentioned over and over again by the other Powers, although the actual terms of Count Andrassy's despatch had been agreed upon by Austria, Germany, and Russia, before they were communicated to France, England, and Italy. Accordingly, he had thought it better not to put in a strong light the shade of difference that existed.

I observed that there were some details, such, for instance, as the appropriation of the direct taxes for local purposes, and the agrarian reforms, which seemed to me to be novelties; and I said that the question of keeping out of sight the distinction between the parts taken by the several Powers might be looked at from another point of view. It might

be thought undesirable that England, France, and Italy should identify themselves with Count Andrassy's despatch as completely as if they had been its authors, or had been consulted in the framing of it.

The Duc Decazes seemed to me to be struck by this remark; and after some consideration went on to say that, as I had seen, he had actually made a special reservation on the subject of the appropriation of the direct taxes. He had also thought of qualifying in some way his assent to the agrarian reforms, but on reading over the part of Count Andrassy's note relating to them, he had found that the suggestions were so little absolute and imperative, so platonic in fact, that he had desisted.

The Duc Decazes, in conclusion, expressed a hope that the general tenor of his Draft, and the course which he proposed to take with regard to the representation to be made to the Porte, would prove to be in accordance with the views of Her Majesty's Government.

I had the honour to transmit to your Lordship a summary of the Draft last night by telegraph.

I have, &c,
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 118.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.[1]

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, January 25, 1876, 8·30 P.M.*

I HAVE answered Count Andrassy in a letter to Count Beust to the following effect:—

Her Majesty's Government believe true interests of Great Britain and Austria in such a matter to be identical.

Have never omitted to urge on Porte liberal measures for improvement of Christian population as essential to welfare of Ottoman Empire.

Building and repairs of churches and schools, and acceptance of Christian evidence, mixed tribunals and publicity of trial provided in Hatti Scheriff of 1839, Hatti Humayoun and Vilayet Law of 1867. Religious liberty thus recognised in principle, no reason why Porte should scruple to accept counsel of friendly Powers for its practical application. Suppression of farming of taxes already resolved upon. General agreement in principle upon this point also between Porte and Austria.

Her Majesty's Government do not understand sufficiently proposal as to application of direct taxation to be able to appreciate its scope. Do not know exact signification of terms direct and indirect. Believe some direct taxes already hypothecated to bondholders. Questionable whether such a proposal could be confined to one part of the Empire. If applied throughout might cripple resources of the country for public works, on which improvement of condition of population depends. If, however, taxes levied for local purposes in nature of rates have been misapplied, grievance should be remedied.

Understand Mixed Commission already provided.

Difficulties of principle and detail presented by proposal as to agrarian legislation, and grants of waste lands.

Her Majesty's Government not sufficiently informed to give definite opinion on this any more than on point as to direct taxation. If law of 1858 not applied this might be remedied.

On the whole Her Majesty's Government see nothing in the five points to which cannot give general support without definite opinion as to taxation and agrarian reforms.

Aware of trouble and anxiety arising to Austria from insurrection in Dalmatian frontier. Consider it neither unreasonable nor undesirable that Austria should tender suggestions for pacification.

Rely upon assurances in Count Andrassy's despatch, and given by Count Beust, that if suggestions carried into effect Austrian Government will, in concert with other Powers, whose united action Count Andrassy has invited, use best exertions to prevent spread of movement, and induce insurgents to submit, or effectually preclude aid to them from beyond frontier should they persist. Her Majesty's Ambassador at

[1] Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome

Constantinople to give general support to proposals, and to act with his colleagues for that purpose.

No. 119.

The Earl of Derby to Count Beust.

Foreign Office, January 25, 1876.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

HER Majesty's Government have had under their consideration the despatch from Count Andrassy, dated the 30th December, of which I had the honour of receiving a copy from your Excellency on the 3rd instant.

After a brief interview of the action of the Powers since the insurrection broke out in Herzegovina and Bosnia, Count Andrassy proceeds to state the measures which the Austrian Government, after communication with the Governments of Germany and Russia, consider as proper to be recommended for the pacification of the insurgent districts.

These measures consist in the practical enforcement in these districts of the provisions for the benefit of the Christian population, contained in the Hatti-Scheriff of Gulhané of 1839, the Hatti-Humayoun of 1856, and the Iradé and Firman of the 2nd October and 12th of December last, together with administrative reforms in the collection and application of the taxes, and in the execution of the Land Law of 1858.

Count Andrassy sums up these points as follows:—

Full and entire religious liberty.

Abolition of the system of farming the taxes.

A law which should guarantee that the produce of the direct taxes in Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be employed in the interest of these provinces, under the control of bodies constituted in the sense of the Firman of the 12th December.

The institution of Special Commission, composed of an equal number of Mussulmans and Christians, to control the execution of reforms proposed by the Powers as well as those proclaimed in the Iradé of the 2nd October and Firman of the 12th of December; and, finally, the improvement of the position of the rural population.

Of these points the first four should and could, Count Andrassy states, be brought into immediate execution by the Porte; the fifth gradually as soon as is practicable.

The Austro-Hungarian Government consider that if Bosnia and Herzegovina obtain these concessions and other reforms indicated in the recent Firman, but which, from the text of the Firman, would appear not to be intended to be at present applied in the insurgent districts, hopes may be entertained of the restoration of peace.

Count Andrassy adds that there is a general conviction among the Christians that in the spring the insurrection will spread to Bulgaria, Crete, &c., and that at all events it is to be foreseen that the Governments of Servia and Montenegro may be unable to resist the force of public opinion in their countries and be led into adjoining the movement as soon as the winter breaks up.

The three Cabinets accordingly consider that the only chance of avoiding new complications is to be found "dans une manifestation émanant des Puissances et constatant leur ferme résolution d'arrêter le mouvement qui menace d'entraîner l'Orient.

"Or, ce but," Count Andrassy continues, "ne saurait être atteint par le seul moyen d'une injonction à l'adresse des Gouvernements Princiers et des populations Chrétiennes sujettes du Sultan. . . . Aussi les Cabinets croient-ils absolument nécessaire d'obtenir que le Gouvernement du Sultan confirme, au moyen d'une Commission officielle, ses intentions consignées par rapport à l'ensemble de l'Empire dans l'Iradé du 2 Octobre et dans le Firman du 12 Décembre, et qu'il notifie en même temps aux Puissances son acceptation des points ci-dessus mentionnés, qui ont pour objet spécial la pacification des provinces insurgées."

Count Andrassy concludes by saying that it is proposed, out of regard to the independence and dignity of the Porte, not to address these counsels to it in a collective note, but that the Governments should confine themselves to instructing their Representatives at Constantinople to act together and in an identic manner towards the Sultan's Government in the sense of his despatch.

I have thus recapitulated the proposals in Count Andrassy's communication in order the better to indicate the view which Her Majesty's Government take of them.

In the first place I have to request your Excellency to express to the Government of Austria-Hungary the satisfaction felt by Her Majesty's Government at finding themselves in continued and friendly communication with the Cabinet of Vienna on this question. They do not believe that the true interests of the two countries can in such a matter be otherwise than identical.

Her Majesty's Government have never omitted, when opportunity presented itself, to urge upon the Porte the most liberal measures for the improvement of the Christian population as an essential condition to the welfare of the Ottoman Empire.

They were parties, as your Excellency is aware, to the Protocol signed at Vienna on the 1st of February, 1856, providing that the immunities of the Rayah subjects of the Porte shall be confirmed without prejudice to the independence and dignity of the Sultan's Crown, and the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain afterwards joined at the Congress of Paris with those of the other Powers in considering it indispensable that the issue of the Hatti-Humayoun should be recorded in the final Act of the Congress.

The Government of Austria-Hungary do not, if I rightly understand, consider that the provisions of that Firman, taken in connection with the Hatti-Scheriff of Gulhané of 1839, are insufficient for securing religious liberty to the Christian population of the Empire, but rather that those provisions, and especially such as relate to the building of churches and schools, have never been satisfactorily brought into execution within the districts to which Count Andrassy's despatch more particularly refers.

The Hatti-Humayoun contains the following clause on this subject:—

"In the towns, small boroughs, and villages, where the whole population is of the same religion, no obstacle shall be offered to the repair, according to their original plan, of buildings set apart for religious worship, for schools, for hospitals, and for cemeteries.

"The plans of these different buildings, in case of their new erection, must, after having been approved by the Patriachs or Heads of Communities, be submitted to my Sublime Porte, which will approve of them by my Imperial Order, or make known its observations upon them within a certain time.

"Each sect, in localities where there are no other religious denominations, shall be free from every species of restraint as regard the public exercise of its religion.

"In the towns, small boroughs, and villages, where different sects are mingled together, each community inhabiting a distinct quarter shall, by conforming to the above-mentioned ordinances, have equal power to repair and improve its churches, its hospitals, its schools, and its cemeteries. When there is question of the erection of new buildings, the necessary authority must be asked for through the medium of the Patriarchs and Heads of Communities from my Sublime Porte, which will pronounce a sovereign decision according that authority, except in the case of administrative obstacles. The intervention of the administrative authority in all measures of this nature will be entirely gratuitous. My Sublime Porte will take energetic measures to ensure to each sect, whatever be the number of its adherents, entire freedom in the exercise of its religion."

On the 15th of May, 1867, the Porte addressed a circular to its Representatives at the Courts of the Treaty Powers, inclosing a Memorandum explaining the further administrative measures which it was intended to carry out in execution of the Hatti-Humayoun. This Memorandum, of which your Excellency's Government is no doubt in possession of a copy, touched upon the different provisions of the Hatti-Humayoun, and remarking upon the manner in which effect had been given to them, stated that no impediment had ever been placed in the way of the construction of new churches or the repair of old ones. "So far from placing difficulties in the way, the Sovereign and the Government often come to the aid of these religious foundations, either by gratuitous concessions of land or by pecuniary grants."

By the Criminal Code of the Empire, Article 132: "Quiconque aura troublé l'exercice du culte et des cérémonies religieuses que les différentes classes de sujets de Sa Majesté Impériale sont autorisés à exercer, ou qui les aura entravés par des voies de fait ou des menaces, sera, selon le degré de gravité du cas, puni d'une semaine à trois mois d'emprisonnement."

Furthermore, in the Firman of the 12th December last, the Sultan has declared, "Toutes les classes de nos sujets qui vivent à l'ombre de notre protection Impériale sont à nos yeux et dans nos sentiments de justice sur le pied d'une complète égalité. C'est pourquoi nous confirmons les pouvoirs dont sont revêtus les patriarches et les autres chefs spirituels pour les affaires de leurs communautés respectives, ainsi que pour le libre exercice de leurs cultes, conformément aux privilèges et immunités existant des dites

communautés. Toutes les affaires se rattachant tant à l'autorité des dits chefs spirituels qu'au besoin et aux actes de leurs conseils spéciaux, dans les limites des droits et autorisations qui leur ont été octroyés, continueront à être l'objet de toute notre protection, et l'on accordera toutes les facilités pour la fondation et la construction de leurs églises, de leurs écoles, et de leurs autres édifices nationaux."

So far, therefore, as the intention of the Porte can be proclaimed, it appears to Her Majesty's Government that the principle of religious liberty throughout the Ottoman Empire has been acknowledged to the fullest extent, and Her Majesty's Government see no reason why the Porte should scruple to accept the counsel of friendly Powers for its practical application.

In like manner the acceptance of Christian evidence and the establishment of mixed tribunals with publicity of trial have been provided for in the Hatti-Humayoun, and in the Law of 1867 for the organisation of the vilayets, which also established throughout the Empire a system of elective Councils, containing a proportion of Christian members; the recent Firman, too, decrees in the most formal manner that "tous nos sujets sont autorisés à élire eux-mêmes les juges et les membres Musulmans et non-Musulmans, tant des dits Tribunaux que des Conseils Administratifs des Provinces."

Again, as regards the farming of the taxes, the Memorandum of May 15, 1867, to which I have already referred, stated that "The system of farming taxes has been suppressed, except as regards the tithes, with regard to which the system of direct collection has been tried for five years, and has not produced the results anticipated therefrom: on the one hand, direct collection has, in fact, occasioned a sensible diminution in the revenue derived from tithes; and, on the other, the populations have almost unanimously pronounced against this system, preferring one which permits a discharge in kind. The Imperial Government has accordingly had to renounce this system, and to revert to that of farming, into which it has, however, introduced a modification very favourable to the agricultural population. This modification consists in granting the farming of the tithes in each village by means of a separate public auction, and in permitting the commune itself to become the purchaser of the tithe at the sum to which the rate had raised it. Another relief extended to the mode of collecting tithes is permission to the husbandman either to effect himself the transport of the produce of the tithe with which he is chargeable, or to exonerate himself therefrom subject to an indemnity in kind payable to the farmer, without being constrained, as formerly, to abandon his labours at a season when his presence in the fields is most necessary. Lastly, to do away with a source of abuse often and justly pointed out, it is forbidden to any officer of the State to become purchaser of tithes directly or indirectly, and the Penal Code provides for and punishes every infraction of this prohibitive measure."

The Firman of the 12th of December states:—

"Indépendamment de la suppression du quart supplémentaire de la dîme, suppression qui a été récemment décrétée par l'effet de notre sollicitude Impériale pour le bien-être de tous nos sujets, on doit encore prendre les mesures les plus efficaces pour prévenir l'arbitraire dans la perception de la dîme par l'intermédiaire des fermiers, et pour empêcher également qu'aucun dommage ne soit porté soit à nos populations agricoles soit à notre Trésor Impérial."

Her Majesty's Government have been informed by Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, that the entire suppression of the system of tax-farming is resolved upon, and that the best mode of levying the taxes for the future is under the consideration of the Porte.

On this point also, therefore, the views of the Porte may be said to be already in accordance with the recommendations contained in Count Andrassy's despatch.

It must, however, be obvious that a re-adjustment of the mode of levying the taxes in money instead of in kind, unless carefully adapted to local circumstances and requirements, might give rise to much injustice and distress.

Still, as regards the two questions of religious liberty and of the abolition of the system of tax-farming, a general agreement of the Porte and the Powers may be said to be in principle already secured.

The third point, that of the application of direct taxation in Bosnia and Herzegovina to the benefit of those districts, is scarcely sufficiently explained for Her Majesty's Government to be able to appreciate its scope. They are not aware of the proportion which the direct may bear to the indirect taxes, nor of the exact signification which in Turkey may be attached to the expressions "direct" and "indirect" taxation. Her Majesty's Government believe that certain direct taxes have been hypothecated as security for foreign loans, and in making any recommendation to the Porte on this point it would seem to be necessary to bear this in mind.

It is questionable, too, whether such a system could be applied to one portion of the Empire alone, without being eventually extended to neighbouring provinces, or possibly to the whole of the Turkish dominions, and any plan which should have for its ultimate and logical result the withdrawal of the whole direct taxation of the Empire from the Treasury, might have a most serious effect in impeding the execution of those public works and other measures of general utility upon which the improvement of the condition of the population depends.

At the same time if it can be shown that taxes levied for local purposes in the nature of rates have been misapplied, and just cause for complaint thus given, the matter is one which the Porte might well be counselled to consider and remedy.

The fourth point, namely, the institution of a Special Commission composed of an equal number of Mussulmans and Christians, has, Her Majesty's Government understand, been already to some extent provided for. A council has, in fact, already commenced its sittings at Constantinople for the purpose of carrying out the Firman of December 12th. As, according to the Law of the Vilayets, to which I have already adverted, the principle of mixed Councils to assist the Vali is recognised, Her Majesty's Government do not see that the Porte need experience any difficulty in organizing a mixed council in the manner and for the purpose proposed by Count Andrassy. Indeed, it would appear from the "Règlement relatif aux attributions du Conseil Exécutif," received on the 18th instant from Her Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople, that this has already been ordered.

I have the honour to inclose a copy of this document in case it may not already have been forwarded to your Excellency.

The fifth point, the improvement of the condition of the agricultural population, might, it is explained, be attained by allowing the peasants to purchase portion of uncultivated lands on easy terms from the State.

Count Andrassy refers to a law on this subject, which I presume to be that of the 21st of April, 1858, consolidating and amending the laws relating to landed property in Turkey. This law provided that uncultivated lands belonging to the State might, with the consent of the authorities, become the property of the person who undertook to reclaim them, on payment of a certain sum.

Her Majesty's Government are not aware what may be the extent or redeemable value of any waste lands of this description in Bosnia and Herzegovina, nor do they see how the peasants could be benefited in the manner suggested unless assisted by capital, which it must be presumed they do not at present possess. The question, however, of the grant of lands to the labouring population is one which presents many difficulties both of principle and detail. In the opinion of Her Majesty's Government it could only be satisfactorily dealt with after local investigation and discussion by competent persons. The Firman of December 12 states:—

"Dans certaines parties de notre Empire nos sujets non-Musulmans ne peuvent pas devenir propriétaires, et sont employés dans les fermes. Cet état de choses étant contraire à nos sentiments de justice, il n'existera plus désormais aucune distinction entre nos sujets, soit pour la possession des terres vacantes vendues par adjudication, soit pour la possession des terres et biens qui sont vendus par des particuliers. En conséquence, on leur assurera la jouissance, sur le pied de la plus complète égalité, des dispositions de la lois sur la propriété foncière."

Count Andrassy alleges that the Firman of 1858 has never been brought into operation in Bosnia. As the Porte now recognizes the justice of the complaint of the Christian population in some places in this regard, this matter also might well be considered as one upon which there is in principle a mutual agreement, so far at least as the application of the Law of 1858 is concerned.

Your Excellency will have observed from the foregoing remarks that Her Majesty's Government see nothing in the five points proposed by Count Andrassy to which they cannot give a general support; although, on the other hand, the proposed reforms relating to taxation and grants of land involve in their detailed application to districts like Bosnia and Herzegovina many questions upon which they are not prepared, in their present state of information, to offer a definite opinion.

Her Majesty's Government are well aware of the burdens and anxiety which the existence of an insurrection in the immediate neighbourhood of the Dalmatian frontier must entail upon Austria-Hungary, and they cannot consider it to be either unreasonable or undesirable that the Cabinet of Vienna should desire to tender to the Porte suggestion for the pacification of the disturbed districts.

They rely upon the assurances contained in Count Andrassy's despatch, and upon those which your Excellency has conveyed to me, that if these suggestions are carried into

effect the Austro-Hungarian Government will, in concert with the other Powers whose united action Count Andrassy has invited, use their best exertions to prevent the spread of the movement, and to induce the insurgents to submit, or effectually to preclude them from receiving assistance from beyond the frontier, should they persist in continuing the struggle.

Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople will accordingly be instructed to give a general support to the proposals of the Austro-Hungarian Government, and to act with his colleagues for this purpose.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 120.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.[a]

Foreign Office, January 25, 1876, 7 30 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

WITH reference to my telegram, repeating telegram to Vienna, containing answer to Austrian despatch, instructions sent out to you are to the following effect.

At beginning of insurrection Her Majesty's Government advised Porte to rely on their own resources,—refer to my despatch No. 235 of August 12. Again only consented to take part in Consular mission at request of the Porte. Refer to my despatch No. 258 of the 24th of August.

Porte has now again requested Her Majesty's Government not to stand aloof. Regard this request as a pledge that the Porte will accept counsels offered by the Powers in a friendly spirit, and give effect to them in a manner tending to pacify the disturbed districts, by showing that the Porte is really determined to execute its promises of reform.

Consider that Count Andrassy's proposals amount to little more than a request that Porte will execute Hatti-Scherif of 1839, Hatti-Hounayoun, and recent Iradé and Firman, and that measures for improvement of non-Mussulman population already proclaimed will be practically applied.

Do not regard Count Andrassy's proposals as contrary to Treaty of Paris. They are suggestions or recommendations for suppression of insurrection. Do not involve interference between Sultan and subjects.

Do not see that Porte need feel difficulty in acting on advice, and communicating to the Powers in some form the measures proposed in consequence. Previous Firmans, Règlements, and the like officially communicated. Too great regard should not be paid to mere formalities.

Essential that Porte should act vigorously and promptly in execution of reforms. Evident from reports of British Consuls local authorities have not realised importance of frankly accepting and honestly executing reforms.

You should strongly impress on Porte indispensable to appoint officers of energy and determination, who will disregard local apathy and prejudice, and sternly repress atrocities like murder of returning refugees, and restore feeling of security to Christian population, otherwise no pacification can be expected.

You are authorized to give general support to proposals summed up by Count Andrassy under five points, without pledging Her Majesty's Government to details on the points on which they have been unable to give definite opinion.

You should conform your representations to usual form of oral communications to Grand Vizier and Rashid Pasha. Act, so far as possible, within limits I have indicated with colleagues representing five other Powers.

Also make Porte acquainted with tenor of these instructions.

You may act at once on the above so far as you can do so.

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[a] Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

No. 121.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 52.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, January 25, 1876.*

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith a copy of the answer which I have returned to the despatch from Count Andrassy containing proposals for the pacification of the insurgent districts in Herzegovina and Bosnia,* of which I transmitted a copy to your Excellency in my despatch No. 3 of the 3rd instant.

Your Excellency will see that, after examining the proposals contained in Count Andrassy's despatch, Her Majesty's Government have come to the conclusion that there is nothing in them to which they cannot give a general support.

On the outbreak of the insurrection, when appealed to by the Porte to use their good offices with the Austro-Hungarian Government, and at Belgrade and Cettigné, Her Majesty's Government expressed their opinion, in my despatch to your Excellency, No. 235 of the 12th of August, that the Turkish Government should rely on their own resources to suppress the insurrection and should deal with it as a local outbreak rather than give international importance to it by appealing for support to other Powers.

Had the advice thus tendered been acted upon by the Porte, and vigorous measures taken at the outset for the restoration of order, it is probable that the insurrection would not have attained its present proportions, nor afforded grounds for proposing a Consular Mission to the disturbed districts.

When such a Mission was proposed, the Grand Vizier addressed to your Excellency a request that the British Consul might be instructed to join the Mission. I thereupon informed your Excellency, in my despatch No. 258 of the 24th of August, that Her Majesty's Government consented to this step with reluctance, as they doubted the expediency of the intervention of foreign Consuls. Such an intervention, I remarked, was scarcely compatible with the independent authority of the Porte; it offered an inducement to insurrection as a means of appealing to foreign sympathy against Turkish rule, and it might not improbably open the way to further diplomatic interference in the internal affairs of the Empire.

Since, however, the Porte had begged your Excellency not to stand aloof, Her Majesty's Government felt that they had no alternative. They desired, at the same time, that the Turkish Government should understand that the assent of Her Majesty's Government was given at their own instance, and that Her Majesty's Government would have thought it better that the Porte should have dealt with the insurgents without foreign intervention of any kind.

The Mission of the Consuls had no practical results in inducing the insurgents to lay down their arms. What little benefit might have arisen from it was defeated by the ill-advised proceedings of the Turkish troops, as reported in Consul Holmes' despatch of the 28th of September.

The Porte has now again requested Her Majesty's Government not to hold aloof from the concerted action of the Powers. This request must be regarded as a pledge on the part of the Porte that the counsels of the Austro-Hungarian Government, to which the Governments of all the other Powers have adhered, and to which the general support of Her Majesty's Government is extended, will be received in a friendly spirit, and that effect will be given to them in a manner which may tend to the pacification of the disturbed districts by showing that the Porte is really determined to carry into execution its promises of reform.

The proposals of Count Andrassy amount, indeed, to little more than a request that the Porte will execute the Hatti-Sherif of Gulhané of 1839, the Hatti-Humayoun of 1856, and the Iradé and Firman of the 2nd October and 12th of December last; in short, that the measures for the improvement of the condition of the non-Mussulman and rural population generally throughout the Empire, which have been publicly proclaimed, should be brought into practical application. Some of these measures do not affect the Christian subjects of the Porte alone, but would benefit the whole population alike. The abolition of tithe-farming, for instance, which must be felt as an especial relief by the owners of land, who, in Bosnia, at all events, are for the most part Mahommedans.

Her Majesty's Government do not, therefore, consider that the proposals of Count Andrassy conflict with the IXth Article of the Treaty of Paris; they look on them as being in the nature of suggestions or recommendations for adoption by the Porte in its endeavours to put an end to the insurrection, and as not involving any interference in the

* No. 119.

relations existing between the Sultan and his subjects, nor in the internal administration of his Empire.

Nor do Her Majesty's Government see that the Porte need feel any difficulty in acting upon the advice thus given, and in communicating to the Powers in some form the measures which may be proposed in consequence. All the different Firmans and Règlements of a similar character have, at various times, been officially notified to the Powers. The Hatti-Sheriff of Gulhané contains an express clause to this effect:—"Les dispositions ci-dessus arrêtées étant une altération et une rénovation complète des anciens usages, ce rescrit Impérial sera publié à Constantinople et dans tous les lieux de notre Empire, et devra être communiqué officiellement à tous les Ambassadeurs des Puissances amies résidants à Constantinople, pour qu'ils soient témoins de l'octroi de ces institutions qui, s'il plaît à Dieu, dureront à jamais." The Hatti-Humayoun of 1856 was also officially forwarded by the Turkish Government to the Ambassadors, with a statement that the Sublime Porte renewed and confirmed the assurances previously given to the Governments of England and France, with regard to the treatment of renegades. The Imperial Firman for the reorganization of the Government of Crete in 1867, and the Règlement for the administration of the Lebanon in 1864, were also similarly notified.

Your Excellency has suggested, in your telegraphic despatch of the 17th instant, that the Porte might issue a supplementary Firman decreeing the fresh reforms now proposed, and Her Majesty's Government see no objection to this course if the other Powers will consider it satisfactory.

In a matter, however, of such importance, and one in which the Porte has so much to gain by securing the support of the Powers, it would not be wise that too great regard should be paid to mere formalities.

What appears to Her Majesty's Government to be essential is, that the Porte should act promptly and vigorously in the execution of the reforms. It is evident from the reports of Her Majesty's Consuls that the native Mussulmans in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and even the local authorities, have not realized to themselves the importance of frankly accepting, and honestly executing, the reforms already decreed.

Your Excellency should therefore strongly impress on the Porte that it is indispensable that the officers appointed to execute these reforms should be men of energy and determination, who will not be deterred by local apathy or prejudices, who will be able and willing to repress with severity such atrocities as the murders of the returning refugees at Popovopolie (reported by Consul Holmes on the 26th of October), and who will do their utmost to restore a feeling of security to the Christian population. Unless such a feeling can be produced, no effectual pacification of the insurgent districts can reasonably be expected.

In accordance with what I have stated in the inclosed communication to the Austrian Government, your Excellency is authorized to give a general support to the proposals contained in Count Andrassy's despatch, and summed up by him under five heads, without, however, pledging Her Majesty's Government to the details of those parts of his Excellency's proposals on which Her Majesty's Government have been unable to give a definite opinion.

As Count Andrassy does not propose that a collective note should be addressed to the Porte, your Excellency will confine your representations to the usual form of oral communications to the Grand Vizier or to Raschid Pasha, acting, so far as may be possible within the limits I have indicated, in concert with your colleagues, the representatives of Austria, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia.

Your Excellency should also take an early opportunity of making the Porte acquainted with the general tenor of this despatch.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 122.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.[1]

(No. 32.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, January 25, 1876.*

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith a copy of the reply which I have returned to the despatch from Count Andrassy respecting the pacification of the

[1] Similar despatches were addressed to Lord O. Russell, Lord A. Loftus, and Sir A. Paget.

Herzegovina and Bosnia,* of which a copy was transmitted to your Excellency in my despatch No. 4 of the 4th instant.

Your Excellency will observe that Her Majesty's Government have decided to give a general support to Count Andrassy's proposals, without pledging themselves to administrative details, on which they have not been able to form a definite opinion.

Your Excellency will communicate a copy of this reply to the German, Russian, and Italian Governments.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 123.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(No. 44.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, January 25, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that on the 24th instant the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at this Court made the following statement to me on behalf of his Government.

His Excellency reminded me that at our last meeting he had expressly said that the object of the Austro-Hungarian *démarche vis-à-vis* of the Porte was not to give friendly counsel only, but to obtain a definite promise that the reforms the Austrian Government advocated should be really carried into effect. That the Sublime Porte should enter into an explicit engagement towards the Guaranteeing Powers to carry out the reforms in question and give a written promise to that effect, without which the Cabinets could not succeed in pacifying the disturbed districts.

His Excellency added that I doubtless remembered that the Russian Ambassador had expressed to me the intention of his Government to elicit a similar written engagement from the Porte.

Count Beust stated that he had been informed by telegraph on the 24th instant that France and Italy had unreservedly acceded to this view, and that his Excellency could hardly lay too much stress on the disappointment which his Government would experience if the British Government disagreed on this point.

He further informed me that the Porte itself had requested his Government not to delay any longer the official commission of its propositions.

In conclusion, Count Beust expressed the hope that, under these circumstances, he would be put in possession the next day of the note which I had told him on Saturday last he might expect in two or three days, as there could be no doubt that the postponement of the pacifying influences of the Powers even by single days, might, in the present state of affairs, be fraught with incalculable danger.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 124.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Lyons.

(No. 56.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, January 25, 1876.*

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith, for your information, and for communication to the French Government, a copy of the reply which I have returned to the despatch from Count Andrassy,* of which a copy was inclosed in my despatch No. 9 of the 4th instant.

In communicating this paper to the Duc Decazes, your Excellency may take an opportunity of pointing out to him that Her Majesty's Government have, as he will see, agreed in the view expressed by him to your Excellency with regard to the proposals of Count Andrassy on the subject of the application of direct taxation.

Your Excellency may also state that Her Majesty's Government have instructed Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople to confine his representations in giving a general

* No. 119.

support to Count Andrassy's proposals to oral communications, as the Due Decazes had suggested to your Excellency might be expedient.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 125.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.[1]

(No. 30.) *Foreign Office, January 25, 1876.*

My Lord,

I INCLOSE, for your Excellency's information and guidance in your communications with the Russian, German, French, Austro-Hungarian, and Italian Governments, a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Sir H. Elliot,† instructing him to give his general support to the proposals of the Austro-Hungarian Government, contained in Count Andrassy's despatch of the 30th ultimo, for the pacification of the Herzegovina and Bosnia.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 126.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 35.) *Foreign Office, January 25, 1876.*

My Lord,

THE Russian Ambassador called upon me on the 24th instant and informed me that his Government did not care to discuss the form in which the support of other Powers might be given to Count Andrassy's proposals. They thought this was a matter which each Government might fairly settle for itself. But they were anxious that the Porte should return a written reply to the advice thus given, which might serve as a pledge on the part of the Turkish Government that the proposed reforms should be really executed.

Russia, Count Schouvaloff said, regarded this as indispensable for the pacification of the revolted provinces. The Emperor wished for such a reply as would constitute an engagement on the part of the Porte towards the Powers. He added that France and Italy had acquiesced in this suggestion, and were prepared to support it.

Count Schouvaloff went on to say that he heard that the Porte was now desirous that the note might be presented as soon as possible. Russia and Austria were both anxious that there should be no unnecessary loss of time.

I promised his Excellency that there should be no further delay as far as we were concerned. As regards the matter on which he had first spoken, I confined myself to saying in general terms that we should use our best endeavours to bring about an agreement between the Porte and the Powers who had undertaken to offer advice in the present juncture.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 127.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 25.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, January 24, 1876, 6·55 P.M.*

THE Porte received a telegram yesterday from the Herzegovina, stating that half a battalion had been entirely destroyed by the insurgents, with the exception of seventeen men. This morning another report has been received absolutely contradicting the former, and announcing that the loss of the Turks had been only seven men.

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[1] Similar despatches were addressed to Lord Odo Russell, Lord Lyons, Sir A. Buchanan, and Sir A. Paget.
† No. 121.

No. 128.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 25.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, January 25, 1876.*

RASCHID PASHA says that the proposal in reference to the application of the direct taxes to local purposes will greatly embarrass the Porte.

He asked the Austrian Ambassador for explanations which Count Zichy declares himself unable to give. Raschid Pasha calculates that the direct taxation gives four-fifths of the whole revenue of the Province.

No. 129.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 26, night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, January 25, 1876, 10·40 P.M.*

IN case of discussions arising out of the Austrian proposals, it would be of great advantage to me to be able to refer to Mr. Holmes, who has much practical knowledge respecting Bosnia.

His absence from his post would not, I think, be attended with inconvenience at this moment, and I should be glad to be authorized to direct him to come to Constantinople.

No. 130.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.[2]*—(Received January 25, at night.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, January 25, 1876, 10·45 P.M.*

RASCHID PASHA has sent to me to say he has learnt with dismay that it is intended that the Representatives shall leave him a copy of their instructions, containing Austrian proposals.

He said he understood from Austrian Ambassador that the communication was to be only verbal, and the Sultan had been informed of this.

He does not think that it will be possible for him to receive copies.

I shall see him, and point out serious consequences of such a refusal.

No. 131.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 25, night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, January 25, 1876.*

IN spite of the contradiction received by the Porte, Mr. Holmes declares the report of the destruction of half battalion of troops to be correct.

No. 132.

Acting Consul Summa to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 26.)

(No. 1. Consulaire.)

My Lord, *Scutari, le 11 Janvier, 1876.*

J'AI l'honneur de transmettre à votre Seigneurie ci-joint copie d'une dépêche en date d'aujourd'hui, que j'ai adressée à son Excellence l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté à Constantinople, au sujet des derniers combats qui ont eu lieu aux environs de la ville de Niksitch; sur le ravitaillement de cette place par les troupes Impériales; ainsi que sur les renforts que le Prince du Monténégro continue à envoyer aux insurgés de l'Herzégovine.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) F. SUMMA.

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[2] Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

Inclosure in No. 132.

Acting Consul Summa to Sir H. Elliot.

Scutari, le 11 Janvier, 1876.

Excellence,

LES dernières nouvelles reçues du théâtre de l'insurrection ont confirmé le bruit qui courait qu'une grande bataille avait eu lieu aux environs de la ville de Niksitch entre les troupes Impériales et les insurgés, ainsi que j'eus l'honneur d'en faire part à votre Excellence par ma précédente dépêche en date du 28 mois écoulé.

En effet, les troupes Turques non-seulement ont remporté la victoire dans les plusieurs combats qu'elles ont dû soutenir avec les insurgés, mais même elles ont pu pénétrer dans la place de Niksitch et l'ont ravitaillée pendant quelques mois encore. Je n'essaierai pas de donner à votre Excellence quelques détails relatifs à ces engagements, car chaque événement est si immensément exagéré et dénaturé qu'il est impossible de parvenir à la vérité à propos des particularités; toutefois c'est certain que les pertes des insurgés et des Monténégrins ont été très-sérieuses, et ces derniers ont aussi à déplorer la perte de plusieurs capitaines, et quant aux Turcs, malgré les graves pertes qu'eux-mêmes ont dû subir dans les sanglants combats susénoncés, c'est certain qu'ils ont été dédommagés par le résultat: car le ravitaillement de Niksitch est sans nul doute un très-rude coup porté aux insurgés et aux Monténégrins, qui espéraient de s'emparer de la place par la famine et d'en faire un siége fixe de Gouvernement et qui voient par là perdu tout espoir de la réduire. Peut-être qu'ils l'assiégeront de nouveau, mais à présent c'est très-difficile, sinon impossible, que les révoltés puissent jamais se rendre maîtres de Niksitch, malgré même tous les renforts que le Monténégro ne manquera pas de leur envoyer; et pour ce qui concerne l'attitude de ce dernier, je ne puis que me référer aux dépêches que j'eus l'honneur d'adresser précédemment à votre Excellence: car le Prince de Monténégro s'est borné, dès le principe, à garder la neutralité envers le Gouvernement Turc, seulement de notre côté, tandis que du côté de l'Herzégovine il continue toujours à aider l'insurrection, envoyant sur les lieux ses meilleurs soldats, commandés par de capitaines très-connus, ce que j'apprends d'ailleurs d'une source la plus authentique.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) F. SUMMA.

No. 133.

Consul Reade to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 26.)

(No. 1. Political.)

Rustchuk, January 15, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that the Firman of Reforms has been publicly read here, in the presence of all the Ottoman authorities and the Chiefs of the different Christian and Jewish communities here.

Much pomp and ceremony was observed on the occasion, but which failed to inspire any confidence in the people here, who say that so many previous Firmans have proved to be dead letters, that they are convinced the present one will turn out to be the same.

I have since seen the Governor-General, and asked him if the Firman was to be put into execution. His Excellency said not until he had received the instructions thereon, which were to be forwarded to him.

The Mussulmans here, I am told, were at the first rather dejected on the subject, but which is being dispelled by their recollection of the fate of previous similar Firmans.

I have made inquiries with the view of ascertaining whether the promulgation of the Firman has had any effect on the administration in general here, and I am told none whatever as yet, and that the same system continues as before.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. READE.

No. 134.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 30.)

Foreign Office, January 26, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE received your despatch No. 18, Confidential, of the 19th instant, and I approve of the communication which you made to his Excellency Visconti Venosta, in regard to the policy decided upon by Her Majesty's Government in the matter of the Austrian note.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 135.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, January 26, 1876, 5 P.M.

I SANCTION your summoning Mr. Holmes to Constantinople, as suggested by your Excellency. You may send somebody to replace him temporarily, if necessary.

No 136.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 27.)

Constantinople, January 8, 1876.

My Lord,

SIR PHILIP FRANCIS, being much more competent than myself to form a correct opinion of the late Firman as regards the reorganization of the judicial system of the Empire, I requested him to furnish me with a report upon it, which I have now the honour to forward to your Lordship.

Sir Philip Francis appears to entertain no expectation that the charges will be followed by any good result, and to doubt whether several of them may not be for the worse, and he bases this opinion to a great extent upon the character of the judicial appointments made since the Firman was issued, and upon a disbelief that either the Government or financial authorities are sincere in wishing to see a better system established than that which hitherto existed.

It is impossible that suspicions should not be felt upon this point, but it may be observed that, if they are correct, no good is to be expected from any scheme of reform which may be published.

With regard to the late appointments, Sir Philip Francis rightly points out that many of them have been altogether objectionable, but, on the other hand, it must be remembered that the choice of the Government is so limited, that it would not only be difficult, but absolutely impossible, to find men possessing at the same time competent legal requirements and known characters for integrity capable of filling them.

Those who have been hitherto filling judicial offices could not be summarily thrust aside because the Courts were to be reconstituted, but in several instances I have found the greatest readiness on the part of the Grand Vizier to cancel appointments already decided on, upon representations being made to him that they were objectionable.

The Consular Dragomans, through whom Sir Philip Francis obtains his information of the qualifications of the judicial functionaries, are able men, and no doubt generally correct in their appreciations, but I have occasionally found their opinions different from those which have been formed at the other Consulates.

To the remark upon the insufficiency of the present rate of the judicial salaries to secure the services of the best class of men, no answer is possible, and I have on many different occasions represented this to the Porte; but at the present moment, when the Government have not the means of paying their officers in any of the public departments, it is impossible to press for an additional expenditure.

I share in the doubt expressed by Sir Philip Francis, as your Lordship is already aware, whether, by rendering the Judges irremovable, an improvement will be effected, at all events, in the first instance; but it nevertheless appears an indispensable preliminary to securing the independence of those functionaries.

I have frequently had occasion to represent that, in cases between British subjects

and a public department, it was impossible to feel confidence in the decision of a Judge liable to be dismissed if he gave a decision adverse to the Porte.

Upon the objectionable nature of the provision by which the "Naïbs" will be the Presidents of the Courts of Appeal in the provinces, I have already commented, but the transfer of a large portion of the cases from the religious to the Civil Courts can hardly fail to be attended with benefit to the Christian population; and, although the "Naïbs" will no doubt be disposed to cling to their religious traditions, the obligations under which they will lie to receive Christian as well as documentary evidence (the exclusion of which by the religious Courts gave Christians, in many cases, no chance of justice), must undoubtedly prove a highly beneficial change.

With regard to the popular election of Judges, which seems open to the strong and obvious objections stated by Sir Philip Francis, it may perhaps be recollected that the principle was insisted upon in the carefully-elaborated project of the reforms brought forward by the Russian Government in the spring of 1867, and that it is not unlikely that the populations may be favourable to it.

There can be no grounds for expecting that either the reforms at present announced, or any that could be devised, will place the judicial system in a condition that would be considered tolerable in any country which has long been governed by a properly organized administration, but there can, I think, be no doubt that they contain elements which will lead to material improvement, if the Government are resolved that their spirit shall be observed.

It is upon this that the whole question turns.

If the Government are sincere in their professions, much good will be effected by a resolute application of the new organization; but if they are not sincere, a scheme much more theoretically perfect would be found equally inefficacious.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 136.

Memorandum by Sir P. Francis on the New Judicial Reforms contemplated in the late Firman of the Sultan.

THE subject of that part of the Firman on which I have to report embraces:—

1st. The reconstruction of the Courts of Appeal.

2nd. A reform in the selection of the judges, and in the administration of justice.

3rd. The institution in the provinces of new Tribunals, civil, correctional, and criminal, to replace the Sheriat Courts in certain cases, where non-Moslem suitors are concerned.

As regards the Courts of Appeal, including Courts "de Cassation," these are not new institutions. They have long existed, and the causes which have hitherto been in operation to prevent foreigners from availing themselves of these appeal Tribunals have been in no way removed by the Firman.

Whether future contemplated arrangements may effect that desirable object I can give no positive opinion.

To secure the independence of the Tribunals, the Firman proposes to find means of appointing respectable and efficient judges, to give them permanent office, and not to allow interference with their functions by the Government.

This proposition suggests the most obvious remark that the office of judge cannot be made honourable or creditable if the salaries are kept at the level of those given to the lower ranks of clerks in the country, nor is any provision that I know of in contemplation for remedying this defect in the system.

An unpaid magistracy exists in the provinces of England, but its members belong to a class which does not exist here, and they exercise functions which are considered honourable in England, but such a scheme cannot be introduced in Turkey.

Even with high salaries, the Porte would find it difficult to procure competent judges: with poor pay it is impossible.

The Porte hitherto has not appointed independent judges. Indeed, the modern perversion of the Oriental idea of justice is a concession to a suitor through grace and favour, and not the declaration of a right, on principles of law, and in pursuance of equity. The latest appointments to the judgeship, ever since the promulgation of the Firman, do not inspire one with confidence as to the genuine desire of the Government for an independent and incorruptible judicial body.

In fact they are absolutely no improvements on former appointments.

The Firman declares "it is necessary that the members of these Tribunals should be recommended by real merit, the purity of their morals and their integrity, and also by acts according to justice and equity," a statement which is an obvious truism, but provokes the remark that the last appointment to the Maritime Tribunal was that of Judge, whose qualifications were very adequately expressed by his salary, viz., 4*l.* 10*s.* a month.

Such an appointment (and there are others worse) is a forcible comment on that passage of the Firman (at the close of the 3rd section) which announces as a great truth that the "choice of Judges must, therefore, be effective to command the esteem of all."

The Court of Appeal and the Tribunals of Commerce are, by virtue of the Firman, to be incorporated with the Ministry of Justice. Hitherto the Minister of Commerce has been invested with the superintendence of the above Courts. It may seem more logical to English people to call such a Minister the "Minister of Justice," but as a matter of fact it signifies nothing what is his title.

It is, however, worthy of consideration whether the Minister of Foreign Affairs will not be henceforth precluded from exercising any control when injustice has been committed against foreigners in Turkish Tribunals. At all events I understand that it has already been contended that the Minister of Justice will be independent under the Firman, and that no representation made to him through the Ministers of Foreign Affairs are to be regarded.

It appears that one object—a very respectable one in itself—of the new Firman is to admit the evidence of Christians or non-Moslems before the Tribunals of the country. This has been done indirectly, and not by enacting that Christian witnesses shall henceforth be heard before the Sheriat (*i.e.*, the religious Courts), but by ordaining that suits between Moslem and non-Moslem shall be transferred to the "Nizamie" Tribunals, where there shall be no religious objection to Christian evidence being received.

Unfortunately, however, the Naïbs (Judges under the religious law) are to be nominated as Presidents of all the local Courts of Appeal, and it is a question whether to Christian evidence thus admitted much weight will be attached by Presidents, who, with their conscientious belief in the Koran and their religious education, will undoubtedly regard the evidence of Christians as valueless henceforth as heretofore.

It is true that the Firman observes with great verbal emphasis that the scrupulous observance of the law is a protection against arbitrary acts, and shall consequently be the object of the constant attention of the Tribunals; but hitherto such vague phrases in Hatts and Firmans have had no value.

The whole wording of the clauses under consideration are so vague, wide, loose, and periphrastic that they admit of any interpretation which hereafter the Government may choose to adopt.

In the provinces, and perhaps even in the metropolis, it is proposed, if I read the Firman right, to introduce the most foolish, mischievous, and in Turkey utterly impossible system of popular election of Judges and Members of Tribunals.

Universal suffrage and, I believe, vote by ballot, have seriously been proposed for a country where elections are unknown, and the habit of thus expressing an opinion upon public subjects is utterly alien to the habits of the people.

Even if Judges could be so elected, they would certainly be badly elected, and the proposition looks like a mockery suggested to the authors of the Firman by extraneous advice which has been adopted in pure ignorance.

Any acquaintance, however slight, with the people, their institutions, and the Government, would be enough to show that those who made such a proposition can have no good or practical intention; for it amounts to introducing the worst features of an ultra-democratic Government into one of the most arbitrary and autocratic of Empires.

As a permanent Commission has been appointed to carry out the object of this Firman, its provisions may take some tangible form hereafter, but as it now stands it seems to consist of little else than vain aspiration for justice, the enunciation of commonplace, and declaration in favour of good laws. Still it might be made the basis of a complete revolution in the administration of justice throughout the Empire—but under certain conditions only. One condition is, *e.g.*, that the Commissioners appointed to carry out the Firman should have a thorough knowledge of the great subjects of jurisprudence and the administration of justice, and they should be well trained in the art of organizing Tribunals and procedure, and that they should be men of learning, zeal,

experience, patriotism, and independence, with a knowledge as large as the powers confided to them. But this unfortunately is not the character of the Commissioners so far as I can learn.

Another condition is that not only the Government but its officers should be prepared to assist in carrying out the reforms suggested in the Firman, and I fear that this is not the case.

A third condition is that the Sultan and his Ministers, down to the Governors of the Provinces, really mean for ever to surrender all their cherished powers of arbitrary interference with the discretion of the Courts of Law.

The last condition presupposes such a sudden revolution of all the principles, practices, and traditions of the Porte and official persons, that I fear that even a Firman cannot accomplish the object.

The Firman states "That since our accession to the Throne our Imperial intention and sentiments, already brought to the knowledge of everyone, have had for their object, with the aid of God, the greatness and glory of our Empire, the peace and well-being of all classes of our subjects, and the development of progress to the benefit of the wealth and prosperity of our dominions."

Immediately following this historical recital and noble expression of the Imperial sentiments is a series of tacit admissions that in spite of these good "intentions" and "sentiments," the system of law, of justice, of taxation, and of Government, which have hitherto prevailed in Turkey has been utterly bad—a sad and notorious fact.

Whether this Imperial Firman will (like its predecessor) bear little or no fruit, or whether it may be developed into sensible legislation, time only will show. It carries with it, according to my humble opinion, nothing which justifies any expectation that the Government has any well-conceived system in view, though it may have some sincere general desire to remedy an admittedly deplorable condition of its institutions.

There is one point more which I think it worth while specially to refer to.

The Judges are henceforth, says the Firman, to be irremovable. They are to be secure against dismissal except from legitimate motives; of which the Porte, as at present, shall be the sole judge.

Hitherto, when a Judge has committed some act more than usually corrupt or fraudulent, the Ambassador of a subject whose interests have been thus injured has been able to complain to the Porte; and the Judge has been dismissed; but now that each Judge has a permanent commission, it is to be feared that while the Porte may dismiss him of its own free will for no good reason, and making any or no excuse, yet his commission of permanence may be always pleaded in answer to a complaint from a foreign Embassy. Nor is there any provision that a Judge unpopular with his superiors may not be shifted about from post to post, or from province to province, instead of being dismissed.

There is no more common mode of persecuting public officers in Turkey than transferring them to their detriment.

It is absolutely idle to talk of the independence of Judges and decent Tribunals, unless the office is made honourable and respectable, and, as I have observed already, the most recent nominations made since the Firman are notoriously such as inspire no confidence.

There has been a shuffling of the cards, but the pack remains the same, and unless a real and genuine feeling of justice be displayed, no reform worth the name can be expected.

(Signed) P. FRANCIS, *Consul-General and Judge.*

Her Majesty's Supreme Consular Court, Constantinople.
January 5, 1876.

No. 137.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.— (Received January 27.)

(No. 29. Very Confidential.)
Pera, January 9, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAD some conversation this afternoon with General Ignatiew, whom I found as bitterly hostile as ever to Count Andrassy's proposal.

I said I had not yet seen it, but was glad to hear that there was no intention of addressing an identic note to the Porte.

He replied, no, that project had been abandoned; but he could affirm emphatically, though in strict confidence, that it had been dropped only in consequence of his own warnings that it would not be accepted.

He had not received the project as it now stands as four Russian mails are detained at Odessa by the ice, but he had seen what had been sent to Count Zichy, and he had telegraphed to Prince Gortchakow that, in all his experience, he had never seen a diplomatic document drawn up in more unbecoming terms, or more calculated to give offence and do mischief.

In the despatch accompanying the proposed instruction, mention was made of the incompatibility of the Crescent and the Cross, of the necessity of putting the Christian upon an equality with Islam, and other expressions of a character offensive to the people of this country.

If such a despatch was made public, as it certainly would be, General Ignatiew would undertake to say that two years would not pass before we should have to repent of it.

The first result to be expected from the communication of the instructions was evidently the dismissal of the Grand Vizier, and the interruption of all the reforms which he is now endeavouring to carry out.

His successor would probably be either Hussein Avni or Midhat Pasha, neither of whom would be more disposed to listen to the foreign Powers.

When his instructions arrived he should execute them with reluctance; but he hoped that, in spite of what he thought objectionable in the scheme, Her Majesty's Government would consent to join in it, and put an end to the isolated action of the three Northern Powers. I replied, laughingly, that if the proposal was at all such as he had depicted, I sincerely hoped that Her Majesty's Government would refuse to have anything to do with it, and leave its undivided patronage to those who had concerted it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 138.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 30. Confidential.)
Constantinople, January 9, 1876.

My Lord,

I ASKED the Austrian Ambassador this afternoon what expectation could be held out to the Porte, that a favourable reception of the communication proposed to be made to it would be followed by any practical advantage as regards the suppression of the insurrection.

My colleague seemed embarrassed, and only spoke of means being taken to let the insurgents know that they had no further sympathy to expect.

I am informed, that upon the same question being put to Count Andrassy, his Excellency said that injunctions should be laid upon the Princes of Servia and Montenegro, and upon the Christian populations, to abstain from hostile proceedings, and that the Dalmatian frontier would be closed by the abandonment of the "system of toleration for one of energetic repression."

If the above words are correctly reported, they amount to a full admission of the justice of the complaints made against the Austrian Government.

My informant was General Ignatiew, who said he could vouch for the accuracy of what he had told me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 139.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 35. Confidential.)
Constantinople, January 10, 1876.

My Lord,

ALI PASHA, who has just been appointed Governor-General of the Herzegovina, called upon me this afternoon. He said, that in the present state of the provinces, he

hardly saw the use of a Civil Governor, for while the insurrection continues, the chief direction of affairs must be in the hands of the military commanders, and he was convinced that there was no chance of putting an end to it as long as Austria allowed it to be fomented and encouraged from her territories.

He had just been calling upon the Russian Ambassador, who had, evidently, not been backward in impressing this view upon the new Governor-General, and had spoken to him of the promise, that the Austrian frontier should be rigorously closed if Count Andrassy's communication was favourably received here, as conclusive evidence, that the Austro-Hungarian Government could have carried out their international obligations towards Turkey if they had been disposed to do so.

I endeavoured to counteract the mischievous effect of this sort of language, by saying that the shortcomings of the Austrian Government, which I could not deny, were to be attributed to internal considerations and exigencies, rather than to hostility to the Porte, and that they could not now be a doubt of their being most anxious to see the insurrection extinguished.

If this could not be done without the goodwill of Austria, it was most desirable to secure it at almost any sacrifice, compatible with the dignity of the Porte, by accepting Count Andrassy's scheme, if it should not prove altogether objectionable, in such a manner as to obtain this result.

Ali Pasha promised to repeat at the Porte what I had just said to him.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 140.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 37.)

Pera, January 11, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose two official announcements respecting the reorganization of the police, and the regulations which are under the consideration of the Commission to prevent persons arrested upon suspicion being retained in prison without examination or trial.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 140.

Official Communication.

L'ORGANISATION et les attributions de la police étant en ce moment l'objet des délibérations d'une Commission *ad hoc*, les décisions qui auront été prises à cet égard seront ultérieurement publiées.

Un des devoirs des agents de la force publique est de conduire au commissariat central de police les individus arrêtés en flagrant délit de rixe ou de crime.

La manière avec laquelle les prévenus devront être arrêtés et conduits au dit commissariat va être déterminée.

Mais, considérant que les individus ainsi conduits sont détenus sans enquête préalable; qu'ils sont emprisonnés préventivement jusqu'à ce qu'il ait été légalement statué sur leur mise en liberté ou leur condamnation;

Considérant qu'il est nécessaire de ne pas détenir plus longtemps les prévenus à la suite de l'ordonnance de non lieu;

Que par suite de l'agglomération ainsi produite dans les prisons, les tribunaux ne peuvent suffire à la solution des affaires qui leur sont référées, que dès lors cette détention constitue une peine non-méritée pour des personnes innocentes et qu'aussi des difficultés en résultent pour les tribunaux;

Pour tous ces motifs il a été arrêté ce qui suit:

1. Un comité d'enquête préliminaire composé d'un président et de deux membres est institué dans chaque commissariat central de police;

2. Les prévenus mis en état d'arrestation seront tout d'abord conduits par devant le dit comité, qui, après avoir pris connaissance des procès-verbaux d'arrestation dressés par les zaptiés, devra procéder à l'interrogatoire des prévenus, et n'ordonnera leur

emprisonnement que dans le cas où il serait reconnu que les causes qui ont motivé l'arrestation justifient la détention et la mise en jugement;

3. Les personnes dont la détention ne sera pas jugée nécessaire, seront relâchées après avoir fourni le garant voulu.

4. Le comité dressera journellement, pour les transmettre dans les vingt-quatre heures au Ministère de la Police et à la Sublime Porte, les procès-verbaux des personnes arrêtées, et mises en liberté faute de causes motivant l'arrestation, ainsi que de celles dont le renvoi devant les tribunaux de première instance sera jugé nécessaire. Les procès-verbaux relateront sommairement les causes qui auront motivé la détention préventive.

Ces mesures seront également appliquées dans tous les chefs-lieux des Vilayets, Mutessarifliks et Cazas de l'Empire.

Inclosure 2 in No. 140.

Official Communication.

LA réorganisation de la police comprend les quatre divisions suivantes:—

La première division consiste en le service et les attributions de la police proprement dite, lesquels après avoir été spécifiés par un règlement qui sera élaboré par la Commission *ad hoc* seront livrés à la publicité.

La seconde division comprend la perception. Les agents percepteurs seront choisis parmi toutes les classes de la population, et leurs services et attributions sont déterminés dans les instructions spéciales déjà publiées.

La troisième division comprend la surveillance. Les agents de la force publique seront également choisis parmi toutes les classes de la population.

Le Conseil Exécutif aura à rédiger et à publier des instructions spéciales servant à déterminer l'exercice des fonctions de ces agents.

La quatrième division comprend le service des huissiers des Tribunaux et des Conseils. Ces employés seront de même pris parmi les populations, et le Conseil Exécutif dressera, pour être publiées et mises en vigueur, les instructions nécessaires déterminant leurs attributions.

Le personnel formant les trois dernières divisions précitées, portera chacun un uniforme particulier.

No. 141.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 42.)

Pera, January 12, 1876.

My Lord,

OWING to the interruption on the western lines I have received no late telegrams from your Lordship, those of the 6th not having reached me till late last night.

The Odessa line having remained open, some of my colleagues have received later intelligence, and they inform me that they have learnt that your Lordship had shown a disposition to adhere to Count Andrassy's proposal.

Count Zichy expressed to me the great satisfaction with which he had learnt this news.

I said that I was without information in regard to the manner in which Count Andrassy's proposal was looked upon by Her Majesty's Government, and therefore I could only repeat to him that my language to the Porte was confined to recommending that it should not hastily adopt a preconceived hostility to it, such as should prevent it from meeting in a conciliatory spirit any overtures by which it was hoped to facilitate the pacification of the Herzegovina.

Count Zichy said that Raschid Pasha, who had dined with him the day before, had told him how strongly I had been urging this upon the Porte, and he could hardly sufficiently express his acknowledgments.

I said that although Austria had latterly changed her policy from what it was when our two Embassies used generally to be able to act cordially together, I had never ceased trying to convince the Turkish Government that she was not to be looked upon as a hostile Power.

There were, however, others who had been equally persistent in their endeavours to

create a distrust of her; and I told my colleague that if he carefully inquired, he would find that I had in reality, even while disapproving the policy of his Government been acting a more friendly part than some who professed a cordial co-operation.

I could not venture to say more than this to Count Zichy; but the fact is that I have learnt from too many different sources to be able to doubt it, that General Ignatiew is doing his utmost to foment among the Turks a feeling of irritation against the Austro-Hungarian Government, which shall predispose them to receive ill the communication which Count Andrassy has proposed.

The probability of their accepting it in a conciliatory manner would be greatly increased if they could be informed of any benefit they might expect from it, if the insurgents refuse to discontinue their resistance; and an intimation that, in that case, the Consular Commission would be withdrawn, would be regarded with much satisfaction by the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 142.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 44.)
My Lord,

Constantinople, January 13, 1876.

WHILE I was with Raschid Pasha this afternoon, he received a telegram from Bustin, stating that the Servian Government had withdrawn their pandours from the frontier near Novi-Bazar, and had sent there regular troops and artillery; that a line of telegraph had been established with Belgrade, and that the Turkish villages were to be attacked from four different points.

I have telegraphed to Mr. Agent and Consul-General White to inquire into the truth of this report.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 143.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 46.)
My Lord,

Constantinople, January 13, 1876.

UNLESS the Austrian proposal proves altogether objectionable, the Porte is desirous that Her Majesty's Government should join in the communication, so that, in any discussion or difficulty arising out of it, the Turk should not be left in presence of Powers which are not all so favourably disposed towards Turkey as Great Britain has always shown herself.

Raschid Pascha spoke strongly in this sense to me this afternoon.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 144.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 48.)
My Lord,

Constantinople, January 13, 1876.

WHEN I called upon Raschid Pasha this afternoon I found him anxious to know what was to be the precise nature of the communication to be made by the Powers upon the invitation of the Austro-Hungarian Government, but he showed himself extremely well disposed to receive it in a good spirit.

He was satisfied that a form will be observed which will prevent the communication from being offensive to the Sultan's Government, though he could not, of course, say that it might not contain suggestions with which they may find it practically impossible to comply.

The Porte is, however, greatly perplexed by the difference in the language held by

Prince Gortchakow to the Ottoman Ambassador at St. Petersburg and that of the Russian Ambassador here, who represents the proposal as impracticable and preposterous, while Cabouli Pasha reports that the Russian Chancellor urgently recommends it to the Porte.

This likewise forms the common topic of conversation among my colleagues, who are as much at a loss as the Porte to explain how an Ambassador can put himself so openly forward to defeat an arrangement, in the preparation of which his Government had taken an active part, and the question is asked whether it would be possible for him to act in this manner without instructions.

I said to Raschid Pasha that I did not think it probable that General Ignatiew had instructions to hold different language from that of Prince Gortchakow, and that it was much more likely that he was actuated partly by personal feeling against Count Andrassy, and partly by the wish, which he had always shown, to inspire the Porte with a distrust of Austria.

The Porte ought, therefore, to be very cautious not to be too much influenced by his communications.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 145.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 50 Confidential.)
My Lord,

Constantinople, January 13, 1876.

RASCHID PASHA, while speaking about the Commercial Convention with the Principalities, observed that, independently of the line that has been followed by the Austro-Hungarian Government, he had great ground of complaint against Count Andrassy for the want of straightforwardness that has characterised his proceedings.

Count Andrassy had not only said that he would not sign the Convention with the Roumanian Government without informing him, but had given him this assurance in the most formal manner and on his word of honour.

Raschid Pasha considered, therefore, that he was justified in feeling some resentment when, very shortly after being told that there were difficulties in the way of the conclusion of the Convention which he looked upon as insuperable, he found it had been signed without any communication with him.

Throughout the whole business the Austro-Hungarian Government seems to have acted with a systematic disregard not only of the sovereign rights of the Sultan, but of the consideration due to his Government, which has left a painful impression on the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 146.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 53.)
My Lord,

Constantinople, January 14, 1876.

GENERAL IGNATIEW is of opinion that Count Andrassy's note is certain to be rejected if some "equivalent" is not promised to the Porte in return for its acceptation, and he tells me that he has telegraphed to warn Prince Gortchakow that this must be expected.

General Ignatiew being acquainted with the nature of the proposal is in a better position than I can be to judge of the effect it is likely to produce upon the Porte, but I do not agree with him in thinking that, even if it were accompanied by an engagement from the Powers, its rejection is as certain as he assumes, unless it is in itself obviously objectionable.

An understanding that measures would be taken to prevent the insurgents from continuing to get assistance from the neighbouring countries would, as I have already stated to your Lordship, weigh greatly on the decision of the Porte, but I am inclined to think that the moral obligation under which Austria would be placed, of effectually guarding her own frontier, would be considered sufficient as far as regards Dalmatia.

General Ignatiew evidently means that a formal promise to this effect should be got from the Austro-Hungarian Government, and there is no doubt that upon the communition being made to the Porte he will suggest that the latter shall ask for it.

I told him that as far as I knew, the "equivalent," or condition, to which the Porte would attach the greatest value was an understanding that the Sultan's Government would not be interfered with if a resort to extreme measures was found necessary to enforce upon Montenegro the neutrality which the Porte had a right to require.

The Porte appears fully entitled to expect that there shall be an understanding upon these points, but it is rather with regard to Montenegro than to Dalmatia that it would wish to receive some assurance.

It will be a disappointment to the Russian Ambassador if the effect of his representations is to cause such an assurance to be given.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 147.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 58. Confidential.)
Constantinople, January 16, 1876.

My Lord,

SADYK PASHA has telegraphed to the Porte that it had been stated to him by the Duc Decazes that, according to the information which he had received from Berlin and St. Petersburg, Raschid Pasha had authorized Musurus Pasha to inform your Lordship that the Porte would abstain from all interference with the views and policy of Her Majesty's Government in regard to Egypt, provided they would on their part, allow the Porte free action in dealing with Count Andrassy's proposal.

As Raschid Pasha is not aware of any question relating to Egypt which Her Majesty's Government wished to treat independently of the Porte's authority, he is at a loss to account for the report, except by attributing it to an intrigue.

In making this communication to Mr. Sandison, for my information, Raschid Pasha repeated what he had before said of his hope that Her Majesty's Government would not find themselves obliged to separate from the other Powers in reference to the Austrian proposal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 148.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 60. Confidential.)
Constantinople, January 16, 1876.

My Lord,

THE reports received by Raschid Pasha from the Turkish Ambassador in London lead him to believe that Musurus Pasha, in communicating the instruction stating that the Porte would not accept an identic note on the subject of the reforms, had, from an excess of zeal, avoided adding, or had passed lightly over, the declaration of its readiness to listen at all times to the friendly representations of its allies.

Raschid Pasha is anxious that it should not be supposed that the Porte has resolved to reject a communication made to it in the forms due to an independent Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 149.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 62.)
Constantinople, January 16, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE received a telegram from Mr. Agent and Consul-General White, stating that nothing is known at Belgrade of the preparations mentioned in my despatch No. 44

of the 13th instant, which were supposed to indicate an intended attack upon the Turkish villages in the district of Novi-Bazaar.

The Servian Agent, to whom I spoke on the subject, thought it very possible that some preparations had been made, and that the Pandours had been replaced by regular troops, but said they were rendered necessary by the inroads which were still frequently made by the Turks into Servia.

I have heard no complaints of any such inroads for many weeks.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT

No. 150.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 64.)
Constantinople, January 17, 1876.

My Lord,

THE messenger bringing me the copy of Count Andrassy's despatch of the 30th ultimo to Count Beust, only arrived yesterday, having been delayed a week on the road by the snow.

I have found it impossible by telegraph to enter into any full examination of this important document, and was obliged to confine myself to stating generally to your Lordship that the proposals with which it concludes, if put into an identic instruction to the Representatives here (which is understood to be what is intended), would, in my opinion, be accepted by the Porte without much difficulty.

The despatch itself, by which Count Andrassy lays before the Western Governments the views of the three Northern Powers is not, I presume, intended for official communication to the Porte.

Most of the things asked for have already been conceded by the Porte, or are about to be announced; but there are others upon which explanations will be necessary, and especially the proposal that the whole proceeds of the direct taxation shall be devoted to the necessities of the provinces within which they are levied.

There may be some difficulty as to the manner in which the Porte is to convey its acquiescence in the suggested measures, for it will not, I believe, be ready to declare officially and publicly that it "accepts" reforms insisted upon by foreign Powers.

The best mode of securing the object of the Powers, and of saving the dignity of the Sultan, would be by the issue of another Firman, supplementary to that of December, which should contain the concessions required, and be officially communicated to the Powers.

The Porte might, I believe, readily be brought to adopt this course.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 150*.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 65.)
Constantinople, January 18, 1876.

My Lord,

I STATED yesterday to your Lordship the nature of the general remarks upon Count Andrassy's despatch of the 30th of December, which I had forwarded to your Lordship by telegram.

Although the answer of Her Majesty's Government to the invitation of the Austro-Hungarian Government will probably be given before this despatch can reach your Lordship's hands, I may be permitted to comment upon it in greater detail than was possible by telegraph.

Count Andrassy sets forth with general accuracy, although with some exaggeration, the abuses and maladministration prevailing in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, where, although the Christian populations are in a condition of inferiority, their state cannot with justice be described as one of slavery, as stated in the despatch.

The disabilities and grievances under which those populations labour call loudly for redress, but it would be an entire mistake to attribute the origin of the present insurrection to those causes, though they have been the pretext put forward which has secured the

sympathy of those who see in the movement nothing except the heroic struggle of an oppressed Christian people.

The independent testimony of persons acquainted with the past and present condition of the Christians in the revolted provinces establishes beyond question that, however much still remains to be done for them, it has been of late years immeasurably less humiliating than it formerly was.

If, therefore, as Count Andrassy states, the hostility between them and the Turks has been becoming more intense, it arises from the rapidly growing spirit of nationality which pervades the populations of the Slav districts; but, although this spirit is more likely to be encouraged than checked by everything which raises the Christian Slavs of Turkey and increases their influence, this cannot be held to be a reason for refusing them the equality of treatment to which they are entitled, and the concessions in their favour demanded by Count Andrassy contain little that cannot properly be supported.

The action of the Great Powers is invited by Count Andrassy upon the ground of the danger to the peace of Europe from the continuance of the insurrection in the Herzegovina; and his proposals are therefore limited to that Province and to Bosnia, in the tranquillity of which the Austro-Hungarian Government is obviously entitled to take an especial interest; but if the abuses pointed out as there existing prevail in other parts of the Empire, the same remedies must be applied throughout.

Count Andrassy's despatch had evidently been in great part drawn up before the issue of the Firman of December, and the alterations which it has undergone to adapt it to the new situation render its analysis difficult.

The despatch would, indeed, have been reduced to very modest proportions if it had been confined to the concessions not already granted, which it is considered necessary to obtain from the Porte.

The declaration by the three Powers of their firm determination to put a stop to a movement which threatens to embrace the East is one of the greatest importance, but it is added that this can only be done when the Powers can base their actions upon acts and not upon programmes.

It is, however, stated in the earlier part of the despatch that till the pacification of the provinces has been obtained, it will be impossible to apply the principles proclaimed by the Porte, which are those put forward by the Powers.

The truth of this observation is incontestable, but I confess my inability to reconcile it with the subsequent declaration that the pacification can only be obtained when the Powers can point to acts and not to promises.

With regard to the proposals which it is intended to submit to the acceptation of the Porte, Her Majesty's Government will, I presume, require further explanation than is found in Count Andrassy's despatch before adhering to them.

It will be necessary to know what is meant by full and entire religious liberty.

If it is intended that churches may be erected wherever the communities decide, and without reference to the local authorities, it would, in my opinion, be most objectionable.

Nothing, for instance, would be so certain to lead to disturbance as the erection of a church in a Muhammadan quarter, and possibly close to a mosque.

No one who knows the East can doubt what would occur if on a Good Friday bells were ringing and crowds of Christians flocking to a church, while numbers of the most fanatical Turks might be celebrating their Ramazan in the adjoining mosque.

Whether it is intended by Count Andrassy that the Christians are to serve in the army is not stated; but although this principle was announced by the Hatti-Humayoun, I assume that it is not meant to insist upon it, as his Excellency alludes to the equitable adjustment of the "bedel," or military exemption tax, which is taken only from Christians.

The abolition of the farming of tithes, which is the only tax so levied, is, as I have already informed your Lordship, decided upon.

The demand that the proceeds of the direct taxes shall be applied to the provinces requires explanation, but in the absence of this it appears of very questionable propriety.

As I have already observed, what is done for Bosnia and the Herzegovina must be done for the rest of the Empire, and a principle should not be insisted upon which may render the Porte incapable not only of fulfilling its engagements to its creditors, but of carrying on the administration of the country.

I have been strongly insisting that the revenues to be devoted to local purposes

should be left under the control of the Provincial Councils, and the Grand Vizier declares that he has adopted the suggestion, but that foreign Powers should insist either upon the particular taxes, or upon the amount so applied, would appear to me unacceptable.

It would probably be preferable that there should be a local taxation for local purposes, both of which might be left to the Provincial Councils.

Of the manner in which the communication of the proposals is to be made to the Porte, I am still ignorant, and will therefore confine myself to repeating, that, if made in such a way as to save the dignity of the Sultan, especially if supported by Her Majesty's Government, it will be received in a manner, which, it is to be hoped, will satisfy the expectations of the Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 151.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 66.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, January 18, 1876.*

LORD ODO RUSSELL, by his Secret despatch No. 523 of the 21st ultimo, reported the resentment shown by the Emperor of Germany at the publication of the Firman of reforms by the Porte, after having been repeatedly requested by the Austrian and Russian Governments to withhold it until Count Andrassy's plan had been communicated.

It will have been seen from my correspondence that His Majesty is correct as regards the Austrian Government, but is not equally so as regards the Russian Government, both Prince Gortchakow and General Ignatiew having encouraged the Porte to issue the reforms without delay.

The Emperor's own Representative here took the same view as his Russian colleague, and expressed to me surprise and disapproval of the recommendation of delay which had been made by Count Zichy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 152.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 67.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, January 18, 1876.*

IN Count Andrassy's despatch to Count Beust of the 30th ultimo allusion is made to injunctions to be addressed not only to the Princes of Servia and Montenegro, but also to the Christian subjects of the Porte, and his Excellency, in the conversation reported in Sir Andrew Buchanan's despatch No. 436, spoke of Europe intimating to the insurgents that all they could reasonably require would be secured to them.

Such an injunction may be laid upon vassal or independent States, but the propriety of trying to address it to the insurgent populations of a Turkish province appears extremely doubtful.

An intimation to the insurgents that all they can reasonably require will be secured to them is, in my opinion, still more questionable, by subjecting the Powers who give to it a responsibility that they cannot be desirous of assuming.

Whenever it was thought that the concessions promised to the Christian populations were not fairly executed, they would consider themselves, with some justice, entitled to appeal to the Powers who had promised that they should be secured, and a frequent cause or pretext for interference would be afforded to any Power desirous of availing itself of them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 153.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 68.)
Constantinople, January 18, 1876.

My Lord,

IT appears from Sir Andrew Buchanan's despatch No. 436 of the 25th ultimo, that Count Andrassy believes that the Turkish Government would have been glad to see an arrangement under which the Ambassadors at Constantinople should form a Committee to superintend the carrying out of the reforms.

I scarcely think that it can have been from Count Zichy that Count Andrassy has taken such an erroneous impression.

When this arrangement was spoken of as one that might be insisted upon, the Turkish Ministers spoke of it in such vehement terms of reprobation as to convince me that a very strong pressure would be required before the consent of the Porte could be obtained to it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 154.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 69. Confidential.)
Constantinople, January 18, 1876.

My Lord,

COUNT ANDRASSY is reported by Sir Andrew Buchanan, by his despatch No. 441, of the 27th ultimo, to have said, that although he knew Count Zichy to be in General Ignatiew's pocket, he had not, on the whole, found any great inconvenience from it.

His Excellency would not be of this opinion if he was aware of the extent to which it has deprived the Austro-Hungarian Embassy of the consideration and influence which it used to enjoy, and of the difficulty which it places in the confidential intercourse with Her Majesty's Embassy, on which Count Andrassy states himself to place a high value.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 155.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 71. Confidential.)
Constantinople, January 18, 1876.

My Lord,

I LEARN, upon undoubted authority, that there are intrigues on foot to persuade the Sultan that no concessions must be made to the revolted provinces as long as the insurgents continue in arms.

Unless the Sultan should suddenly dismiss the Grand Vizier, I do not apprehend much from these attempts, provided nothing is insisted upon for Bosnia and the Herzegovina which the Porte cannot grant equally to other parts of the Empire.

Should this be required there may be much difficulty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 156.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 72.)
Constantinople, January 18, 1876.

My Lord,

THERE seems to be an impression, for which I cannot account, that the Firman of December was not officially communicated to the Powers.

Count Andrassy, in his despatch of the 30th December, proposes that this should now be required, and the Duc Decazes, as reported in Lord Lyons' despatch, No. 11,

said that which the Turkish Ambassador gave him a copy of it, he expressed his regret that it was not communicated officially.

Your Lordship is aware that the Firman was sent by an official note to each of the Representatives of the Great Powers by the Sultan's Minister for Foreign Affairs, which is, I apprehend, the most formal mode of making an official communication that could have been adopted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 157.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 73.)
Constantinople, January 18, 1876.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 28 of the 9th instant, respecting the action taken by some of the Consular body at Salonica under the apprehension of an impending attack upon the Christians, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that Mr. Consul Blunt writes that the town has continued perfectly tranquil, and that the alarm of the foreign residents has entirely subsided.

The Mahommedans, however, being conscious of having given no cause to justify the alarm, some of their Chiefs have taken offence, and have called upon the Ottoman authorities to institute an inquiry.

One of my colleagues has shown me a Report from his Consul, which represents the proceedings of the Austro-Hungarian Consul-General as having been even more ill-judged than was described by Mr. Blunt.

He seems to have invited his countrymen to come with their arms to the Consulate, and to have brought a number of armed Albanians into his court-yard.

Whether this gentleman was the instrument of intriguers who wished to create uneasiness, or whether he desired to excite it himself, is more than I have the means of knowing.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 158.

Vice-Consul Biliotti to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 1. Political.)
Trebizond, January 12, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that the Imperial Firman ordering judicial and administrative reforms in Turkey has been published yesterday in this town, in the presence of Colonel Suleyman Bey, sent *ad hoc* from the capital, and who is to proceed in a few days to Erzeroom for the same purpose.

As far as I have been able to understand, the impression produced by the contents of this Firman on the different communities is the following:—

The Mussulmans, although greatly satisfied by the reduction of 100*l.* to 50*l.* of the rate of exemption from the military service, have, at the same time, experienced a feeling of wounded pride, or even of fanaticism at the complete assimilation to them of the non-Mussulman subjects of the Porte.

The Christians consider that the measures of reform just enacted are doomed to the fate of all former Firmans on the same subject, and detect only in the recent promulgation a complication in the collection—if not an increase—of the tax of exemption from active service. The yearly amount levied hitherto under this head was, on an average, 27½ piastres per male of whatever age, while the rate to be paid now, between the ages of 20 and 40 years, is rumoured to be 250 piastres annually.

Whatever may be the subsequent effects of the present Firman, it has had for immediate result to create among the Mussulmans an ill-feeling towards the Christians, and to awaken in the latter no gratitude for the advantages it promises to them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ALFRED BILIOTTI.

No. 159.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 62.) *Paris, January 26, 1876.*

My Lord,

THIS afternoon, in execution of the instruction contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 56 of yesterday, I put into the Duc Decazes' hands a copy of your Lordship's note to the Comte de Beust (also of yesterday's date), containing the answer of Her Majesty's Government to Count Andrassy's despatch of the 30th December, respecting the pacification of the Herzegovina.

I also recited to the Duc Decazes, from memory, the substance of your Lordship's despatch to Sir Henry Elliot, No. 52 of yesterday, instructing him to give his general support to the proposals made in Count Andrassy's despatch.

I pointed out to the Duke that Her Majesty's Government had agreed in the view expressed by him with regard to the proposal that the produce of the direct taxes should be appropriated exclusively to local purposes.

I observed to him, moreover, that, in accordance with his original idea, Her Majesty's Government had instructed Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople to confine his representations in support of Count Andrassy's proposals to oral communications.

The Duke asked me whether Her Majesty's Ambassador would not deliver some written paper to the Porte; whether, for instance, he was not instructed to place in the hands of the Ottoman Government a copy of your Lordship's note to Count de Beust.

I said that undoubtedly the instruction to Sir Henry Elliot was that he should confine his representations to oral communications, and I observed to the Duke that it was more usual at Constantinople than at other seats of Government to make important diplomatic communications by word of mouth.

The Duke expressed some surprise that no written document at all was to be given to the Porte on the part of Her Majesty's Government. In fact, he could not, he said, quite understand how Her Majesty's Government could expect the Porte to make a written answer to an entirely verbal communication.

I replied that for my part I entertained no fear that the Porte would hesitate to make to Her Majesty's Government in the same form as to other Powers; and I reminded him that the instructions to Sir H. Elliot, the substance of which I had just recited to him, distinctly pointed out that the Porte ought to feel no difficulty in acting in conformity with former precedents, and communicating to the Powers the measures which would be adopted. I begged his Excellency to observe also that the instructions particularly said that in a matter in which the Porte had so much to gain by securing the support of the Powers, it would not be wise that too great regard should be paid to mere formalities.

The Duc Decazes proceeded to tell me that he had reason to believe that the Italians would give to the Porte a copy of a despatch of their own, and with it, a copy of Count Andrassy's despatch.

I observed that if this were so, and if France and Italy adhered to their present plans, three forms would be followed: Italy would give a despatch of her own and a copy of the despatch of Count Andrassy;—France would only give a despatch of her own,—and England would merely make a verbal representation. The result, however, of these various modes of communication, would, I said, be much the same. The Porte would be able to allege with truth that in adopting Count Andrassy's suggestions, it had yielded to the united voice of all the Great Powers, it would feel that it could not expect the least support from any of those powers in rejecting the suggestions.

I told the Duc Decazes that the instructions to Sir Henry Elliot were going on to Constantinople this evening, by a messenger who had already arrived at Paris.

He said that he should probably send his own instructions to the French Ambassador at Constantinople by the packet which would leave Marseilles for the Levant on Saturday next, the 29th instant.

I forward a copy of the present despatch by to-night's messenger to Sir Henry Elliot, under flying seal to Sir Andrew Buchanan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 160.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(No. 63. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Paris, January 26, 1876.*

THE Duc Decazes, after thanking me for making him so promptly and so fully acquainted with the course taken by Her Majesty's Government with regard to Count Andrassy's proposals, said that he had kept back his own instructions to the French Ambassador at Constantinople, in order to have the advantage, before he finally settled them, of learning the views of Her Majesty's Government.

He should now, he told me, look them over again, and see if he could not bring them into a somewhat closer resemblance to those which were sent to the English Ambassador.

I did not understand his Excellency to imply that he had any idea of abandoning the plan of sending a despatch, which should be read to the Ottoman Government, and of which a copy should be left with that Government. I do not think he meant more than that he should revise the wording of the draft, which he read to me on the 23rd instant.

I send to-night a copy of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, under flying seal to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 161.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Lyons.

(No. 81.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, January 27, 1876.*

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 62 of the 26th instant, reporting your having placed in the Duc Decazes' hands a copy of my note to Count Beust in reply to the Austrian despatch of the 30th ultimo, and I approve of the language which you held to the Duc Decazes in regard to the form in which the adhesion of Her Majesty's Government to the views contained in that note was to be made known to the Porte, through Sir Henry Elliot.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 162.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27, 6 P.M.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Rome, January 27, 1876.*

I HAVE informed M. Visconti Venosta of the tenor of your telegrams to Sir A. Buchanan and Sir H. Elliot of the 25th instant.

Instructions to Italian Minister at Constantinople will leave day after to-morrow.

He will be directed to send in a note, to which a copy of Count Andrassy's despatch will be annexed, and stating that Italian Government entirely agree in Austrian recommendation, and asking Porte to make known its acceptance of them in an official note.

No. 163.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.†—(Received January 27, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, January 27, 1876, 6·50 P.M.*

RASCHID PASHA has been informed by Austrian and Russian Ambassadors that they are not to be instructed to give him copies of Count Andrassy's despatch.

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* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Constantinople.
† Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

No. 164.

Instructions Générales relatives à l'Election des Membres des Tribunaux et des Conseils des Vilayets.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, January 28.)

CONFORMEMENT aux dispositions du Firman Impérial récemment promulgué, les sujets de Sa Majesté le Sultan de toutes les classes sont autorisés à élire eux-mêmes, et en dehors de toute influence administrative, les membres des Tribunaux et des Conseils siégeant dans les vilayets. Le pouvoir électif qui leur est ainsi conféré, en ce qui concerne les membres tant des Cours d'Appel des Vilayets et des Medjliss Temyz des Sandjâks que des Tribunaux Civils des Cazas et des Conseils Administratifs, s'exercera aux conditions suivantes:—

Article 1. Seront électeurs tous ceux des habitants de toute catégorie des campagnes qui seront âgés de 20 ans et qui payent l'impôt. Le choix des populations devra tomber sur des électeurs dignes de confiance pour procéder à l'élection des membres des Conseils.

Art. 2. Les personnes qui éliront les membres auront à réunir les qualités suivantes: 1, âge de 23 ans; 2, n'avoir pas subi de condamnation pour crime; 3, n'avoir exercé aucune vexation envers personne; 4, ne pas avoir des attaches personnelles avec les éligibles.

Art. 3. Seront éligibles ceux qui, indépendamment des conditions déterminées dans le précédent Article pour les électeurs, seront instruits et âgés au moins de 30 ans.

Art. 4. Les villages et quartiers dépendant d'un Caza et réunissant pour le moins 200 maisons formeront un collége électoral. Lors de l'élection, ces colléges, et les arrondissements du chef-lieu des Cazas, désigneront chacun deux électeurs, lesquels se réuniront dans ce chef-lieu pour procéder à l'élection d'un nombre de membres égal au double de celui fixé pour le Tribunal Civil et le Conseil Administratif du Caza. La moitié des personnes ainsi élues sera désignée par le Gouvernement pour occuper les postes de membres aux Conseils Administratifs et Judiciaires.

Art. 5. Aussitôt que l'élection des Cazas aura été faite, les membres élus des Conseils Administratifs et Judiciaires du Caza étant naturellement les représentants de la population, doivent se rendre dans le chef-lieu du Sandjak dont ils relèvent, pour en former le Medjliss Temyz et le Conseil Administratif. Dans le cas où tous ne voudraient pas se rendre au dit chef-lieu, il leur sera loisible de déléguer de leur part des personnes de leur confiance prises dans leur sein. Il importe toutefois que le nombre des électeurs se rendant dans les Sandjaks ne soit pas limité à une ou deux personnes. Tous les électeurs de chaque Caza, ainsi réunis, auront à procéder, en dehors de toute influence et de toute ingérence de l'autorité locale, à l'élection d'un nombre de membres égal au double de celui fixé pour les Medjliss Temyz et les Conseils Administratifs. La moitié de ces mêmes élus sera désignée par le Gouverneur-Général pour composer les Medjliss en question du chef-lieu.

Art. 6. Les membres désignés par voix d'élection pour les Conseils des Sandjaks, en leur qualité de mandataires de la population, se rendront aux chefs-lieux des Vilayets et procéderont, en dehors de toute influence ou de toute ingérence aussi bien du Gouverneur-Général que de tous les autres fonctionnaires du Vilayet, à l'élection du double du nombre fixé des membres de la Cour d'Appel et du Conseil Administratif. Conformément au mode déterminé dans le précédent Article, la moitié de ces élus sera désignée par le Gouverneur-Général, comme membre de ces Medjliss, avec la sanction de la Sublime Porte.

Art. 7. Il n'est pas obligatoire que les élus, pour les chefs-lieux des Sandjaks et des Vilayets, soient exclusivement pris parmi les notables et les habitants de ces chefs-lieux. On peut élire parmi les habitants des Cazas des membres pour les Conseils des Sandjaks et parmi ceux des Sandjaks pour les Conseils des Vilayets. Les électeurs des villages pourront également être élus membres pour les Cazas, à condition qu'ils réunissent en eux les qualités requises pour les membres eux-mêmes.

Art. 8. L'égalité du nombre des membres des Tribunaux et des Conseils sera maintenue. Seul un membre sera ajouté aux trois autres des Conseils Judiciaires des Cazas. Ces membres seront par moitié Musulmans et moitié non-Musulmans, et ils seront répartis entre les diverses communautés. Dans le cas où il y aurait plus de trois communautés, chacune d'elles fournira, à tour de rôle, son contingent de membres pour une année.

No. 165.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 57.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, January 28, 1876.*

THE Russian Ambassador has addressed to me an inquiry what construction is to be placed on the term "general support," which, it is stated in my note to Count Beust, that Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople will be instructed to give to the representations of the Austro-Hungarian Government. Count Schouvaloff was anxious to know whether Sir H. Elliot would be authorized to join with his colleagues in urging on the Porte the necessity of notifying in a written form its acceptance of Count Andrassy's proposals.

I thought I could not do better than communicate to his Excellency in reply, the inclosed extracts from the instructions sent to Sir Henry Elliot, the substance of which had been already forwarded to Constantinople by telegraph.

I pointed out to Count Schouvaloff that although no great stress had been laid on the exact form of communication, Her Majesty's Government had advised that the Porte should communicate to the Powers the measures adopted in consequence of their advice, and had warned the Porte against laying too much stress on formalities in matters of such importance.

I am, &c,

(Signed) DERBY.

Inclosure in No. 165.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, January 25, 1876.*

NOR do Her Majesty's Government see that the Porte need feel any difficulty in acting upon the advice thus given, and in communicating to the Powers in some form the measures which may be proposed in consequence. All the different Firmans and Règlements of a similar character have at various times been officially notified to the Powers.

In a matter, however, of such importance, and one in which the Porte has so much to gain by securing the support of the Powers, it would not be wise that too great regard should be paid to mere formalities.

What appears to Her Majesty's Government to be essential is, that the Porte should act promptly and vigorously in the execution of the reforms. It is evident from the reports of Her Majesty's Consuls that the native Mussulmans in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and even the local authorities, have not realised to themselves the importance of frankly accepting, and honestly executing, the reforms already decreed.

Your Excellency should, therefore, strongly impress on the Porte that it is indispensable that the officers appointed to execute these reforms should be men of energy and determination, who will not be deterred by local apathy or prejudices, and who will do their utmost to restore a feeling of security to the Christian population. Unless such a feeling can be produced, no effectual pacification of the insurgent districts can reasonably be expected.

No. 166.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 28.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, January 28, 1876.*

IT will be much to be regretted if the Italian Government take the course stated in Sir A. Paget's telegram of yesterday. None of the other Governments send in notes, and the Porte would receive one in very bad part from the Italian Minister.

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* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

No. 167.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 28, night.)*

Constantinople, January 28, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

I HAVE communicated to Raschid Pasha telegraphic summary of your Lordship's instruction, which gave him great satisfaction.

He says Sultan is so thoroughly convinced that Her Majesty's Government will not give advice contrary to interests of his Empire, that it will be more easy to induce His Majesty to receive Austrian proposals favourably when he knows that Her Majesty's Government do not regard them as objectionable or dangerous.

Raschid Pasha says this communication will be of use in defeating the attempts of those who are trying to persuade the Sultan that the Ministers who are inclined to listen to Austrian proposals are betraying him.

No. 168.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.†—(Received January 29, 11·45 A.M.)

Vienna, January 28, 1876, midnight.

(Telegraphic.)

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram of this evening I learn from Count Andrassy that at Raschid Pasha's request it has been arranged that the Ambassadors are not to state that they are instructed to deliver a copy of the despatch, but that he is to ask for one after it has been read to him. His Excellency added, however, if Raschid Pasha forgets to ask the copy will be delivered without its being asked for.

No. 169.

Count Beust to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 29.)

Belgrave Square, le 29 Janvier, 1876.

M. le Comte,

AYANT appris par une communication de Sir Andrew Buchanan que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique promettait d'appuyer les propositions relatives aux affaires de Turquie, et dont j'ai eu l'honneur de faire part à votre Excellence, le Comte Andrassy m'a chargé de lui en témoigner sa reconnaissance.

En même temps je me trouve à même de porter à votre connaissance, M. le Comte, que l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique à Constantinople a reçu l'ordre de ne pas ouvrir l'action plus tôt que demain, Dimanche, jour où nous avons compté que les instructions de votre Excellence seraient parvenues à Sir Henry Elliot. Il ne devra le faire qu'après en avoir prévenu ses cinq collègues.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) BEUST.

No. 170.

Mr. Lister to Count Beust.

Foreign Office, January 29, 1876.

Dear Count Beust,

LORD DERBY is out of town. I therefore write to inform your Excellency, with reference to your note just received, that it is hardly possible that Sir H. Elliot should should receive his instructions before noon on Wednesday next.‡ If the lines are blocked up with snow the messenger will not arrive even by that time.

Believe me, &c.

(Signed) T. V. LISTER.

P.S.—The messenger left London on Tuesday last.§

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* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

† Repeated to Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.

‡ February 2.

§ January 25.

No. 171.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, January 29, 1876, 4·30 P.M.*

AUSTRIAN Ambassador here informs me that Austrian Ambassador at Constantinople has been ordered not to take action with regard to the Note before Sunday, on which day it was thought that you would have received your instructions. He is only to act after having giving notice to his five colleagues.

I have informed Count Beust in reply that your messenger cannot arrive at Constantinople before Wednesday next.

No. 172.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 29.)

(Telegraphic.)

(Most Confidential.) *Constantinople, January 29, 1876.*

SULTAN is much dissatisfied with the Grand Vizier, and has ordered him not to appear at the palace till insurrection is suppressed.

His Majesty taunts him with falling into the ways of the late Aali Pasha, and with throwing away his time in the promulgation of the reforms, instead of putting down the insurrection.

Sultan ordered the employment of the Bashi-Bazouks, and I am assured insists upon independent action of the Porte without regard to the foreign remonstrance.

This implies, I imagine, an intention to act against Montenegro.

The above was conveyed to the Grand Vizier in a very over-bearing letter.

Grand Vizier's Under-Secretary has been removed by Sultan's order, and replaced by a man whom he hardly knows, and his position is scarcely tenable.

No. 173.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 31, 1876.)

(No. 82. Political.)

Belgrade, December 30, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of my despatch of the 22nd instant, addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, with reference to the secret negotiations between Servia and Montenegro.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 173.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Belgrade, December 22, 1875.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour further to report to your Excellency, in continuation of the subject to which my former despatch referred, that the letter from the Prince of Montenegro, brought here by M. Cristitch for the Prince of Servia, has been printed, but that it does not contain anything striking, and that it may be presumed, therefore, that some passages have been purposely left out in this publication.

I have been told that the original letter contained some allusions to the existing insurrection in the Herzegovina, to the number of 600 Montenegrins who are actively engaged in it, and to the declaration that Servia should again resume the leadership in South Slavonic matters which was assigned to it, with Montenegro's assent, under its former Ruler, the late Prince Michael.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 174.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received January* 31.)

(No. 1. Political.)

Belgrade, January 21, 1876.

My Lord,

AS the time is drawing nigh when the representations of the three Imperial Powers are about to be presented to the Porte, as to their joint recommendations on the subject of the insurgent provinces, it might be naturally expected that the people most interested in the subject would look forward to a speedy termination of that insurrection.

Such, however, does not appear to be the case; the news from Montenegro are by no means re-assuring; the Austrian garrisons in Dalmatia and Croatia are being reinforced; and the German organ of the most powerful party in Hungary enunciated, a couple of weeks ago, an opinion that it was advisable to consider in time what the Powers should do if the insurgents showed no disposition to accept the terms that might be offered them. The "Official Journal" of the German Empire gave a prominent place in its columns to these Hungarian misgivings. The "Pester Lloyd" has since returned to the subject, urging energetic language this time at Constantinople, and concluding with the following passage in large print:—

"If the present moment is allowed to pass without taking advantage of it, the result will probably be nothing else than the unrolling of the whole Eastern question in its entire breadth, and the commencement of a series of complications, of which it is not possible to calculate or foresee the extent at present or to form an estimate of their consequences."

Naturally enough the Servians appear deeply impressed with the importance of the momentous crisis upon which we may be entering a few weeks hence, if the pacification of the disturbed districts is not thoroughly effected by that time.

The Prince of Servia omits no opportunity of telling the persons with whom he comes in contact that he feels, with much concern, the precarious position in which circumstances beyond his control have placed the Principality committed to his care.

He has spoken on several occasions lately in this sense to myself and to my colleagues, taking, at the same time, much credit for himself for having preserved till now by his influence an expectant attitude on the part of Servia.

The Prince, depressed by the factitious attitude of the "Skoupschina" or Legislative Assembly, and by the machinations of his internal enemies, watches, with extreme anxiety and perplexity, the course of events in the other Slav provinces of Turkey, as these are likely to produce results by which his own position and the future condition of his people may be most seriously affected.

Any accession of territory to Montenegro, or even the creation of a distinct Christian Slav Governorship or Hospodorate in Bosnia, would equally tend to displace and impair the influence which the Prince of Servia now possesses as a Slav leader; it would foster, stimulate, and perpetuate a rivalship between the three petty rulers to a far greater degree even than exists at present between the Princes of Servia and Montenegro, each of these would become in turn the favourite and the tool of Russia.

In the meantime, the population of Servia would resent, no doubt, any result disadvantageous to their aspirations, and would throw much blame on the Prince, charging him with supineness as regards Slavonic interests, an accusation made even now by "Ouladinist" Slav papers printed in Hungary; and, were the irritation here to increase on that account, the Prince might find it most difficult to carry on the Government without resorting to extreme measures.

Literature and the Press have generated a community of national and patriotic feelings between the Slavs of Dalmatia, Croatia, and of the south-eastern districts of Hungary and the Servians and Slavonic Christians in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, which did not exist twenty years ago.

The active sympathies which the present struggle has derived from this source, and the language of the Slavonic Press in Austro-Hungary, afford abundant evidence of this novel element, which can no longer be ignored or left out of account by the Statesmen of that Empire.

Should the present struggle, therefore, continue, or even extend with the return of warmer weather, it is not impossible that an Austrian occupation of the disturbed districts, and possibly even of Servia, may be taken under consideration, however reluctantly, at Vienna.

It would be premature to make any comments at present on such a contingency.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 175.

Consul-General Eldridge to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received January* 31.)

(No. 2. Political.)

Beyrout, January 19, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a despatch of this date, which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, respecting the proposed public lecture of the recent Imperial Firman in the Lebanon, and reporting the steps I thought necessary to take in consequence.

I have, &c.

(Signed) S. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

Inclosure in No. 175.

Consul-General Eldridge to Sir H. Elliot.

Beyrout, January 19, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that, on the 13th instant, an Aide-de-camp of His Majesty the Sultan, bearer of the recently issued Firman, arrived at Beyrout with instructions to have it publicly read at Beyrout, Damascus, and in Mount Lebanon.

Any attempt to promulgate this document in the Mountain would have, in my opinion, given rise to great excitement, and very probably might have produced disorders, as the population of the Lebanon would have most naturally concluded that its promulgation in that district was intended to mean that the privileges granted to them by the Règlement Organique under the guarantee of the great European Powers, after the unfortunate events of 1860, were abolished.

Feeling assured that, if the intention only of publicly reading the Firman in the Lebanon were once known, it would give rise to much discussion and excitement, which I was anxious to prevent, I communicated by telegraph with your Excellency on the subject on the 15th instant, and on the morning of the 17th instant his Excellency Rustem Pasha, who had also telegraphed to Constantinople, informed me that he had received a telegram to the effect that his Excellency was to consider the Firman as sent for his personal information, and that a public lecture was not to take place in the Lebanon; this information was subsequently confirmed by your telegram of the 17th, which I received late in the evening of the same day.

The danger which I apprehended from the public reading of the Firman has thus disappeared before even its existence was generally known, and all discussion and excitement in the Mountain prevented.

The public lecture of the Firman took place at the barracks at Beyrout on the 15th instant, and the effect it has produced upon the population does not, as far as I can learn, appear very satisfactory; it does not seem to have inspired confidence in the Christians, while it has to some extent excited the Moslems of Beyrout.

It has since been publicly read at Damascus, but I have as yet no information as to the effect it has produced, and reserve to myself to report more fully on the subject at a later date in case of necessity.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

No. 176.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, January 31.)

Buda-Pesth, January 24, 1876.

Sir,

HAVING thought it my duty on previous occasions to report to your Excellency the impression that seemed to exist here among the more thoughtful students of the complications beyond the Turkish frontier that the course of Count Andrassy's policy would involve the Austro-Hungarian Empire in an armed intervention in the disturbed provinces, I am glad to take this opportunity of stating that, as far as I am able to judge, these apprehensions are now considerably modified, and that far greater confidence is reposed alike in the pacific nature of his Excellency's intentions and in the probability of their being successful in their object.

I should say that those who formerly attacked the Count's Eastern policy are now divided into two parties. There are some who still persist that he is mainly responsible for much that has happened, that either from want of reflection or from a desire to assert his position as against Russia, he was led into encouraging the discontented Slavs to expect material assistance from this Empire in the event of a rising against the Porte. There are others who, while acquitting him of any antecedent manœuvres, criticise his action since the outbreak of the insurrection as having been calculated rather to foment than to allay the evil. Both parties, however, now seem to admit that he is at this moment honestly concerned for the preservation of the integrity of Turkey without any ulterior motive whatever. Of course there are not wanting those who maintain that his Excellency has, under the apprehension that he was after all but working for the profit of another Power, entirely changed his plan of action. But whatever explanation they may elect to give, they agree upon the essential fact that he has no intention of taking any step towards a dynastic change in the insurgent provinces.

The preparations for strengthening the military force on the frontier are thus accepted as necessitated by the duty of repressing attempts to assist the cause of revolt, so that while it would seem by the reports from Belgrade and Bosna-Serai that anticipations of a general commotion in the coming spring are daily more openly expressed, public opinion in Hungary is beginning to regard the peaceful solution of the existing difficulties as more probable. I need hardly say that this view has, within the last few days, received additional force from the announcement that Her Majesty's Government have found themselves able to promise a general support to the diplomatic action at Constantinople concerted between the three Empires.

The Turkish Consul-General here, who has had occasion recently to question the Hungarian Government as to the measures taken to prevent the export of munitions of war to the revolted districts, assures me that he has every reason to be satisfied with the replies he has received from M. Tisza, and that he is thoroughly convinced that the instructions of the Government on this head have, as far as possible, been loyally carried out.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 177.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, January 31.)

(No. 7. Confidential.)

Buda-Pesth, January 26, 1876.

Sir,

IN Mr. White's despatch to the Earl of Derby, No. 1, Political, of the 21st instant, reference is made to the language of the "Pester Lloyd" on the Eastern question, and to the effect produced by it in other countries than Hungary.

I have every reason to believe that, during Count Andrassy's residence here, every article on Turkey which appeared in the "Pester Lloyd" was written to order; and that before his Excellency's departure last week he gave it to be understood by the conductors of that journal that for the present the tone of its comments on foreign politics might be pitched in a reassuring key.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 178.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 31.)

(No. 23. Confidential.)

Vienna, January 26, 1876.

My Lord,

WITH reference to Lord Augustus Loftus' despatch No. 4, Confidential, of the 5th instant, of which a copy was inclosed in your Lordship's despatch No. 35 of the 19th instant, reporting the language held by the Emperor of Russia on a recent occasion to General Leflo, I would observe that, though His Imperial Majesty was doubtless sincere in expressing a wish for the maintenance of the *status quo* in the East of Europe, as he probably feels that it is not expedient in the interest of Russia to hurry on too quickly the fall of the Turkish Empire; there is also every reason to believe that Russian statesmen generally consider the expulsion of the Turks from Europe as a mere question of time, which the late M. de Westmann, indeed, said to me before I left St. Petersburgh, would certainly occur within twenty years. His Majesty's declarations, therefore, as to what he would permit eventually, are of very serious importance; and his intention to prevent Constantinople being occupied by a Great Power, or its becoming the capital of a Greek Byzantine Empire, can only mean that Russia is determined that no future possessors of the Bosphorus shall be in a position to prevent the free access of her Black Sea fleet into the Mediterranean, a question which, from another point of view, must be of vital interest to the Mediterranean Powers, and to Great Britain.

There seems to be an opinion here that the arrangement which Russia would prefer, would be the establishment, at Constantinople, of a Bulgarian principality, as more likely than either a Slav or Greek State to be subservient to her views.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 179.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 31.)

(No. 24. Confidential.)

Vienna, January 26, 1876.

My Lord,

AFTER receiving your Lordship's despatches Nos. 23 and 24, Confidential, of the 18th instant, although suffering from influenza, I called at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, with a view to have some conversation with Count Andrassy on their contents; but his Excellency was prevented by illness from receiving me; and I have since been too unwell myself to leave the house. I therefore thought it advisable to avail myself of the arrival this morning of a telegraphic summary of your Lordship's letter to Count Beust, in reply to the Austrian despatch of the 30th of December, to forward the substance of it to Count Andrassy in a confidential letter, of which a copy is inclosed, and in which I communicated to his Excellency, at the same time, your Lordship's despatch No. 23 of the 18th instant, acquainting me with the substance of the assurances which you had received from Count Beust on the 14th instant. I shall take an early opportunity also of referring to the documents which you have communicated to me confidentially in your Lordship's despatch No. 24, in consequence of the importance which you attach to these assurances.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 179.

Sir A. Buchanan to Count Andrassy.

(Confidential.)

Vienna, January 26, 1876.

Dear Count Andrassy,

AS you could not receive me on Monday, when I called at the Ministry, and I am now too unwell to leave the house, I send you herewith a confidential despatch, in which Lord Derby has reported to me a conversation which he had with Count Beust on the 14th instant, when he received assurances from his Excellency which he considers very important. Pray return the despatch to me.

In case you should not yet have received from Count Beust a report of the letter which Lord Derby has addressed to him in reply to your despatch of December 30th, I

also inclose a full summary of it, which has been communicated to me by telegraph. I hope you are better.

Yours, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 180.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 31.)

(No. 45.) *Berlin, January 28, 1876.*

My Lord,

IN obedience to your Lordship's instruction No. 51 of the 25th instant, I this day communicated to Prince Bismarck, who is unwell, through Herr von Bülow, a copy of your Lordship's reply to the despatch from Count Andrassy respecting the pacification of the Herzegovina and Bosnia, addressed to the Austrian Ambassador, Count Beust.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 181.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 31.)

(No. 69.) *Paris, January 30, 1876.*

My Lord,

I ASKED the Duc Decazes this morning whether he had at last arrived at any distinct notion of the exact manner in which the communications respecting Count Andrassy's despatch were to be made to the Porte by the several Powers.

The Duke said that as regarded the Austrian, German, and Russian Ambassadors, each would go separately to the Ottoman Minister for Foreign Affairs, and read to him the Austrian despatch. The Ambassador would not say that he was instructed to give the Ottoman Minister a copy of the despatch; but the Minister would ask him to leave one with him to refresh his memory. If, however, the Minister should omit to ask for a copy, the Ambassador would then take the initiative and give him one.

This little comedy was, it seemed, to be played with each of the three Ambassadors in succession.

As for France, the Duke said, his despatch to the French Ambassador at Constantinople had left Marseilles yesterday. As it stood, it contained an instruction that it should be read to the Ottoman Minister for Foreign Affairs, and that a copy of it should be left with him. The Duke, however, had half a mind to revoke by telegraph the instruction to give a copy of it. He had not, however, decided the point. It still seemed to him to be difficult to ask for a written answer if nothing in writing was given in.

The French despatch, the Duke went on to say, of course referred to the despatch of Count Andrassy; but it was not intended that a copy of that despatch should in any case be actually given with it to the Turkish Ministerer. To the Italian despatch a copy of Count Andrassy's paper was annexed, and copies of both were to be delivered by the Italian Minister at Constantinople.

I observed that if this were so, the Italians seemed to be going beyond the Austrians, the Germans, and the Russians; for that these three last gave a copy of the Andrassy paper only, and did not accompany it with any other written communication.

The Duke answered that he thought the Italians really did rather less than more; for their own despatch would serve to soften that of Count Andrassy. Such would also, the Duke thought, be the effect of his own despatch if he determined upon having it delivered to the Porte.

I said that this did not seem to be the opinion of the Porte itself; that the Ottoman Minister for Foreign Affairs seemed strongly to deprecate written communications.

The Duke said that the Austrian Ambassador here had informed him that it was proposed that the Andrassy despatch should be communicated to the Porte to-day. The Duke had (he told me) informed the Ambassador that the instructions to the French Ambassador would not arrive in time for him to act so soon. He had not, however, made any objection to the Austrians making their communication before the French if they thought proper.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 182.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, January 31, 1876, 6·50 P.M.*

WITH reference to your Excellency's telegram of 29th instant, Her Majesty's Government fear that the dismissal of the Grand Vizier would greatly complicate matters. If your Excellency thinks it would be useful you might ask for an audience, and point out to the Sultan the danger of such a change at the present moment.

No. 183.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 31.)

(Telegraphic.) *Belgrade, January 31, 1876.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the backwardness of Servian preparations the war party is again getting the upper hand here. Prince Milan has stated distinctly to me that several contingencies would inevitably drive him to arms, any territorial advantage accruing to Montenegro or direct intervention of that State, as well as an Austrian occupation of an Ottoman district (would ?), according to His Majesty ? effect.

Legislative Assembly has just voted in a secret sitting an extraordinary contribution in case of war of about 500,000*l.* sterling cash, besides supplies of flour and spirits.

Stourdza, Wallachian Agent at Belgrade, has received instructions to foreshadow all possible complications, to announce general armament of Roumania, and also pursuit of specific objects. I imagine this communication to be known to your Lordship, and therefore abstain from details; but the impression here is by no means reassuring.

No. 184.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 31.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, January 31, 1876.*

GERMAN Government requested Austrian Government to delay communication of Count Andrassy's note until the arrival of your Lordship's instructions to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople in deference to your Lordship's wishes. Count Andrassy, however, will not consent to further delay, and his note is to be communicated to-day to Turkish Government

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No. 185.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 71.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, January 31, 1876.*

I TRANSMIT herewith, for your Excellency's information, a copy of the extract† from my despatch No. 52. of the 25th instant, which I communicated to Count Schouvaloff on the 28th instant, on the subject of the Austrian proposals for the pacification of the insurgent districts in Herzegovina and Bosnia.†

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 186.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.‡—(Received January 31, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, January 31, 1876, 5·10 P.M.*

AUSTRIAN Ambassador has read Count Andrassy's despatch to Raschid Pasha, who afterwards asked him for a copy.

* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.
† Inclosure in No. 165.
‡ Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

Rashid Pasha promised that it should receive immediate attention of the Porte; and he hoped to be able to return an answer in a few days.

The only serious difficulty he seems to see relates to the question of the taxes.

I have spoken in the sense of your Lordship's telegraphic instructions.

No. 186*.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received January* 31.)

Constantinople, January 30, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

AUSTRIAN Ambassador received his instructions to-day, and will act upon them to-morrow. French Ambassador and Italian Minister will not receive theirs until the end of the week.

No. 187.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received February* 1.)

(No. 26.) *Rome, January* 27, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAD the honour to receive your Lordship's telegrams of the 25th instant, addressed to Sir A. Buchanan and Sir H. Elliot; and I this morning acquainted Chevalier V. Venosta with their tenor, for which he expressed his thanks.

I then asked his Excellency what course he proposed to adopt in communicating with the Sultan's Government on the subject of the Austrian proposals.

M. Visconti Venosta stated that when he had informed Count Wimpffen that the Italian Government would be prepared to support Count Andrassy's recommendations, he had, at the same time, expressed a wish to be made acquainted with the opinion of the Vienna Cabinet as to the best way of bringing them before the Porte. In reply, he had heard from the Austrian Minister that it was the intention of the Imperial Cabinets to direct their Representatives at Constantinople to address a note to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, inclosing a copy of Count Andrassy's note to the Western Powers, which was to be described as giving the result of the deliberations between the three Imperial Cabinets, and embodying the measures which they considered essential for bringing about a pacification in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was thought essential that a copy of the note should be communicated at Constantinople, in order to convince the Turkish Government that they were made fully acquainted with the proposals emanating from the three Powers, and that there might be no room for any misgivings on the part of the Porte that something perhaps was being kept back from them. An acceptance in writing would be asked for as a means to enable the Powers to influence the insurgents.

Count Wimpffen, M. Visconti Venosta added, and said that it would be very satisfactory to his Government if the Italian Government could follow the same course; but in any case the Cabinet of Vienna hoped that the Italian Representative at Constantinople would be instructed to bring fully before the Turkish Government, the measures specified in Count Andrassy's communication, and in recommending their adoption would, for the reason above given, ask for a written reply.

M. Visconti Venosta informed me that he had decided on desiring Count Corti to address a note to the Turkish Government, to which a copy of Count Andrassy's note would be annexed, stating that the Italian Government fully shared the views expressed therein, and consequently recommended them to the acceptance of the Porte. Count Corti's note would conclude by asking for an answer in writing.

The instructions, M. Visconti Venosta informed me, would leave the day after to-morrow, Saturday, the 29th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 187*.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received February* 1, *night.*)

Constantinople, February 1, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

IT will be better for me to avoid, if possible, asking for an audience of the Sultan to support the Grand Vizier, who is so unpopular and distrusted in the country that it

would not be desirable for me to be regarded as too much identified with (him?) I will endeavour to have it conveyed to His Majesty that Her Majesty's Government, having heard rumours of a probability of a change, fear that in present position of the Herzegovina question any change would be attended with serious risk.

No. 188.

*Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received February* 1.)

(Telegraphic.)

(Confidential.) *Vienna, February* 1, 1876.

I HAVE communicated to Baron Hofmann the substance of Sir H. Elliot's telegram of the 28th instant. He expressed much satisfaction with it, and, at his request, I left it with his Excellency for communication without delay to Count Andrassy. He read a telegram to me reporting favourable reception of Austrian despatch by Rashid Pasha, who hoped that a satisfactory answer would be given to it in a few days.

No. 189.

*Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received February* 1.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, February* 1, 1876.

MR. ST. JOHN, in despatch dated 18th instant, reports Russian forces in Bessarabia to be 100,000 men; that Roumanian Minister of War has obtained a credit of 500,000,000 francs to put the army on war footing; and that Austrian subjects in Roumania, belonging to the reserve forces, have received orders to return home.

They still believe here that there has only been a dislocation of Russian troops in Bessarabia, but no increase. Their reports, however, confirm information respecting Roumanian armaments; and yesterday Roumanian Agent read a despatch to Baron Hofmann professing alarm at concentration of Turkish troops on the frontier.

No. 190.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.†—(*Received February* 1, 7·7 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, February* 1, 1876, 5·25 P.M.

PRINCE GORTCHAKOW told me to-day that General Ignatiew had reported having had a satisfactory audience of the Sultan, and that a Firman of Amnesty was preparing, copy of which would be annexed to the answer from the Porte to Ambassador.

Prince Gortchakow laid stress on immediate execution of reforms to enable Powers to exercise influence on insurgents. He thinks cessation of hostilities desirable during introduction of reforms.

Without using the word armistice, which might be disagreeable to the Porte, a line of demarkation might be drawn to prevent further collision and effusion of blood.

No. 191.

Rashid Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(*Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, February* 2.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le* 1 *Février*, 1876.

LES Ambassadeurs des trois Puissances du Nord m'ont communiqué hier le contenu du projet du Comte Andrassy; cette communication a été faite verbalement. On nous conseille comme mesure de pacification pour nos districts insurgés l'adoption des dispositions suivantes qui seraient applicables à la Bosnie et à l'Herzégovine:—

1. Liberté religieuse pleine et entière;
2. Abolition du système des fermages;
3. Emploi d'une partie des impôts pour les besoins et dans l'intérêt de la province;

* Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Rome, St. Petersburgh, and Constantinople.

† Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and Rome.

4. Institution d'une commission locale composée de membres Musulmans et non-Musulmans pour surveiller l'exécution des réformes;

5. Amélioration graduelle de la situation agraire des paysans.

Comme il s'agit d'une démarche toute officieuse et de conseils purement amicaux, j'ai répondu pour le moment aux Ambassadeurs des trois Cours Impériales ainsi qu'aux Représentants d'Angleterre, de France, et d'Italie, qui, de leur côté, m'ont notifié verbalement l'adhésion de leurs Gouvernements à ce projet, que la Sublime Porte examinera avec soin les idées suggérées par le Cabinet Austro-Hongrois, et je leur ai promis de les informer de la décision qui sera prise à ce sujet par le Gouvernement Impérial. J'aurai soin de tenir votre Excellence au courant de la marche que suivra l'affaire.

No. 192.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received February* 2.)

Constantinople, February 2, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

I HAVE received a message from the Sultan, conveying assurance that His Majesty has no intention of changing his Grand Vizier.

No. 193.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.[a]—(*Received February* 2.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, February* 2, 1876.

(Confidential.)

COUNT ANDRASSY has just heard that the Skoupstchina has voted in secret session 1,000,000 ducats for putting the army on a war footing. He says that decided measures will, therefore, be necessary to make Servia and Montenegro understand that they will not be permitted to compromise the peace of Europe.

No. 194.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received February* 3.)

(No. 4.) *Mostar, January* 21, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch of the 17th instant, addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, regarding the removal of Raouf Pasha from the Herzegovina.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure in No. 194.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Mostar, January 17, 1876.

Sir,

ON the 14th instant, my Italian colleague sent to Count Corti the following telegram, drawn up conjointly with myself, and which was to be communicated to your Excellency:—

"Collègue Anglais et moi croyons qu'il soit rendre mauvaise service à la cause de la pacification que d'éloigner Raouf Pacha de l'Herzégovine au moment qu'il venait par une conduite exceptionnelle gagner confiance générale, et que haut intérêt conseille de le maintenir en ce pays avec tous les pouvoirs extraordinaires pour écarter dangers inséparables au dualism militaire et civil."

Nothing could have been more ill-timed and unfortunate than the nomination of Ahmet Mouktar Pasha to the supreme command in Bosnia and the Herzégovina. Raouf Pasha had just done all that was possible to put matters in a better situation. He had infused courage and confidence into the troops. He had marched with them on foot almost as a common soldier, in the face of tremendous difficulties of all kinds, and had inflicted

[a] Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Rome, St. Petersburgh, and Constantinople.

severe losses on the insurgents. At the same time he had treated the latter with a consideration which gained their respect, and almost their confidence. He always allowed them to carry off their wounded, and bury their dead, without molestation; and had forbidden the troops to cut off any Christian heads. Maxime, of Baniani, had agreed to meet him, and Sositza was on the point of doing likewise. We learn from Ragusa that all the Revolutionary Committees spoke highly and favourably of him. The late conduct of the Montenegrin Chief, Peiko Paulovich, gave great discontent—disagreement was becoming evident, and the chances of unexpected pacification without any intervention, were never greater. At this critical moment, Raouf Pasha received in the plain of Nicksich the announcement of his removal from the chief command, with sentiments that can easily be imagined, and, abandoning all his well-considered plans, instantly returned to Mostar, and the chances of success, which could scarcely have been hoped for, have been lost. Instead of following out Raouf Pasha's plans, or accepting his advice, Ahmet Mouktar Pasha immediately withdrew all his forces into winter quarters, and is now at Mostar, while the insurgents are concerting at leisure fresh combinations.

Raouf Pasha has certainly a talent for conciliation, and has shown, at the same time, great activity and courage. The Turks here, who were against him when first named, notwithstanding his having imprisoned Mussulmans at Trebigné, convicted of ill-treating the Christians, have joined the latter here in telegraphing to the Porte that he may be kept in his place. His presence, however, would be useless without having in his hands full powers, civil and military, and he would not otherwise consent to remain. During my long experience in Turkey, I have never seen a single instance of the civil and military authorities being in accord; and it is quite certain that matters will not proceed satisfactorily in the Herzegovina unless all power is in the hands of one competent individual. Up to the present moment no one has shown so much capacity as Raouf Pasha; and these considerations decided my Italian colleague and myself to send the above-mentioned telegram. Our Russian colleague declined to join us. The Austrian Delegate excused himself from attending the meeting we proposed to consider the matter. The German Delegate agreed with us entirely, but said he could not join us unless his Austrian and Russian colleagues did so; and our French colleague said he had already written in the sense proposed to his Ambassador, and thought it unnecessary to do more.

Both my Italian colleague and myself are of opinion that we should do a service to our old and respected friend Ali Pacha in preventing, if possible, his arrival here. He is an educated and intelligent man, but will probably find it impossible to remain here with an ordinary Turk like Ahmet Mouktar Pasha as independent Commander-in-chief.

Nothing seems to favour the idea, both here and abroad, that the Government is incapable of putting down the revolt, or to carry out its reforms so much as the incessant change of Governors. The Porte seems to be completely bewildered, and no one is given a chance of success. I believe myself that one of the best guarantees which the Porte could give of its sincerity in desiring to carry out the promised reforms, and its best chance of pacification, would be to name Raouf Pasha Governor-General of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, for there is no doubt that they should not be separated, with full powers, civil and military, and with a tenure of office for ten years, if successful in bringing about a pacification within a reasonable time. Since I have been at Mostar, there have been four Governors appointed! almost one a-month. Ahmet Hamdi Pasha, within the space of about two months after leaving this, was named successively to Salonica, to Erzeroom, and now to Scutari. What government can be expected under this system? and how can the reforms proposed be carried out? Your Excellency will perhaps have remarked that there is not a word in the Imperial Iradé of that first of all necessary reforms, the permanence of the provincial Governors in their posts unless their incapacity is proved, nor also of the disarming of the Mussulman population, or prohibiting them from wearing arms otherwise than when travelling. Both Christians and Mussulmans should be put on an equality in this respect.

In conclusion I may state that with these recent changes, and the removal of Raouf Pasha, the general opinion is that an unexpected chance of pacification has been thrown away, and that the Porte in its wild efforts to crush the insurrection and avoid intervention, seems to adopt the very measures calculated to prevent its own success; and I need not state to whom the suggestion of these measures is attributed.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 195.

*Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received February* 3.)

Berlin, February 3, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

LORD CAMPBELL is here on a mission from the Sultan to Prince Bismarck. Can you tell me what it is?

No. 196.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Odo Russell.

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.)

Foreign Office, February 3, 1876.

NOTHING is known of Lord Campbell's so-called mission. He is wholly unconnected with the Government, and exercises no political influence on either side of Parliament. I authorize your Excellency to state this to Prince Bismarck if you think it advisable.

No. 197.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.†—(*Received February* 3.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.)

Vienna, February 3, 1876.

NOTHING is known here of General Ignatiew's audience of the Sultan, or of promised amnesty mentioned in Lord A. Loftus' telegram of the 1st instant. Baron Hofmann, to whom I have spoken on the subject, says Count Andrassay always considered an amnesty should follow the acceptance by the Porte of proposals; but though he is unable to express an opinion during Count Andrassy's absence at funeral of Mr. Deak, he evidently thinks personally that a line of demarcation would be unsuited to the local circumstances, and to the character of the war. It seems to me that the Porte could only be asked to accompany its amnesty, with a promise to suspend hostilities for a fixed period, to allow insurgents and refugees time to avail themselves of it.

No. 198.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received February* 4.)

(No. 81.)

Constantinople, January 21, 1876.

My Lord,

YOUR Lordship has learnt from Mr. Consul-General Eldridge that some sensation had caused in the Lebanon by the arrival of an aide-de-camp of the Sultan, bringing the Reform Firman to Rustem Pasha.

It was supposed that if the Firman was to be promulgated in the Mountain, it was for the purpose of assimilating it to the Vilayets of the Empire.

The French Ambassador and myself having immediately made inquiry into the matter, we were assured that the Firman had been sent by an oversight to the Governor of the Lebanon by the subordinate who had received general instructions to forward it to the Provinces.

Rustem Pasha was at once telegraphed to that the Firman had been sent to him solely for his own information, and not for promulgation in the Mountain.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.
† Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Rome, and Constantinople.

No. 198 A.

The Secretaries to the Church Missionary Society to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 3.)

Church Missionary House, Salisbury Square, February 1, 1876.

My Lord,

THE Committee of the Church Missionary Society have had under their consideration some private letters from Missionaries in Turkey referring to the uneasy feeling which in different parts of the Ottoman Empire prevails among the Christian population lest their lives and property should be sacrificed by an outburst of Mahommedan fanaticism. The same may be gathered from communications which have appeared in the public journals.

Although the subject has probably attracted your Lordship's attention, and on this ground it may seem unnecessary for the Committee to trouble your Lordship, still they trust they may be pardoned for doing so, in consideration of their having carried on Christian work in the Ottoman Empire for a lengthened period of more than half a century, during which have occurred several ebullitions of Mahommedan fanaticism attended with serious loss of life. Without going so far back as 1821 when, during the Greek war of independence, the Mahommedans in a popular outburst seized the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople and ignominiously hanged him before the church in which he had been officiating, delivering his body to the Jews to be dragged through the streets, and at the same time committing other atrocities; and without referring to local disturbances, such as took place at Nablous in 1852, which although attended with loss of life, are not very generally known, it will suffice to mention the massacre at Damascus in 1860, when the Turkish authorities allowed a fanatical and blood-thirsty rabble to pillage and murder the Christian inhabitants without opposition or remonstrance. Still more recently occurred the murderous assault of last year on the Palestine Exploration and Survey party by the fanatical Moslems of Sufed, when Lieutenants Cauder and Kitchener, and several others, with them, were wounded. These incidents, and others which might be recalled, quite justify the Christians in the apprehensions they now entertain.

It will be observed by the inclosed printed extract from a letter of the "Times" correspondent at Constantinople, dated January 4, 1876, that these apprehensions are not confined to the natives, but are also shared by the Europeans, some of whom have sent their wives and daughters away. This statement is confirmed by the Rev. Dr. Koelle, a discreet missionary of this Society, who has considerable experience of Orientals, having laboured in the Turkish Empire since 1856, and having resided for a greater part of this time in Constantinople itself. In a letter which has recently come to hand he writes as follows:—"You know from the newspapers in what a pitiable condition this country is. Of the insurgent provinces you know more in England than the Government allows to be made known here. Many of our English friends are sending the feminine part of their families out of the country to different parts from a fear of Mussulman risings. It might be better instead of sending their people away to induce the Ambassador to send for a few men-of-war to the Bosphorus, which would place not only their families, but the hundreds of thousands of native Christians, in security. Our trust is in the Lord who reigneth." Another missionary, the Rev. John Zeller, who has laboured in Palestine for more than twenty years, also refers, in a letter dated Beyrout, December 18, 1875, in the following terms, to the uneasy feelings which prevail:—"Politically, there is at present a lull; outwardly all seems quiet, but secretly there exists great anxiety. Nobody doubts that black clouds are gathering. Mr. Eldridge, the Consul-General, also acknowledged this, and said he would be very glad to see some English gunboats off our coast."

The Committee of the Church Missionary Society feel that it is altogether beyond their province to recommend the sending of armed men-of-war either to Constantinople or to the coast of Syria, as suggested in the communications which they have quoted. They trust, however, that your Lordship will not deem them to have trespassed beyond their functions in thus confidentially bringing to your notice the communications they have received, and that their solicitude to save their native fellow-Christians in Turkey from possible bloodshed and outrage will meet with your Lordship's sympathy and indulgence.

We have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY WRIGHT,
EDWARD LAKE, } *Secretaries.*

No. 198B.

Mr. Lister to the Secretary to the Church Missionary Society.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 5, 1876.

I AM directed by the Earl of Derby to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, and I am to inform you, in reply, that Her Majesty's Government, as at present advised, have no grounds to fear the outbreak of a Mahommedan fanaticism in Turkey; but I am to add that a copy of your letter will be forwarded to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I am, &c.

(Signed) T. V. LISTER.

No. 199.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 4.)

(No. 84. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, January 23, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship the following extract from a private letter which I received this morning from Mr. Consul Holmes.

"Baron Lichtenberg, my German colleague, has just returned from Ragusa. He states that the Dalmatians, forgetful of the part they have themselves taken, and only feeling the inconvenience of supporting the refugees, are now furious with Montenegro for keeping up the insurrection, and also at the profit which the Prince is making,—for it is a matter of notoriety that nearly all the money sent by Russia and England for the wounded and poor remains in the pockets of the Prince and his senators; even beds sent for the sick are appropriated.

"My colleague assures me in strict confidence that Russia, in the person of M. Jonin, Consul at Ragusa, has directed the whole conduct of Montenegro. Mr. Stillman (the "Times" correspondent) is hand-and-glove with him. He (Lichtenberg) says, if he could only say what he knows the world would be rather astonished at the part Austria and Russia have played in the affairs of this revolt. It is said truly that politics know no religion, no relationships, and no sentiments, but I must say that it seems to me infamous to have caused the infinite misery which has been entailed on this wretched country only to back out at the end and leave it to its fate, which I am assured Austria and Russia both feel disposed to do at present."

What Mr. Holmes states of the Dalmatians being tired of maintaining the refugees, and of their anger at learning that the money sent from foreign countries for the sick and wounded in Montenegro is appropriated by those through whose hands it passes, has been confirmed to me from other independent sources.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 200.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 4.)

(No. 92.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, January 23, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of the queries to which answers have hitherto been required by the Porte upon application from a Christian community for permission to erect churches and schools.

These conditions made it easy for any of those opposed to the new buildings to put endless difficulties in the way of them, and this has been especially felt by the Protestant communities as the Greeks, Catholics, and Armenians are all opposed to their obtaining the necessary authority.

These regulations will now be entirely altered.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 200.

Extract from the Government Schedule requiring information from the Local Authorities, on application being made for a permit for building a Church or a School.

1. WHETHER the house wherein the said community or congregation have until now been worshipping is found insufficient, owing to the increase of the members? What is the present number of the members? Whether the said community is really in need of erecting a church or a school?

2. Whether the proposed site is freehold ("mulk"), and therefore belongs absolutely to the community? Whether any other community has any right of partnership in it, or any connection whatever with it?

3. Whether the site may cause complaint in respect of its locality and situation? Whether it may cause any real grievance or injury to any one? Whether the proprietor consents to the erection of the proposed church or school?

4. Whether the site is situated in a Mussulman quarter? Whether the site is on Vakoof property?

5. Whether the people desire to build a new church or school? Whether they themselves have the money on hand?

6. No contributions should be collected by force, nor money taken from other communities.

Extract from the Firman which is issued after the above questions have been satisfactorily answered:—

"That in case of any cause of complaint being in existence, this my sovereign Order be retained, and the matter be communicated to my Sublime Porte by a report and despatch."

No. 201.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 4.)

(No. 96. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, January 25, 1876.*

RASCHID PASHA spoke to me yesterday with some anxiety of the demand which he understood the Austrian proposal to contain in reference to the application of the direct taxes of Bosnia to local purposes.

The Porte is desirous of going as far as possible in accepting the proposals to be suggested to it, but such a demand would, he said, put it in a position of great embarrassment.

He did not, it is true, rightly understand what was intended to be conveyed by that proposal, and he had just asked the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador for some explanation of it, but had not been able to get any.

According to Raschid Pasha's calculation, the direct taxes of Bosnia and the Herzegovina contribute about four-fifths of the whole revenue of those provinces, and he cannot believe that the Powers wish to insist that no more than the remaining fifth shall be available for Imperial purposes.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 202.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 4.)

(No. 98.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, January 25, 1876.*

THE military accounts of the Herzegovina have been more than usually contradictory during the last few days.

First, a report was received from Ragusa to the effect that the insurgents had suffered a severe defeat, a brother-in-law of the Prince of Montenegro being among the killed, and that many of their wounded had arrived at Ragusa.

Next came the account of the destruction of a half-battalion of troops between Trebigné and Klek, with the exception of seventeen men, which was reported by the Turkish authorities as well as by Mr. Holmes.

The following morning this was contradicted by the Commander-in-chief, to correct the effect of the impression that his own slowness in acting was likely to produce.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 203.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 4.)

(No. 103.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, January 25, 1876.*

YOUR Lordship will have already received Mr. Freeman's interesting despatch No. 40, of the 30th ultimo, in which he instances some of the abuses which prevail in the administration of Bosnia and the Herzegovina.

I have placed in the hands of Raschid Pasha a very full extract of that despatch, omitting, however, what Mr. Freeman says of the impossibility of a material improvement without the abolition of the Provincial Councils.

I was not in this country previous to the establishment of the Vilayet system; but I have long been of Mr. Freeman's opinion that the Provincial Councils, as now constituted confer little real benefit upon the Provinces, but are made use of to relieve the Governors of much of their responsibility. This is not, however, the time when a return to a more arbitrary system is either practicable or desirable, and the cure for the abuses is to be sought in the opposite direction—by giving the Councils a more real existence, and a *bond fide* control over the matters affecting districts.

In this respect the proposal of Count Andrassy is entitled to every support; and I did not think it expedient to furnish the Porte with arguments against it out of Mr. Freeman's despatch.

Mr. Freeman's statement of an "immeasurable improvement of the conditions of the Christians during the last quarter-of-a-century" confirms what I have pointed out more than once upon other authority; and although this fact does not diminish the necessity for further measures being taken for their benefit, it is too often lost sight of by those who, looking only at what is still required, forget the progress that has already been made, or think that everything can be done at once.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 204.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 4.)

(No. 105.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, January 25, 1876.*

I HAVE received this evening a message from Raschid Pasha, saying that he has learnt with dismay that it is intended that copies of the instructions containing the Austrian proposals shall be delivered to him by the Representatives.

He had, he said, distinctly understood from Count Zichy that there was to be nothing but a verbal communication; and as the Sultan had been informed that this would be the course followed, he does not think it will be possible for him to accept the copies of the instructions.

I shall endeavour to see his Excellency to-morrow, and to point out the serious consequences which such a refusal would involve.

There has long been an impression among the Northern Representatives that they would be directed to give copies of their instructions; and Count Zichy cannot have intended to convey an assurance that it would not be done.

I had also myself said to Raschid Pasha that I thought it likely that the course in question would be followed, and I was under the impression that he saw no great objection to it, so that I scarcely understand his present surprise and annoyance.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 205.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 4.)

(No. 100.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, January 26, 1877.*

IN the course of conversation with most of my colleagues upon Count Andrassy's despatch, I have found them of opinion that it contains expressions which may be admissible in a communication to the Governments to which it was to be delivered, as explaining the position of the question of the Herzegovina, but which it would be unbecoming to put into the hands of the Porte.

If the Representatives of the Northern Cabinets are directed to read and give copies of that despatch exactly as it stands, there is none of them who will execute his instructions without embarrassment.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 206.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 4.)

(No. 107.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, January 26, 1876.*

JUST at the moment when Her Majesty's ship "Antelope" was about to proceed to Malta, as usual at this time of year, a feeling of apprehension of an attack upon the Christians prevailed in some of the communities, and especially among the English, and it was conveyed to me indirectly that they would like me to detain the ship.

As she was known to be on the point of sailing, her detention by me would have been taken as a proof that I regarded the apprehension as well-founded, and would have increased the uneasiness for which I believe there is little ground.

I wrote privately, however, by the "Antelope" to Sir James Drummond, telling him that if he had a small vessel at his disposal, which could replace the usual despatch-boat during her absence, I should be glad that she should be sent here.

Admiral Drummond has informed me that he has directed Her Majesty's ship "Rapid," which was at the Piræus, to proceed to Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 207.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, February 4.)

(No. 9. Confidential.)
Sir, *Buda-Pesth, January 31, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a letter received by my Turkish colleague on the 29th instant from Belgrade, which he has been so kind as to communicate to me confidentially. He regards the writer as well-informed and trustworthy.

With reference to Mr. White's recent despatches, this letter seems to me worth submitting to your Excellency. The opinions it expresses appear also to harmonize with much that I hear in Buda-Pesth from persons who have means of knowing the state of affairs in Servia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure in No. 207.

Letter addressed to the Turkish Consul-General at Buda-Pesth.

NOUVELLES DE BELGRADE:—La Session de la Skouptchina touche à sa fin. Dans quelques jours le Budget sera voté, et les Députés seront renvoyés dans leurs foyers. Le Budget a été tellement mutilé par la Commission et la Chambre qu'il est absolument impossible de gouverner le pays. On a retranché la moitié de chaque poste excepté celui du Ministère de la Guerre, auquel on a même accordé un crédit extraordinaire pour les dépenses d'armement. Il est plus que probable que le Cabinet actuel donnera sa démission aussitôt après la clôture de la Scouptchina; le Ministère Kalievics sentant sa faiblesse et son incapacité a donné au Prince la promesse formelle de se retirer après le vote du Budget. L'Agent Serbe à Vienne, M. Zuhics, sera invité à former un Cabinet Conservateur dont feront partie MM. Zenics Petronovics, Philipp Christics, Protics et Bogicsevics. Mais pour pouvoir gouverner en Serbie il faut d'abord abolir la Constitution actuelle rédigée par M. Ristics dans l'unique but de se maintenir éternellement au pouvoir. Aussi le Prince songe-t-il en ce moment aux moyens d'abroger la Constitution; et, pour atteindre ce but, il a l'intention de faire un coup d'état avec l'aide du parti conservateur et des soldats: c'est l'unique moyen d'y parvenir, car la dissolution de la Chambre et la convocation de la grande Skouptchina offrent ce danger réel—que la grande Skouptchina pourrait prononcer la déchéance du Prince Milan, éventualité qu'on doit éviter à tout prix. Il n'y a plus à douter que le parti Ristics et les Radicaux veulent se débarrasser du Prince, et appeler au trône de Serbie le Prince du Monténégro; les accusations portées par la Skouptchina contre l'ancien Ministre de la Guerre, M. Protics, cousin du Prince, et contre M. Mizatovics, ex-Ministre des Finances et ami intime du Prince, ne laissent pas de doutes à ce sujet;

on accuse ces fonctionnaires, et l'on en veut au Prince, qui sent fort bien où en veut venir le parti radical, et qui cherche son salut dans un coup d'état qui est déjà préparé, et qui aura lieu dans une quinzaine de jours.

En attendant, les préparatifs continuent pour une guerre prochaine, et le Gouvernement Serbe a commandé pour équiper la troisième classe de la milice 80,000 fusils avec 100,000 cartouches pour chacun de ces fusils. Il a aussi l'intention d'acheter dix batteries de canons Krupp à huit pièces par batterie. On croit qu'une diversion en Bosnie et une guerre heureuse pourraient consolider la Dynastie Obrenovics et faciliter l'abolition de la Constitution.

Le parti conservateur, qui est le plus raisonnable, désire un rapprochement avec la Sublime Porte, sachant que l'autonomie de la Principauté est intimement liée à l'existence de la Porte. Ce parti, qui arrivera bientôt au pouvoir, craint pardessus tout la Russie, et ensuite l'Autriche. On croit à ce moment à Belgrade une guerre inévitable pour le printemps prochain; et les chefs du parti conservateur disent que dans le cas où l'Autriche ferait une invasion en Bosnie la Sérbie marchera avec les Turcs contre les Autrichiens.

Jeudi dernier le Ministère Kaljevics a adressé une note à son Excellence le Comte Andrassy, portant que la Serbie ne saurait entrer en ce moment dans des négociations relatives aux chemins de fer avec le Gouvernement Austro-Hongrois; c'est le même Cabinet qui a refusé, il y a quelques semaines, de conclure une Convention Commerciale avec le Cabinet de Vienne.

No. 208.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 4.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, February 3, 1876.*

WITH reference to Lord A. Loftus' telegram of the 1st instant:—

General Ignatiew has had no audience of the Sultan.

He sent a dragoman to His Majesty's Secretary some days ago, with the object of supporting the Grand Vizier, and he may perhaps have sent a message about an amnesty.

The Porte has not yet decided upon the course to take on the Austrian proposal; but if a new Firman is given, it will probably proclaim an amnesty for the insurgents who make submission within a given time.

No. 209.

Consul-General Stanley to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 5.)

(No. 3. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Odessa, January 31, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt this day of your Lordship's despatch No. 1 of the 3rd January, marked Most Confidential, and have the honour to request your Lordship will inform me if I am authorized to visit personally the district named in it.

With reference to this subject, I have the honour to invite your Lordship's attention to the latter part of my despatch No. 61 of 7th December, and to state that my present belief is the same as I then expressed, though it is difficult to obtain reliable information here, and the contrary belief is prevalent.

Should I receive this authorization, I trust I may be allowed to charge the necessary expenses to Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. E. STANLEY.

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* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

No. 210.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 5.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, February 5*, 1876, 11·30 A.M.

WITH reference to Lord A Loftus' telegram of 1st, and Sir A. Buchanan's of the 3rd instant, armistice or suspension of hostilities in the Herzegovina seems impracticable.

The Turks must keep up their communications between their military posts, and convey supplies to them.

All late collisions have been caused by attempt of insurgents to (interrupt?) the communications, and to intercept convoys.

No. 210*.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 6, 4·50 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, February 6*, 1876, 3·10 P.M.

IT may be considered decided that the acceptance of the proposals will be communicated to the Representatives here in the name of the Sultan, but a Firman is not now spoken of.

There will be a reservation about the taxation question, which the Austrian Ambassador considers reasonable.

A despatch will be sent at the same time to the Turkish Representatives for communication to the Governments to which they are accredited.

The formal decision of the Cabinet has not yet been taken, but no difficulty is apprehended.

No. 211.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 7.)

(No. 30.)

My Lord, *Rome, January 31*, 1876.

I THOUGHT it right to lose no time in making Chevalier Visconti Venosta acquainted with Sir Henry Elliot's telegram of the 28th instant, in which he deprecates the course intended to be followed by the Italian Government in regard to the Andrassy note, as described in my telegram of the 27th instant, and states that no other Government will send in a note to the Porte on the subject. I consequently called upon his Excellency for the above purpose yesterday afternoon.

After I had read to his Excellency Sir Henry Elliot's telegram, I said that it would perhaps be as well that I should also read him my own, in which I reported what I had heard from him at our last interview.

Having done so, M. Visconti Venosta informed me that it was quite correct.

I then observed that I had also received a copy of a telegram from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna, from which it appeared that the communications of the Ambassadors were to be verbal, and not written, and that it was arranged that Raschid Pasha was to ask for a copy of Count Andrassy's despatch before it was delivered to him.

Upon this M. Visconti Venosta related again what had passed between him and the Cabinet of Vienna in reference to the mode of communicating with the Porte upon the subject of Count Andrassy's despatch, and the decision he had taken in consequence, and from what his Excellency now said it certainly appeared that he had not intended sending in a note, but simply desiring the Italian Minister to read and leave a copy of his instructions, to which a copy of Count Andrassy's note was to be annexed.

But as this differed very materially from what I had originally understood from his Excellency, and from what is stated as well in my telegram of the 27th, the correctness of which his Excellency had just confirmed, as in my despatch No. 26 of the same date, I was compelled to seek an explanation of the discrepancy at his Excellency's hands.

For this purpose I again read him my telegram, when his Excellency observed that the mistake arose from his having employed the word "note" instead of "despatch;" that what he intended to say was that he should send a despatch to the Italian Minister at Constantinople, to which would be annexed a copy of Count Andrassy's note, and that this despatch was to be communicated to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, together with its annex.

This may possibly be what his Excellency intended to say; but it is certainly very different from what he said. The words used by his Excellency (which I remember as well as if I had heard them this very moment) were as follows:—"Nous envoyons une 'note,' à laquelle sera annexée une copie de la note du Comte Andrassy, &c.," and I think I may therefore venture to appeal to your Lordship to say, whether it was possible for me to understand this otherwise than as meaning that a note was to be sent in to the Turkish Government. The word "despatch" was never once pronounced, and what confirmed me in the persuasion that a note was to be sent in (and I mentioned this to M. Visconti Venosta yesterday) was that when M. Artom was speaking to me about the intentions of the Italian Government, which he did at the Court Ball the evening before I saw M. Visconti Venosta, he said, in informing me that a written answer was to be requested, "mais il semble tout naturel du reste que l'on fasse une réponse par écrit à une communication écrite." And, moreover, it occurs to me while now writing, that when I acquainted M. Visconti Venosta with the substance of your Lordship's instructions to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, as I had received them by telegraph, his Excellency remarked the phrase which directs Sir H. Elliot to give oral communication of his instructions to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Grand Vizier, as if this course was different from that which was going to be followed by the other Governments.

I deeply regret that there should have been any inaccuracy, but I trust what I have now said will acquit me of any blame in your Lordship's eyes for having given information which turns out not to be correct.

As matters at present stand, M. Visconti Venosta states that he has addressed a despatch to the Italian Minister at Constantinople, in which he is informed that the Italian Government entirely share the views of the Imperial Cabinets, as set forth in the despatch of Count Andrassy of the 30th of December last, and that the Italian Government accordingly strongly recommends them to the acceptance of the Porte. This despatch Count Corti is directed to read to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, but instead of being told positively to leave his Excellency a copy of it, he will be desired to give a copy, should he be requested to do so, it being M. Visconti Venosta's intention that Count Corti should arrange previously with the Turkish Minister that the request shall be made.

This modification has been introduced in consequence of a communication, in conformity with what is stated in Sir A. Buchanan's telegram of the 28th instant, received the day before yesterday from Vienna.

M. Visconti Venosta said that it had been his desire to act as much as possible in conformity with the course suggested by the three Imperial Cabinets, as he thought by so doing additional weight would be given to the recommendations which were to be submitted to the Porte's consideration, but he was only too glad to adopt any suggestion which might have for effect to save the susceptibilities of the Turkish Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 212.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 7.)

(No. 31.)

My Lord, *Rome, February 1*, 1876.

IN conformity with the instructions conveyed to me in your Lordship's despatch No. 28 of the 25th ultimo I have the honour to inform your Lordship that, in an interview I had with M. Visconti Venosta the day before yesterday, I delivered to his Excellency a copy of your Lordship's note to Count Beust of the 25th ultimo, in reply to the despatch from Count Andrassy of the 30th of December last, respecting the pacification of the Herzegovina and Bosnia.

In expressing his thanks for this communication, M. Visconti Venosta stated that he would send your Lordship, through the Italian Legation in London, a copy of his instructions to the Italian Minister at Constantinople, upon the same subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 213.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 7.)

(No. 34.)
My Lord, *Rome, February 2, 1876.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 30 of the 31st ultimo, I have the honour to state, that, having met my Austro-Hungarian colleague at a party last night, I asked him what he had understood from M. Visconti Venosta to be the intention of the Italian Government in regard to communicating with the Porte on the subject of Count Andrassy's despatch of the 30th of December, relative to the measures for the pacification of the Herzegovina and Bosnia.

Count Wimpffen replied that M. Visconti Venosta had told him that he intended to instruct the Italian Minister at Constantinople to send in a note to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, to which would be annexed a copy of Count Andrassy's despatch. Count Corti would be directed to state in his note that the Italian Government entirely approved the measures suggested in Count Andrassy's despatch, and consequently recommended the Porte to agree to them.

I then related to Count Wimpffen what I had reported to your Lordship in my telegram of the 27th of January, and he said this was precisely what he had heard from M. Visconti Venosta, and had telegraphed to his own Government.

On Saturday, the 29th of January, Count Wimpffen said he had informed M. Visconti Venosta that it had been settled that the Imperial Ambassadors would not deliver a copy of Count Andrassy's note until it was asked for, and he supposed his Excellency must have changed his plan of action after this, but that his Excellency had originally announced his intention of desiring Count Corti to send in a note to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs there could be no doubt whatever.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 214.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 7.)

(No. 55.)
My Lord, *Berlin, January 31, 1876.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 54 of the 31st instant, I sent your Lordship this day a telegram to say that Prince Bismarck had requested the Austrian Government, in deference to your Lordship's wishes, telegraphed through Count Münster to his Highness, to delay the communication of Count Andrassy's note until the arrival of your Lordship's instructions to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

It appears, however, that Count Andrassy would not consent to any further delay, and that the communication of his note to the Turkish Government, through Count Zichy, will take place to-day.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 215.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 7.)

(No. 57. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Berlin, February 1, 1876.*

THE Emperor told me, at a Court ball last night, that he had read your Lordship's despatch to Count Beust, in answer to Count Andrassy's note, with great interest, and had been struck by the soundness of the arguments put forward, which, His Majesty added, were new to him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 216.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 7.)

(No. 29.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, February 2, 1876.*

I HAD an interview yesterday with Prince Gortchakow, and, in conformity with the instructions of your Lordship's despatch No. 29 of the 25th ultimo, placed in the hands of the Chancellor a copy of the note which your Lordship had addressed to Count Beust, in reply to the despatch from Count Andrassy respecting the pacification of the Herzegovina and Bosnia.

Prince Gortchakow expressed his thanks, stating that he had already learnt with great satisfaction from Count Schouvaloff the terms of the adhesion of Her Majesty's Government to the proposals of Count Andrassy.

Prince Gortchakow then informed me that he had just received a telegram from General Ignatiew, stating that the note had been communicated to the Porte on the previous day (Monday).

His Highness stated that on the proposal of Count Andrassy, and to meet the wishes of the Grand Vizier and Raschid Pasha, it had been agreed that a copy of Count Andrassy's note was not to be officially given, but that Raschid Pasha was to request to be furnished with one. This formality appears to have been complied with.

Prince Gortchakow had also received a telegram from General Ignatiew, stating that, in order to counteract certain attempts which were being made to influence the Sultan against accepting the proposals of the Powers, he had asked for a private audience, and had been received by the Sultan.

He reported that the Sultan had given him very satisfactory assurances, both in regard to the acceptance of the European proposals, and to their strict execution. General Ignatiew added that a Firman of Amnesty was then preparing, and that a copy of it would be annexed to the answer which the Porte would address to the Ambassadors.

In further conversation with Prince Gortchakow, who appeared very much satisfied with the progress thus far of these negotiations, his Highness laid great stress on the immediate execution of the proposed reforms, in order to enable the Powers to give palpable proofs to the insurgents of the sincerity of the Porte, and to exercise an influence in inducing their submission.

I observed to his Highness that the granting of an amnesty by the Sultan ought to produce a salutary effect on the disturbed population, and to induce the refugee families to return to their homes. It would be difficult, I observed, to introduce the reforms proposed in districts where the population had fled, and where constant collisions were taking place; and it appeared to me, therefore, that with the acceptance by the Porte of the European proposal, and with an amnesty spontaneously granted by the Sultan, the next important step should be to put an end to the fighting and effusion of blood.

Prince Gortchakow concurred in this opinion, but remarked that an "armistice" in its ordinary sense would be scarcely possible, as it would more or less be viewed as acknowledging belligerent rights to the insurgents. His Highness thought that a cessation of hostilities might be obtained, and that a line of demarcation might be drawn so as to prevent any further collision between the contending parties. In the interest of humanity it was most desirable to put a stop to the further effusion of blood; and his Highness hinted that for this end possibly the Turkish forces might be withdrawn into Bosnia, where there was a more peaceable and tractable population.

I may observe to your Lordship that the foregoing opinions of Prince Gortchakow did not bear the character of any proposal emanating from his Highness, but were rather the expression of opinions resulting from the observation which I had made to him.

In my opinion, I do not foresee any successful result to the efforts of Europe for the pacification of the Herzegovina and Bosnia, unless some steps are taken to suspend the sanguinary contest which has now been raging for so many months between the insurgents and the Turkish forces

I have, &c.
Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 217.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 7.)

(No. 41.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, February 2*, 1876.

THE adhesion of Her Majesty's Government to the proposals submitted by Count Andrassy for the pacification of Herzegovina and Bosnia, although not entirely without reserve, has given great satisfaction here, both in official and unofficial circles.

The good understanding between the European Powers is regarded as the best safeguard for the maintenance of peace.

I have the honour to inclose to your Lordship herewith two articles, in translation by Mr. Michell, from the "Golos" (or "Voix") and "Russki Mir" on the adhesion of England to Count Andrassy's proposals, and also another article, in French translation, from the "Golos," published in the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg," on the attitude of Russia and Austria-Hungary in regard to the Herzegovinian question.

The object of the letter is to prove that, however practical may be the reform proposals of Count Andrassy, their execution ought to be efficiently guaranteed.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 217.

Précis by Mr. Michell of the Opinions of the Russian Press.

THE ADHESION OF ENGLAND TO COUNT ANDRASSY'S NOTE.

THE "Golos" of the $\frac{16th}{28th}$ instant observes, with reference to this subject, that the pacifying effect which such adhesion will produce on the public mind will make it more apparent than ever that neither the affairs of Turkey nor those of all Europe can be satisfactorily settled without the co-operation of England. The satisfaction with which Europe will welcome the determination of the British Government will serve to assuage any feelings of wounded vanity attributed to Lord Derby, and may induce the Cabinet to enter into closer relations with the Northern Powers, with a view of securing the permanent peace of Europe. Moreover, it is necessary, the article states, that England should not estrange herself from the interests of the civilized world, and that she should bear her share of responsibility in the settlement of the Turkish dilemma.

The "Ruski Mir" says, with reference to Count Andrassy's note, that the present unanimity of Europe with respect to Turkey is of a passive and expectant nature, and one which sometimes precedes a storm. Nevertheless, it observes, that the pacific mode of action of England deserves the gratitude of the Northern Power, who would have been placed in an awkward position had the British Government refused to become a party to the proposed scheme.

In a review of an article in the "Times," which, while recommending Lord Derby to support Count Andrassy's note, states that such a course will not bind England to any further action; and that it leaves her free to offer independent counsel on any practical measures which may eventually issue from the adoption of the note, the "Novoe Vremin' expresses a hope that the British Government will pursue a more defined and decided line of policy; "one which will be more in accordance with the requirements of the present state of affairs, and which consists in supporting peace by means of an immediate removal of all difficulties existing in the East."

St. Petersburgh, January 24, 1876.

Inclosure 2 in No. 217.

Extracts from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of January $\frac{17}{29}$ and $\frac{18}{30}$, 1876.

LES JOURNAUX RUSSES.—La plupart des journaux consacrent aux événements de l'année dernière des revues rétrospectives dont, ce nous semble, la reproduction ou l'analyse ne présenterait pas un grand intérêt. Nous nous bornerons donc à signaler un article de la "Voix," sur l'attitude de la Russie et de l'Autriche-Hongrie dans la question de l'Herzégovine, article que nous paraît mériter attention.

L'auteur de l'article se demande d'abord ce qui adviendrait si le Gouvernement

Ottoman refusait, ainsi que le bruit en avait couru, d'accueillir la note Austro-Hongroise appuyée par les autres Puissances signataires du Traité de Paris. On est tenté à première vue, dit-il, de supposer que ce refus serait de nature à embarrasser les Gouvernements Européens, mais en y regardant de plus près on acquiert la conviction que le refus de la Porte ne pourrait être avantageux qu'aux rayahs insurgés et en tout cas moins avantageux pour le Gouvernement Turc que son empressement à faire droit aux réclamations de l'Europe.

En effet si la Porte repoussait la note des Puissances, sous prétexte que l'intervention de celles-ci porterait atteinte aux pouvoirs souverains du Sultan et le diminuerait aux yeux de ses sujets, les mesures ultérieures des Gouvernements Européens ne se feraient pas attendre. Il est impossible de supposer que les Puissances, après avoir inauguré une action commune et témoigné de leur entière solidarité de vues, tant sous le rapport des soulagements en faveur des populations Chrétiennes de la Turquie que sous celui des intérêts de la paix générale, se laissent arrêter au premier pas par un refus du Gouvernement Turc.

Une pareille conduite de la Porte autoriserait l'Europe à une attitude affranchie des ménagements observés jusqu'ici pour les intérêts de l'Empire Ottoman. Dans ce cas, le Gouvernement Autrichien n'aurait qu'à fermer le port de Klek, le seul point par lequel les troupes Turques arrivent sur le théâtre de l'insurrection, pour donner à la Porte une preuve palpable de l'inopportunité de son refus. De plus personne ne doute, et la Porte moins que tout autre, que s'est seulement l'influence de la Russie et de l'Autriche-Hongrie qu'elle le doit si la conflagration ne s'est pas étendue au delà des limites de l'Herzégovine et si la Serbie et le Monténégro ont gardé la neutralité. Que serait-ce donc si les Monténégrins et les Serbes prenaient part à la lutte et si leur exemple trouvait des imitateurs en Bulgarie dans l'Ile de Candie et dans d'autres parties de l'Empire, déjà si profondément ébranlé dans ses bases? Peut-on croire réellement à Constantinople que les troupes Turques, qui se sont montrées impuissantes à réprimer une révolte locale dans l'Herzégovine, soient de force à triompher d'une insurrection qui éclaterait simultanément sur différents points du territoire Ottoman?

C'est parce que nous sommes convaincu qu'on ne se fait pas illusion à ce point à la Corne d'or, poursuit la "Voix," que nous avons tout lieu de croire à l'authenticité de la récente nouvelle suivant laquelle la Porte aurait modifié son point de vue primitif et serait disposée maintenant à recevoir la note des Puissances.

S'il en est ainsi et si cette première difficulté, suscitée par l'obstination de la Porte, est levée, le problème qui occupe les Gouvernements de l'Europe ne pourrait cependant point encore être considéré comme définitivement résolu, car il ne suffit pas d'approuver les réformes indiquées par les Puissances, il faut encore assurer leur mise à exécution effective et sincère.

Or, une opinion très répandue veut que tout le bon vouloir de la Porte ne suffise pas pour s'acquitter de cette tâche. Les fondements de l'Empire Ottoman, dit-on, sont à tel point ébranlés qu'ils se sauraient servir de base à des réformes destinées à introduire en Turquie les principes gouvernementaux et administratifs des Etats de l'Europe. L'Islamisme, hostile à la liberté de l'individuelle, mettant hors la loi les adhérents de tout autre culte, est un obstacle insurmontable à la régénération de l'Empire Ottoman.

Si ces objections sont fondées, dit la "Voix," il est certain que le projet de réformes élaboré par le Ministre Austro-Hongrois est condamné à rester lettre morte. Il nous semble cependant que dans ces objections, il y a de l'exagération quant aux particularités du système politique de la Turquie, et que beaucoup de faits incontestables ne sont point pris en considération. Nous ne nions pas que le pouvoir illimité du Sultan sur la vie et les biens de ses sujets ne passe, aux yeux des fidèles, pour une règle de droit divin et qu'il n'y ait incompatibilité entre les préceptes du Coran et les principes du droit moderne; mais cependant tous ceux qui suivent avec attention ce qui se passe dans les pays Mussulmans, et surtout en Turquie, savent que le Coran est loin d'y tenir la place qu'il occupait jadis. Le Coran prêche l'extermination des mécréants, c'est-à-dire des Chrétiens, ou du moins commande de les rendre tributaires, et personne n'ignore qu'ils sont passés les temps où ce commandement était exécuté. On peut en dire autant d'une quantité d'autres préceptes de l'Islamisme, qui sont aujourd'hui lettre morte.

Dans les rangs élevés de la population Turque le scepticisme remplace le fanatisme d'autrefois et l'incrédulité, s'emparant de plus en plus des masses, a profondément ébranlé une croyance qui, à une autre âge, avait fait trembler l'Europe. Ne sait-on pas, au surplus, que les hommes d'Etat les plus marquants de l'Orient, les Méhémet Ali, les Ali Pacha et les Fuad Pacha, ne sont, dans leur activité politique, que rarement restés fidèles aux lois de l'Islamisme? On aurait donc tort, ce nous semble, de rendre la croyance religieuse de la Turquie responsable des désordres qui minent cet Empire.

Enfin, se demande la "Voix," est-on fondé à admettre que l'intervention des

Puissances et les réformes par elles proposées à la Porte fussent de nature à ébranler les fondements de l'Empire Ottoman? Nous ne le croyons pas, répond notre confrère, et cela par la raison que tous les efforts de la Russie, de l'Autriche-Hongrie et des autres Puissances tendent à soutenir l'Empire Ottoman, et non pas à évincer les Turcs de l'Europe. De plus, la teneur même du projet du Comte Andrassy coupe court d'avance à une pareille intention, qui serait une perfidie.

S'il faut en croire les journaux, les réformes proposées s'appliqueraient en effet exclusivement à la Bosnie et à l'Herzégovine et ne concerneraient en rien les autres Provinces de la Turquie. Comme ce projet a eu vue de modifier les rapports sociaux et agraires qui sont la cause de l'insurrection actuelle, on a tout droit d'admettre qu'il donnera une satisfaction durable aux Chrétiens révoltés, tout comme les réformes introduites en 1861 en Syrie, grâce à l'intervention des Puissances, ont assuré à cette province un degré de bien-être relatif. Si en 1861 la Porte put témoigner solennellement aux Puissances sa gratitude pour l'appui qu'elles lui avaient prêté, pourquoi craindrait-elle en 1876 que cette intervention ne diminue son pouvoir et son autorité?

Il est incontestable, ajoute la "Voix," que tout éminemment pratique que puisse être le projet du Comte Andrassy, son exécution devra être garantie par des mesures efficaces.

Lors de l'insurrection de Syrie des troupes Françaises avaient été expédiées sur le théâtre de l'action et elles ne le quittèrent pas avant que l'ordre n'eût été complètement rétabli.

Dans la séance du 19 Février, 1861, de la Conférence de Paris, les Représentants de la France et de la Russie s'appliquèrent à prouver que la Porte n'était point encore à même de maintenir l'ordre, de châtier les fauteurs de la révolte et d'en dédommager les victimes.

Le Représentant de la Turquie, reconnaissant "que la présence des troupes Françaises en Syrie ne pouvait être considérée que comme un témoignage de sympathie de la part des Puissances alliées à la Porte," fusait observer néanmoins que le terme de six mois fixé pour la durée de l'occupation, en vertu de la Convention de Juillet 1860, était parfaitement suffisant pour assurer le rétablissement de l'ordre en Syrie. Le Représentant de la Russie fit valoir au contraire que les Agents du Gouvernement Ottoman n'offraient pas des garanties suffisantes pour le maintien de la paix et qu'il y avait lieu de prolonger l'occupation militaire.

Voilà, dit la "Voix," les faits que nous pouvons signaler à l'appui de ce que l'adoption seule des réformes par la Porte ne suffirait pas, et qu'il faut en garantir l'exécution. Il faut dire toutefois que l'état des affaires n'est pas à cette heure entièrement celui qui, en 1861, avait motivé l'occupation de la Syrie par les troupes Françaises, mais nous n'en sommes pas moins persuadés que la Porte, en donnant son assentiment aux réformes proposées par les Puissances, leur accorde le droit incontestable de veiller à ce qu'elles soient sérieusement mises en pratique. Ce droit de contrôler les autorités administratives Turques est la conséquence nécessaire de la démarche collective faite à Constantinople et ce n'est que par cette voie qu'il y aurait moyen d'exercer une influence constante sur l'Administration Turque, influence dont la nécessité a été démontrée par Lord Stratford-Redcliffe lui-même, dans sa récente lettre. Les organes de ce contrôle dans les provinces civilisées devraient être les Consuls et leurs Agents.

Telle est la substance de l'article de la "Voix." Nous pouvons nous abstenir de reproduire la fin de l'article, où l'auteur s'attache à montrer combien il est urgent de prendre de sérieuses mesures de pacification avant que la lutte, interrompue temporairement par les rigueurs de l'hiver, ne soit reprise de part et d'autre avec un nouvel acharnement.

No. 218.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received February* 8.)

(No. 2. Political.)

Bosna Serai, January 29, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship translation of a letter that has lately been addressed by the Chiefs of the insurgents in the Popavina and Krajina to the Mussulman Beys and proprietors of this province. Several hundred copies are said to have been printed and distributed. I have not been able to ascertain the general effect produced in the country by this letter, but I am told that some of the Mussulmans have communicated its contents to the authorities here and asked what answer they should give.

This letter was drawn up at a meeting of insurgent chiefs held about a month ago at

Jaminitza in the Sandjak of Bihach. There were said to be about twenty persons present, amongst whom was Peter Kara-Georgeovich of Servia, who goes under the name of Mrkolich, and is at the head of a small band of insurgents. He was at first requested by the others to leave the country as they were unwilling that any dynastic question should be mixed up with their plans; but as he said he only demanded the right accorded to every Slav—to fight for his country and nation—he met with no further opposition.

I have been informed that the Christian peasants of the district of Vishegrad, Chrinitza and Tashlidjeh, as also of Trnova in the neighbourhood of Serajevo, have lately been selling all their horses and cattle. It is supposed that their object is to be prepared to take part in any insurrectionary movement that may occur in the spring. I hear also that in this town there is at present a considerable sale of arms and ammunition to the Christians of the surrounding districts; but the authorities, either from incapacity or indolence, seem to be unaware of or indifferent to what is passing under their very eyes.

A few days ago orders were received from Ahmet Moukhtar Pasha to send immediately to the Herzegovina three of the four battalions of Anatolian Redif in garrison here. The Ferik commanding has, however, made a strong protest, as he considers it unsafe in the present excited state of popular feeling to leave this town and district unprotected. The Liva Osman Pasha, commanding the Bosnia Redif, who had only just arrived here on a short leave of absence during the winter season, was also summoned in haste to Mostar; and yet in the face of these orders the authorities persistently maintain that the insurrection is almost at an end. Their object is, doubtless, to deceive others; but it is to be hoped at the same time they do not deceive themselves, for a lack of proper vigilance and foresight during the next two months may be attended by very serious consequences.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

Inclosure in No. 218.

The Insurgent Chiefs in Bosnia to the Mussulman Beys and Proprietors.

(Translation.)

Mahometan Brothers,

IT will soon be five long centuries that our fathers and yours unfortunately lost their national and so to say political liberty, and that they were obliged to submit to the power of the Osmanli Turks.

We have, therefore, risen to recover our stolen lands and our national rights—not by treachery or in any unworthy manner, but with sword and gun in hand.

We acknowledge you as our own brothers. Have no fear for your religion, for your house, for we shall protect your sanctuaries as our own. Neither think that we shall seize on your goods. Whatever we take we shall pay for, unless you yourselves are the cause of a contrary procedure.

We call upon you to say by your souls whether it be just that your brothers should be beggars and slaves, and that for the caprice of the cruel Osmanli we should still bear the name which for us as for you is a shame before the whole world. Is it not true that the Osmanlis have plundered you and made you their rayahs as you have made us yours and theirs?

Do not believe any one that the power of the Ottoman Turks can any longer maintain itself—it is already lost.

The whole civilized world has passed on it the sentence of death, and withdrawn from it as from the plague.

No one will regret so much as ourselves if we are not listened to; if you will not be on our side against our enemies, remain quiet—defend neither them nor us, and do not fight with them against us; for be assured of this, we will fight until not one man is left, or till we recover our rights and our country.

With the Turks we will make no compact until we be free from his barbarous and cruel yoke.

Make your choice, either liberty with us your brothers, or war and death with the Ottomans.

(Signed) Chiefs of the Insurgents.

No. 219.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 8.)

(No. 47. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, February 5, 1876.*

IN a telegram of the 1st instant, I mentioned that the Roumanian Agent here had read a despatch to Baron Hofmann attributing the armaments at present being carried out by his Government to an apprehension that the concentration of Turkish troops near the Danube might be with a view to military operations against the Principality. I find, since, however, that this despatch was of a much more serious and comprehensive character, and as a circular intended for communication to the Guaranteeing Powers, it has probably in some way already reached your Lordship, or will shortly do so.

It states that the Roumanian Government have considered it necessary, under the present circumstances of Turkey, to prepare for all eventualities and to place the country in a position, lest new territorial arrangements should take place, to maintain its independence as the Belgium of the East, and, not to be made a tributary of any other Power or State, the tribute which it now pays to Turkey having been promise to the Sultan alone.

M. Costaforo having read this despatch confidentially to me, I expressed some surprise at its contents, observing that it gave reason to fear there might be some ground for a report which had lately reached me of hopes being entertained at Bucharest, that, in the event of any general complications in the summer, the Bukownie might be annexed to Roumania. M. Costaforo said he hoped I did not believe that his Government was mad ("fou"), to which I answered that their arming when there was no probability of their being attacked by Turkey; and as they must know that they could not successfully resist the occupation of their territory by a great European Power was so unwise, that they might be suspected of other political mistakes. He said, "But why should Roumania as a neutral State, not arm to maintain its neutrality? Has not Belgium a large army, although she has also two powerful Empires for her neighbours?" I answered that the cases were not analogous, as Belgium was rich, and could afford to maintain her military establishments; but Roumania, by her present proceedings, was creating burdens for the country which would impede its prosperity and material development.

He then said there are three things which we wish, and which we feel assured that we shall sooner or later obtain, namely, that our ruler shall be a King, that the tribute to the Porte shall be capitalized, and that our independence as a neutral State shall be guaranteed by Europe. I answered that I had frequently told him that, as far as I was aware of the views of Her Majesty's Government, there was no probability of the third object being ever attained, and that it was only as a part of the Ottoman Empire that Roumania could could continue to enjoy the advantages of a British guarantee; "but," he rejoined, "Her Majesty's Government would, he hoped, not object to continue the guarantee if the Porte were a consenting party to the arrangement?" I answered I could, of course, only express a personal opinion in the matter; but I did not believe that the assent of the Porte to the severance of Roumania from the Empire would at all change the situation, that the maintenance and integrity of the Ottoman Empire had been guaranteed by Great Britain with a view to British interest; but that since that guarantee had been given there had been a growing opinion in the country that such engagements were inconvenient, and it was, therefore, extremely improbable that the Government would be induced lightly to enter into new ones.

As I was aware that Baron Hofmann had declined to express any opinion on the despatch, and had recommended M. Costaforo to communicate it himself to Count Andrassy, I asked him whether he had read it to his Excellency. He said that he had merely as yet spoken to him of its contents; and that with regard to the armaments his Excellency had said that there could be no good reason for them, as the Porte entertained no hostile intentions towards the Principality, and, if in the improbable eventuality of a European Power intending to occupy it, the Government were determined to resist such an attempt, as whatever force they might send to the frontier, would be crushed (pulverisée). The patriotic demonstration might be made more cheaply with the loss of a few hundred than of a few thousand men.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 220.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 8.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, February 8, 1876.*

UNSATISFACTORY accounts have been received from Bosnia, and the Governor-General has applied for troops.

Bands from Austria are stated to have passed the Save at four different points, but to have been repulsed.

Austrian Ambassador has assured Porte that his Government will take energetic measures to prevent such acts.

Aggression is in the meantime apprehended from Servia, and there is much excitement on both sides of the frontier.

No. 221.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 8.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, February 8, 1876, 4 P.M.*

THE levy of fresh rediffs is ordered in consequence of news from Bosnia.

The Governor-General of Epirus reports signs of agitation at Arsa; but the Porte hopes that he exaggerates the cause for anxiety.

No. 222.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 9.)

(No. 3. Political.)
My Lord, *Salonica, January 25, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship, herewith inclosed, a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, reporting information from the insurgent districts.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure in No. 222.

Consul Blunt to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Salonica, January 23, 1876.*

ON the 21st instant I telegraphed to your Excellency as follows:—

"Official intelligence reached here this morning that the insurgents have been completely routed by the Turkish troops, near Trebigné.

"Large numbers of wounded rebels have gone to Ragusa."

The authorities here have not yet received details of the above engagement.

Parties who have recently come here from Bosnia state that, notwithstanding the great severity of the winter, the Ottoman troops are gradually subduing the insurgents.

My informants also tell me that the districts in the south of Bosnia, under the command of Mehmed Ali Pasha, are no longer molested by Servian inroads.

I am further informed that the managers of the Salonica Railway have received orders to make arrangements for the conveyance of 200 tons of mortar shells to Uscup, destined for the fortress of Nish, near the Servian frontier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

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* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

No. 223.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 10.)

(No. 5.)
My Lord, *Mostar, January 28, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of two despatches of the 24th and 26th of January, addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, relating to the late combat at Drieno, near Trebigné.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

P.S.—I have been called to Constantinople by the Ambassador, and leave this to-morrow.

W. R. H.

Inclosure 1 in No. 223.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Mostar, January 24, 1876.*

ON the 22nd instant I telegraphed to your Excellency as follows:—

"Insurgents have attacked the troops near Trebigné. Commander-in-chief left this in haste yesterday with artillery and all available troops."

On the 23rd,—

"I learn from a source I think certain, that a whole battalion except seventeen men has been destroyed near Trebigné. Commander-in-chief, though warned in time, arrived too late."

And to-day:—

"In my telegram of yesterday, instead of a whole battalion, read half a battalion."

On the 18th, Peko Paulovich attacked four companies intrenched in a couple of hills at Drieno, near Trebigné. The fight lasted two hours, and it was supposed at first that the insurgents had had the worst of it. They, however, renewed the combat the next morning, and the battle continued all day. The situation then became critical, as the garrison of Trebigné had been left so weak by the withdrawal of the troops into winter quarters, that it was unable to come to the assistance of the four companies which were surrounded. Among the insurgents, the Chief Maxime Baccvich of Baniani, was killed, which increased their fury. They rushed on with their knives; and the soldiers having exhausted their ammunition, defended themselves with stones; but, at last, after a most gallant defence, the matter ended with the massacre of all but seventeen, who escaped to a block-house in the neighbourhood.

The Commander-in-chief, Ahmét Mouktar Pasha had been warned by Raouf Pasha and others of the danger of withdrawing his troops into winter quarters; and, for days before he left Mostar, of the particular danger impending of an attack on the diminished garrison of Trebigné; but he neglected to attend to these warnings until he was informed fighting had actually commenced. He appears to me to be totally unfitted to command in the Herzegovina. This is the result of the removal of Raouf Pasha.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure 2 in No. 223.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Mostar, January 26, 1876.*

IN reply to your Excellency's telegram of the 24th, informing me that the Porte had at first received the same intelligence as that conveyed in my telegram of the 23rd, but that subsequently it had received another telegram contradicting the former one, and stating that only seven men were killed. I telegraphed as follows:—

"The Porte's first telegram and my version I implicitly believe, and my despatch by the post of to-day will also convince your Excellency. The second was probably sent after his arrival by the Commander-in-chief to save himself, and is grossly false."

My private letter accompanying my last despatch will, I think, perfectly satisfy your Excellency as to the truth of the matter. Your Excellency will have noticed that it was foreseen that the authorities would probably, as usual, deny it, and I did not hesitate to state that the telegram last received was "grossly false," because, even if my details were not quite correct, it is well known that great slaughter took place during the two days' fighting; reports from Ragusa say there were more than 300 Turks killed; and therefore to say that there were only seven, is a perversion of the truth which I scarcely thought even the Commander-in-chief would have dared to venture.

Those who sent the first telegram were not likely to invent such a disaster, and stated the truth, and the fact must be that the moment the Commander-in-chief arrived and heard what had been done, he lost no time in endeavouring to screen himself by contradicting the report sent by his subordinates.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 224.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 11.)

(No. 68. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Berlin, February 9, 1876.*

I MENTIONED to your Lordship, in my despatch No. 59, Most Confidential, of the 3rd instant, that Lord Stratheden and Campbell was the bearer of a private letter of instructions, inclosing a Memorandum on Turkish affairs from Raschid Pasha, which he had undertaken to communicate and explain to Prince Bismarck.

Besides which Lord Stratheden had a letter of introduction from General Klapka to the Chancellor, through which he obtained the audience he had solicited on Wednesday last, the 2nd instant.

From what Lord Stratheden had the goodness to confide to the Turkish Ambassador and myself we gather that Raschid Pasha had instructed his special Envoy to denounce to Prince Bismarck the duplicity of the policy of the Austrian and Russian Governments in regard to the Herzegovina insurrection, and to solicit increased and active interest on the part of the German Government for the present state and future integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

Lord Stratheden and Campbell was also instructed to invite Prince Bismarck to obtain from his Austrian ally the recall of the Governor of Dalmatia, General Roditsch, whose active sympathies with the insurgents are notorious, and to persuade his Russian ally to allow the occupation of Montenegro by Ottoman troops if necessary.

According to Lord Stratheden's own account, Prince Bismarck did not exactly contest the suspicions of the Turkish Government, but did not encourage him to say all he had been instructed to say by the Turkish Government, nor did the Chancellor ask for a copy of Raschid Pasha's Confidential Memorandum and letter.

Prince Bismarck, Lord Stratheden says, spoke much of the state of his health, of the "scare" in May last, of his anxious desire for the peace in Europe, of the absurdity of supposing that Germany wished to acquire more territory from her neighbours, of his readiness to co-operate with England, of the value of the Northern Alliance, and of his long-standing friendship with Prince Gortchakow.

The Chancellor did not speak of Count Andrassy or the Austrian Note, and asked no questions about the state of Turkey.

This is all we have been able to learn at Berlin; but Lord Stratheden told me, as I have said before, that he intended on reaching London to give your Lordship and his friends his own account of Raschid Pasha's instructions, and of his reception by Prince Bismarck.

My Turkish colleague was not a little surprised and pained at his Government having kept him so completely in the dark about the important mission they had given to Lord Stratheden, and not a little alarmed at the consequences of so imprudent a step, which the Austrian and Russian Governments cannot but resent and condemn, and for which they will hold Raschid Pasha and the Sultan's Government responsible.

Prince Bismarck has, hitherto, said nothing about Lord Stratheden's Mission, but the German papers having announced his arrival from Constantinople, the report of his Mission from the Turkish Government, and his reception by the Chancellor, has awakened the suspicions of diplomacy.

Both my Russian and my Austrian colleagues came to ask me what it all meant, and

were relieved to hear that I had your Lordship's authority for stating that nothing was known of Lord Stratheden's Mission at the Foreign Office, and that he was wholly unconnected with Her Majesty's Government.

Still the fact that he was received and entertained by Prince Bismarck, at the written request of Raschid Pasha and General Klapka, affords material for conjecture which diplomacy is not likely to drop without further suspicion or comment, and the more so as Lord Stratheden was totally unacquainted with Prince Bismarck until he gained admittance to him on Wednesday evening through the letter of introduction he brought from Constantinople; and that Prince Bismarck does not appear to have known Lord Stratheden before, since he sent a clerk of the Foreign Office to the Chancery of the British Embassy on Wednesday morning to establish his identity in Burke's "Peerage."

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 225.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 11.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, February 11, 1876.*

I HAVE been confidentially informed that the Austrian Government have submitted a draft answer to the Turkish Government to facilitate their reply to the Andrassy note.

No. 226.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 11.)

(Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, February 11, 1876.*

I SENT Mr. Harriss-Gastrell to-day to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to inquire respecting information in Lord O. Russell's telegram of the 11th, to your Lordship, as I was astonished to hear indirectly of this draft answer.

Baron Hofmann said that the text of the draft answer had been more than a week ago communicated to your Lordship by Count Beust, and that he was surprised that Sir A. Buchanan was not already acquainted with it. Mr. Harriss-Gastrell then said that Sir A. Buchanan had likewise expressed surprise at not having heard it here instead of from Berlin; and Baron Hofmann replied that he could not understand how it was, but he had not recently seen Sir A. Buchanan; probably, as Mr. Harriss-Gastrell supposed, on account of my illness.

Baron Hofmann stated that the draft answer was confidentially suggested, and Turkish Government were going to give him their reply in similar terms except on one point, on which Porte desired to grant better concession than Count Andrassy had inserted in note.

As Mr. Harriss-Gastrell understood, this point is that of the direct taxation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina.

No. 227.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 12.)

(Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, February 12, 1876.*

I SENT Mr. Harriss-Gastrell to-day to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to inquire respecting information in Lord O. Russell's telegram of the 11th to your Lordship, as I was astonished to hear indirectly of this draft answer.

Baron Hofmann said the text of the draft answer had been more than a week ago communicated to your Lordship by Count Beust, and that he was surprised that Sir A. Buchanan was not already acquainted with it.

Mr. Harriss-Gastrell then said that Sir A. Buchanan had likewise expressed surprise at not having heard it here instead of from Berlin; and Baron Hofmann replied that he

* Repeated to Paris, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.

could not understand how it was, but he had not recently seen Sir A. Buchanan; probably as Mr. Harriss-Gastrell supposed, on account of my illness.

Baron Hofmann stated that the draft answer was confidentially suggested, and Turkish Government were going to give him their reply in similar terms, except on one point, on which Porte desired to grant better concession than Count Andrassy had inserted in the note.

As Mr. Gastrell understood, this point is that of the direct taxation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina.

No. 228.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 12.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, February 12, 1876, 11 A.M.*

WITH reference to Lord Odo Russell's telegram of yesterday, I am not aware of any draft answer having been submitted to the Porte by the Austrian Government.

The answer which now awaits the Sultan's approval was drawn up by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and shown to the Austrian Ambassador, who suggested some modifications which he asked me to support.

No. 229.

Sir Henry Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 13.)

(No. 113.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February 12, 1876, 11 A.M.*

WHEN I called upon Raschid Pasha this afternoon, he told me, with much satisfaction, that the Austrian and Russian Ambassadors had just sent to inform him that they were not to be instructed to give him the copy of Count Andrassy's despatch.

It is, I imagine, understood that he will ask for a copy if it is to be read to him, and to this Raschid Pasha will make no objection.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 230.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 13.)

(No. 114.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, January 27, 1876.*

I WAS able to-day to have only a short conversation with Raschid Pasha, in which I endeavoured to persuade him not to make a difficulty about receiving a copy of Count Andrassy's despatch, if the Ambassadors should be instructed to leave one with him.

He said that he would be willing to ask for a copy while the despatch was being read to him, but he did not like it being thrust upon him.

I reminded him that in communicating long and important documents there were two forms, of which one was as often adopted as the other.

The one was that the Ambassador was instructed to read the despatch to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and give him a copy if he desired to have one.

By the other form the Ambassador was simply instructed to read his despatch to the Minister, and leave him a copy of it.

I could not believe that if the Cabinets adopted the latter form upon the present occasion, the Porte would act so imprudently as to make a serious difficulty of a matter of form.

I am disposed to think that Raschid Pasha will not persist in his objection; but he said that if several Ambassadors were one after another to insist upon giving him copies of the same despatch, he really did not think he could accept them.

General Ignatiew tells me that he has written to his Government to recommend them to comply with Raschid Pasha's wish in this respect; but I believe I am doing him no injustice, if, in common with some others of my colleagues, I suspect him at the same time of stimulating the susceptibility of the Turks on these points of form.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 231.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 13.)

(No. 116.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, January 28, 1876.*

ACCORDING to Sir Augustus Paget's telegram of yesterday, the Italian Government are about to direct their Minister to send in a note to the Porte, annexing a copy of Count Andrassy's despatch, stating that they entirely agree in the Austrian recommendations, and asking the Sultan's Government to signify their acceptance by an official note.

It will be much to be regretted if the Italian Government prescribe to their Minister a course different from that which will, I believe, be followed by any of the other Governments, it being understood that none of them will cause a note to be addressed to the Porte.

It is certain that such a communication would be taken very ill, and the Porte might not improbably decline to receive it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 232.

Sir Henry Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 13.)

(No. 118.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, January 28, 1876.*

RASCHID PASHA has expressed the most lively satisfaction at the tenor of the instructions that your Lordship is forwarding to me, of which I communicated to him the telegraphic summary.

The Sultan is convinced that it is only from Her Majesty's Government that he receives really disinterested advice, while he entertains suspicions of the designs of the three Northern Powers; and there are persons labouring to persuade him that he is being betrayed by the Ministers who are disposed to listen to the Austrian proposals.

It will, Raschid Pasha says, be of the greatest assistance to the Grand Vizier and himself to be able to tell His Majesty that Her Majesty's Government do not consider them objectionable or dangerous, and that they have resolved to give them a general support.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 233.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 13.)

(No. 120. Most Confidential.)
My Lord, *Pera, January 29, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a very confidential Report from Mr. Sandison upon the dissatisfaction which the Sultan is exhibiting towards the Grand Vizier.

Your Lordship is aware that I have not felt any strong predilection for Mahmoud Pasha, one of whose principal defects has always been an unquestioning compliance with every caprice of his Sovereign; but the dismissal of his Highness, accompanied probably by that of Raschid Pasha, would at this moment add greatly to the existing difficulties of the situation.

The Musteschar, or Under-Secretary, of a Grand Vizier, is invariably selected by himself from among his most trusted friends, and the dismissal of Mahmoud Pasha's Musteschar, and the nomination by the Sultan of a person almost unknown to him, is an unprecedented proceeding on the part of a Sovereign, and is a proof that His Majesty is much dissatisfied.

The Sultan would probably, before this, dismissed Mahmoud Pasha, if he had known where to look for a successor more likely to suit him, and this is at present the only security for his Highness' position.

In reply to Mahmoud's request for advice, I have been only able to recommend him to proceed steadily in carrying out his reforms, and to give a favourable reception to the communication to be made to the Porte in a few days by the Austrian Government, by

which, it is hoped, that the affairs of the Herzegovina may take a turn which will put an end to the Sultan's displeasure.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 233.

Mr. Sandison to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Pera, January 28, 1876.*

THE Grand Vizier has confidentially communicated to me, for your Excellency's information, the substance of a letter which reached his Highness from the Sultan last night.

It being customary from old times for the Grand Vizier and the Ministers of State to do homage to the Sultan on the Turkish New Year's Day, which was to-day, His Majesty, far from expressing any wish to receive the usual visit on the occasion, begins the letter by commanding the Grand Vizier not to appear at the Palace until after the suppression of the insurrection in the Herzegovina. The letter then goes on to say that, rather than directing his attention to that all important object, the Grand Vizier has been throwing away his time on insignificant matters such as the promulgation of reforms, and the reorganization of the Tribunals, in order to provide for employment for the creatures and adherents of the late Aali Pasha, into whose ways he himself was now falling.

In reverting to the continuation of the insurrection, the Sultan calls once more the Grand Vizier's attention to the subject, and orders the employment of Bashi-Bazouks as the means of attaining that object, after he had fully appreciated some time back the objections which had been urged by the Grand Vizier against such a course.

Artin Effendi, whom I saw before going to the Grand Vizier, was the first to inform me of the substance of the letter, which he positively affirmed at the same time an independent action on the part of the Porte with respect to the insurrection, without any regard to foreign intervention or remonstrance.

The Grand Vizier did not, however, make any allusion to this part of the letter, which Artin Effendi described, moreover, as being expressed in rude terms.

In the face of such a letter, and the position into which it puts the Grand Vizier, his Highness does not see how it is possible for him to consent to hold office any longer, for, whilst the Sultan suffers him to retain it, His Majesty's object in so doing would seem to be to paralyze his Highness' action in such a manner as to place him in a false and awkward position towards the foreign Representatives and European Governments in connection with the carrying out the reforms, and the employment of Bashi-Bazouks in the Herzegovina.

His Majesty continues, at the same time, to keep up the system of constant changes which he has extended even to the Grand Vizier's own Musteschar, who was yesterday unexpectedly superseded, and replaced by a certain Refik Bay, who is hardly known to his Highness, except as being excessively hostile to him.

Such a proceeding, the Grand Vizier thinks, is far from giving any weight with the members of the Ministry, and that it can hardly fail to be generally viewed otherwise than as indicating the Sultan's dissatisfaction with the existing Government, which cannot possibly be conducted on any principle whatever as long as continual Ministerial changes and extreme jealousy of authority shall continue to be the ruling passion of the Sovereign.

Your Excellency will, it is hoped, fully admit how essential it was for the Grand Vizier to give his attention to the reforms which were thought so necessary, and it is equally essential, he thinks, that they should now be carried out; but what is to be done, he begs to know, if his action is to be thus paralyzed by the Sultan in regard to them? Nevertheless, he would still strive to ensure their operation; but it is well, he says, that your Excellency should know beforehand the difficulties of his task, the probable failure of which will, of course, be immediately attributed by the Sultan to the incompetency and bad disposition of his Grand Vizier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. SANDISON.

No. 234.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 13.)

(No. 121. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Pera, January 29, 1876.*

THE Grand Vizier spoke to me last night about a message that he had received from the Sultan for the employment of a force of Bashi-Bazouks on the Montenegrin frontier, and he asked my opinion upon it, at the same time intimating that he thought it very undesirable.

I said I entirely concurred in this opinion.

I this morning spoke to Raschid Pasha on the subject, and said that as it was evident that Russia was not disposed to allow hostilities against Montenegro, nothing could be more imprudent than to place such irregular forces on the frontier.

Raschid Pasha said that the Grand Vizier and himself held the same view, and the measure would not be adopted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 235.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 13.)

(No. 123.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, January 30, 1876.*

THE Austrian Ambassador called upon me to-day to inform me that he had received his instructions respecting Count Andrassy's proposals, and that he would communicate them to-morrow to Raschid Pasha.

Those of the French Ambassador and the Italian Minister cannot arrive before the 4th or 5th of February.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 236.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 13.)

(No. 127.)
My Lord, *Pera, January 30, 1876.*

THE following account of the system pursued by the Montenegrins in aid of the Herzegovina insurgents has been communicated to me from a person in a position to obtain the best information:—

All the men (in Montenegro), capable of bearing arms, are considered to be soldiers, and are made into battalions of 600 men. The Commanders and Majors of these battalions, who are called Commanders and Pod-commanders, receive pay; the remmining officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, are unpaid. When an expedition is contemplated, each man takes with him potatoes and bread, if he has any, for five days, and a reserve of provisions from each village is carried by women or baggage horses.

Austria, or the Austrian committees, having provided surgeons and medicines, hospitals and ambulances have been organized in some villages on the frontier.

The Prince furnishes all those who join the insurgents without authorization, but he sends about a fifth part of his effective forces into the Herzegovina. Not to over-tire these poor people, His Highness takes care to change them at the end of each expedition, or when their provisions are exhausted.

Reforms alone, it is stated, will never put an end to the insurrection, and force is of no avail so long as the insurgents and their Montenegrin friends have only to cross the frontier to be in safety.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 237.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 13.)

(No. 128.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, January 30, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of the reports published by the Porte of the last military operations in the Herzegovina.

I informed your Lordship that Mr. Holmes disbelieved the statement that the troops were supposed to have been destroyed, but it is now confirmed from Slav sources that they succeeded, though with some loss, in cutting their way through the insurgents who surrounded them.

The subsequent success claimed by Mouktar Pasha is likewise admitted to be correct, and it derives additional importance from the fact that the insurgents, after their defeat, were obliged to retreat towards the north, leaving the Imperial troops between themselves and Montenegro, which is their base of operations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 237.

Extracts from "La Turquie" of January 28, 29, and 31.

Son Excellence Ahmed Moukhtar Pacha à son Excellence le Séraskier, le $\frac{17}{29}$ Janvier, 1876.

JE suis arrivé sain et sauf à Trébigné hier. Je soumets à votre Excellence les informations que j'y ai recueillies sur le combat de Tcharina et qui sont plus complètes que celles que j'avais reçues à Mostar. Ainsi que je l'ai déjà écrit, les troupes Impériales sont obligées de se rendre de temps à autre à Tcharina, ville située à proximité de la frontière, pour y recevoir leurs provisions. Sur la nouvelle que les insurgés allaient chercher à s'emparer des provisions, un détachement de soldats, pris parmi les plus valeureux des quatre bataillons se trouvant à Mostar, a été expédié le 11 Janvier, non pour porter des approvisionnements, mais pour reconnaître les localités et assurer la sécurité des routes, en plaçant quelques troupes sur les hauteurs à droite et à gauche du défilé distant de 2½ heures de Trébigné.

Quatre compagnies ayant avec elles leurs tentes, des munitions ainsi que des provisions suffisantes pour cinq jours, ont été placées sur ces points et on leur a construit des abris en pierre. Au moment où le détachement allait retourner à Trébigné, 3,000 insurgés qui s'étaient mis en embuscade en avant du défilé, comprenant que ces soldats n'allaient pas chercher des provisions, se sont mis à leur poursuite, mais, attaqués avec courage, ils n'ont pu tenir tête et, après un combat de quelques heures, ils ont pris la fuite; le détachement est rentré à Trébigné. Nous avons eu dans ce combat 51 morts et 21 blessés. Les pertes des insurgés dépassent le chiffre de 200. Les insurgés ont ensuite attaqué les compagnies qui leur ont répondu avec intrépidité. Quoique privées du commandement de leur Adjutant-Major, qui avait reçu trois blessures, après avoir vu les soldats envoyés de Trébigné à leurs secours, se replier devant le nombre considérable des insurgés, manquant d'eau, nos troupes sont parvenues néanmoins à tenir, grâce à leur défense, les assaillants à distance, et dans la nuit de Vendredi, ayant trouvé un passage libre, elles ont quitté à minuit leur position et sont venues le matin à Trébigné, où je me suis rendu moi-même le lendemain. Nous avons eu vingt et un morts et seize soldats blessés légèrement. Les insurgés ont laissé 500 cadavres autour des fortifications.

De ce qui précède, il résulte que dans ce combat, nous eu en tout 71 morts et 36 blessés, tandis que les pertes des insurgés atteignent le chiffre de 700 individus, parmi lesquels le fameux Voïwode de Banan Maxime et une compagnie de 100 hommes avec leur capitaine venus du Monténégro. Excepté les blessés transportés dans les villages plus de 120 blessés ont été amenés sur des chariots à l'hôpital des insurgés à Routour par voie de Raguse. D'après nos informations, toute la communauté a pris le deuil pour la morte de Maxime, et les insurgés réunis dans ces endroits en nombre plus considérable encore, attendent une occasion propice, mais nous avisons aux mesures nécessaires pour les disperser.

Télégrammes du Consul-Général de Turquie à Raguse.

26 Janvier, 1876.

Arrivée du camp où j'ai constaté de visu le succès des troupes Impériales. Là où quatre compagnies ont tenu tête pendant trois jours contre les insurgés dont le nombre s'élevait à peu près à 5,000 individus.

Tous les corps rebelles concentrés et retranchés fortement sur une étendue d'une lieue n'ont pu résister aux attaques de 1,200 soldats dont les flancs étaient couverts par 1,200 hommes.

Raguse, 26 *Janvier*, 1876.

Le Maréchal Mouhtar Pacha a défait les insurgés près Shouna.

Le télégramme officiel de Raguse, en date du 26 Janvier, que nous avons publié hier, annonce qu'Ahmed Mukhtar Pacha a défait les insurgés près de Shouna.

Une autre dépêche, transmise à la même date par son Excellence Mukhtar Pacha, donne les détails de cette bataille.

Voici la traduction de cette dernière dépêche adressée au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères :

"Je vous avais informé que la route de Trébigné était occupée par des insurgés en très grand nombre.

"Hier, je suis parti de Trébigné à la tête de forces suffisantes et je suis arrivé, après une marche de deux heures et demie, à l'entrée du défilé, dans un terrain pierreux et très-difficile. Surpris par la nuit, j'ai dû bivouaquer dans cet endroit après avoir occupé les hauteurs. Les rebelles se sont retranchés à droite et à gauche du défilé, sur des hauteurs parallèles à notre position et à une heure et demie de notre campement. Ces hauteurs vont en s'étageant sur la chaîne de montagnes et leur accès est très-difficile. Pendant toute la nuit, nous apercevions les feux du camp des insurgés.

"Le lendemain de bonne heure, j'ai formé mes troupes en deux colonnes d'assaut et j'ai attaqué les positions des révoltés à droite et à gauche du défilé. J'ai divisé ainsi les forces de l'ennemi et bientôt nos soldats entraient dans la ligne de ses retranchements. Nous avons occupé successivement toutes les hauteurs.

"La lutte a duré cinq heures. Les insurgés, ne pouvant résister davantage aux attaques de nos soldats, ont pris la fuite avec une précipitation qui avait toutes les allures d'une déroute.

"Après ce combat, je suis arrivé au fortin de Teharina, situé sur la frontière Austro-Hongroise.

"On assure que le nombre des insurgés qui ont pris part à cette bataille varie de 7,000 à 10,000 hommes. Leur défaite ne nous a coûté que des pertes insignifiantes. On dit que le nombre des morts et des blessés des rebelles est de beaucoup supérieur à celui que l'on a constaté sur le champ de bataille."

Télégramme adressé par Ahmed Moukhtar Pacha, au Séraskérat, en date du 29 Janvier.

D'après les informations qui me sont parvenues, un certain nombre d'insurgés se sont rendus dans le nahiyé de Popova, ainsi qu'à Boyan (sur la frontière Autrichienne), à Vaforik, à Cripsa et dans quelques autres villages, avec l'intention de soulever les populations de ces localités.

"En même temps, les volontaires étrangers qui ont été défaits dans l'engagement du défilé de Drina ont rejoint les insurgés.

"A la suite de ces nouvelles, je suis parti aujourd'hui de très-bon matin de Drina avec des forces suffisantes pour aller à leur rencontre. A notre arrivée, les rebelles comprenant qu'ils ne pourront pas résister aux troupes Impériales, se sont mis à fuir précipitamment. Les volontaires étrangers ont mis le feu aux maisons des villages précités, afin de faire voir que la population s'était soulevée.

"Nous n'avons eu aucune perte dans cette affaire. Parmi les insurgés il y a eu quelques morts.

"Nous avons capturé 150 bêtes de somme que le comité avait envoyées aux volontaires pour le transport de leurs blessés. Ces animaux ont été distribués à nos troupes.

"Grâce à la bravoure de nos soldats toutes ces bandes ont été défaites. Demain je retourne à Drina."

Un autre télégramme du Consul-Général de Raguse annonce qu'à la suite de ces défaites successives, une partie des insurgés s'est réfugiée à Raguse, où ils se sont livrés aux autorités locales.

No. 238.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 13.)

(No. 129.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, January* 30, 1876.

WITH reference to my despatch of this day, reporting the late successes of the Imperial troops in the Herzegovina, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that General Ignatiew, who is always thoroughly acquainted with the version given by the insurgents of their operations, considers the check which they have sustained as one of much importance.

He naturally assumes to himself or his Government the credit of having mainly contributed to it, as it was, he says, owing to the renewed injunctions sent to the Prince of Montenegro, that the scene of operations had been removed from the frontier.

The insurgents being now driven to the immediate vicinity of Dalmatia, General Ignatiew declared that it entirely depends upon Count Andrassy to render their position untenable, by causing a little activity to be shown in preventing them from receiving supplies from the Austrian dominions.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 239.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 13.)

(No. 130. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Pera, January* 30, 1876.

GENERAL IGNATIEW, who has so often dwelt upon the "equivalent" the Porte is entitled to expect as the price of its acceptance of the Austrian proposals, told me this afternoon that Count Andrassy refused to consent to the withdrawal of the Consular Commission till a commencement of the measures to be taken had been made.

When the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador called upon me in the course of the day, he made a reference to this Commission, and speaking privately and confidentially to me as a colleague, he said that he was bound to admit that, although meant by his Government as a measure of pacification, its effect had been exactly the reverse, and that it had greatly contributed to keep the movement alive.

This has throughout been evident, as I have frequently pointed out to Count Zichy, but if Count Andrassy has, like the Ambassador, become alive to the fact, it may be hoped that he will not hesitate to consent to the recall of the Commission as soon as his proposals are accepted by the Porte.

For all purposes of information, the Austro-Hungarian Government is amply provided with Consular Agents in the Herzegovina and Bosnia.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 240.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 13.)

(No. 130.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, January* 31, 1876.

THE Austro-Hungarian Ambassador having received his instructions yesterday, communicated them this morning to Rusehid Pasha, and read to his Excellency Count Andrassy's despatch of the 30th ultimo.

He did not say that he was instructed to give a copy of it, nor did he offer to do so, but, in the course of the conversation which ensued, Rusehid Pasha asked to be furnished with one to aid his memory and enable him to prepare an answer.

The despatch was then put into his hands.

This being the Minister's usual day of reception, I entered his Cabinet as the

Austro-Hungarian Ambassador left it, and found that the interview had passed off most satisfactory.

Rashid Pasha spoke of the friendly assurances with which the communication had been accompanied, and seemed fully disposed to accept them in a similar spirit.

There were, he said, exaggerations in the statements respecting the position of the Christians, and there were expressions which he could not but regret to find in a despatch from a friendly Government, intended to be communicated to the Porte.

He would not, however, dwell upon these points, and he had promised the Ambassador that his communication should receive the immediate attention of the Porte, and he hoped to be able to return a satisfactory answer in a few days.

The only serious difficulty that Rashid Pasha saw connected with the five points put forward by Count Andrassy related to the proposal that all direct taxes should be devoted to local purposes.

By accepting this without reserve, the Porte might be taking an engagement, the extent of which he did not know.

I spoke to Rashid Pasha in the sense prescribed by your Lordship's telegraphic instructions giving, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, a warm general support to the proposals summed up by Count Andrassy, without pledging them to the details of the points on which they have been unable to give a definite opinion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 241.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 13.)

(No. 144.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February 1, 1876.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's suggestion that I might ask for an audience of the Sultan, for the purpose of convincing His Majesty that it would be undesirable to change his Grand Vizier, I would submit that, if it can be avoided, it will be better that I should not be regarded as too much identified with Mahmoud Pasha, which, after an audience of which the object would be immediately known, I should be assumed to be.

I shall cause it to be conveyed to the Sultan that Her Majesty's Government having heard rumours that His Majesty was thinking of dispensing with the services of his Grand Vizier, had expressed a fear that any change would be attended with serious risk in the present position of the Herzegovinian question.

If the Sultan should be found to oppose difficulties to the course proposed by his Government in reference to the Austrian proposals, it may perhaps become desirable to represent personally to His Majesty the dangers to which he will expose his Empire.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 242.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 13.)

(No. 146. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February 2, 1876.*

THE Sultan's first Chamberlain has been directed to convey to me His Majesty's assurances that he has no intention at present of changing his Grand Vizier, the reports which may circulated being, His Majesty declares, without foundation.

It appears that some days after I had caused it to be conveyed to the Sultan that I hoped there would be no change, General Ignatiew became aware of it and took a similar step.

It has since been circulated among his friends and those of the Grand Vizier that he had saved his Highness from dismissal, while very few persons are aware that I had moved in the matter, as I avoided mentioning it to any one.

My colleague's anxiety to assume the credit to himself is exactly what I could have desired; for, as I observed to your Lordship yesterday, though it was essential to prevent Mahmoud Pasha's dismissal just now, I had no wish to be looked upon as his protector.

The Grand Vizier is irritated and indignant at it being proclaimed that he owes his safety to General Ignatiew, and contrasts his mode of proceeding with the more quiet assistance which he received from me in his difficulty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 243.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 13.)

(No. 148.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February 3, 1876.*

LORD AUGUSTUS LOFTUS, in his telegram to your Lordship of the 1st instant, speaks of General Ignatiew as having lately had an audience of the Sultan, at which mention was made of an amnesty to be granted to the insurgents.

No such audience has, however, taken place.

Some days ago, General Ignatiew sent a dragoman to His Majesty's Secretary, with the object of supporting the Grand Vizier, whose position was thought to be precarious, and perhaps a message about an amnesty may then have been sent.

No decision has as yet been come to by the Porte respecting the Austrian proposals, but if a new Firman is given, it would probably proclaim an amnesty for the insurgents who make submission within a given time.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 244.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 13.)

(No. 151.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February 3, 1876.*

THE Representatives of the Great Powers have all by order of their Governments spoken to the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs in support of Count Andrassy's proposals.

No written note has been presented by any of them, nor did any except Count Zichy read to his Excellency Count Andrassy's despatch of the 30th December.

The French Ambassador not having got his written instructions, received a summary of them by telegraph, which he communicated to Rashid Pasha two days ago.

The instructions of the Italian Government not having yet arrived, Count Corti has confined himself to stating that they concurred with the other Powers in supporting the Austrian proposals.

No inconvenience whatever has been experienced by the delay in the arrival of some of the instructions; for while the Porte has been assured of the perfect unanimity of the Powers in recommending a general acceptance of the proposals, the absence of a simultaneous and identic mode of proceeding on the part of the Representatives may perhaps have been gratifying to the Porte as giving less appearance of a pressure put upon it than would have been seen in a concerted and simultaneous action.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 245.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 13.)

(No. 23. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Athens, February 4, 1876.*

A GREEK officer of some standing, whose name had been well known in connection with the insurrection in Crete, called upon me last week, for the purpose of inquiring of me what line of conduct Her Majesty's Government would wish his countrymen to pursue, in the event of the present insurrection in the Herzegovina assuming greater proportions and of further complications arising in the spring. He gave me to understand that it was the general desire of the Greeks to be guided by the wishes and policy of England in the present menacing state of Eastern affairs, as

being the only nation in whom they could place implicit reliance, and as having interests which coincided with theirs.

I at once answered that as England was united with all the other Great Powers in a determination to maintain peace and to prevent the spread of insurrection in the Christian provinces of Turkey, it was impossible for me to contemplate any such eventualities as those to which he alluded, that the only advice which I could give to the Greeks was that they should remain perfectly quiet, as they had hitherto done since the outbreak in the Herzegovina, and endeavour to develop the internal resources of their country,—that in this way they would earn the gratitude of England and of Europe, besides benefiting themselves by remaining on friendly terms with Turkey.

I went on to say that any other course would only end in disaster and disappointment, reminding my visitor that the previous insurrection in Crete had cost Greece above 40,000,000 drachmas in money, and retarded her progress for many years; and as he had spoken of the natural sympathies of the Cretans and of their desire for annexation to Greece, I thought it as well to tell him that, seeing that the Cretan immigrants in Athens were in the receipt of pensions from the Hellenic Government, and that the influence of the latter in Crete was undoubtedly great, there could be no disturbance in that Island unless under encouragement from here, and that the responsibility of any disturbance would there fall upon Greece.

When I observed to the officer, on his taking leave of me, that however unpalatable my advice might be to him, I could give no other, he replied no,—that he thanked me for it, and that he would profit by it,—that he was glad to have seen me and to have learnt what I have told him respecting the wishes of Her Majesty's Government.

I trust, therefore, that the above language will be found by Her Majesty's Government to have correctly interpreted their wishes as regards the conduct which the Greeks ought to pursue under present circumstances.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

No. 246.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 13, night.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, February 13, 1876, 10 P.M.*

ANSWER of the Porte to the Austrian proposals has been conveyed to the Representatives of the six Powers in an official note.

It states that the Porte is convinced that the Powers are resolved to exert their utmost moral pressure for the purpose of bringing about pacification of insurgent districts, and wishes to give fresh proof of deference to their friendly advice.

Sultan has therefore issued an Iradé ordering that four out of five points of the proposals shall be immediately put in execution in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and declares his resolve to apply them in their integrity to those provinces.

The proposals respecting taxes being unsuited to the general system of administration, the Sultan has decided that a sum shall be allotted to the two provinces for local purposes under the control of Provincial Councils appointed under the provisions of the Firman of December.

No. 247.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Stanley.

(No. 2. Confidential.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, February 14, 1876.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 2 of the 31st ultimo, and I hardly think that it would be advisable that you should yourself visit Bessarabia, as you suggest; but I shall be glad to be informed whether you could not employ some trustworthy person to proceed to that province in your place, if this is the only means of obtaining the desired information. The expenses of your agent would, of course, be defrayed by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

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* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

No. 248.

Vice-Consul Biliotti to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 14.)

(No. 2. Political.)

My Lord, *Trebizond, January 20, 1876.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 1, Political, I have the honour to report that the repartition of the tax for exemption from military service, as decreed by the Imperial Firman lately published, creates great difficulties among the Christian communities of this Province.

The individuals who are between the ages of twenty and forty years, declare that they have not the means, and in many cases it may be true, to bear alone the weight of a taxation which was until now paid by the whole community; while those who are under or above that age, availing themselves of the disposition in their favour, protest against the intention of their co-religionists to compel them to contribute again towards the tax in question.

However, as the Government instead of 250*l.*, which it was intended to levy individually, claims from the Christian communities no more than the sums hitherto paid respectively by each of them, thus reducing the above-mentioned rate of nearly two-fifths, the heads of the communities will, no doubt, find the means to overcome the present difficulty, although they have not yet decided as to what measures they must resort for the purpose.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ALFRED BILIOTTI.

No. 249.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 14.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, February 13, 1876.*

I AM privately informed that a Turkish agent, named Ketched Bey, has been employed to offer terms to Prince of Montenegro, including accession of territory, cession of port of Spizza, and recognition of his independence, in return for his absolute neutrality and withdrawal of his subjects from the insurrection.

The Prince, fearing treachery, and the indignation of his own subjects and the insurgents, declined; but offered to assemble Chiefs of insurgents, and to use his influence towards pacification of both contending parties, were separated by some line of demarcation.

I believe these negotiations are continuing, and, if wisely managed, may lead to an understanding.

No. 250.

Rauchid Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, February 14.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 13 Février, 1876.*

POUR faire suite à mon télégramme relatif à la communication qui nous a été faite verbalement du projet du Comte Andrassy, je crois utile de vous prévenir, pour votre propre information, que le Gouvernement Impérial, ayant pris acte des promesses formelles des Grandes Puissances d'exercer par tous les moyens en leur pouvoir la pression morale nécessaire en vue d'amener la pacification de l'Herzégovine, vient d'adopter les quatre des cinq points contenus dans ce projet et concernant la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine. Quant au cinquième point ayant trait au mode d'emploi de l'impôt de ces deux provinces, il a été remplacé par une autre combinaison à la satisfaction commune.

Le Masbata du Conseil des Ministres a été soumis à la sanction Impériale. Aussitôt que l'Iradé aura été émané, je vous en ferai part par télégraphe.

No. 251.

Rashid Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, February 14.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 13 Février*, 1876.

SUITE à mon télégramme en date d'aujourd'hui,

L'Irâdé Impérial ordonnant l'application à la Bosnie et à l'Herzégovine des propositions du Comte Andrassy telles qu'elles ont été acceptées par le Gouvernement Impérial et expliquées dans mon susdit télégramme, vient d'émaner à l'instant même. Veuillez informer immédiatement de ce qui précède le Cabinet près duquel vous êtes accrédité. De mon côté, je viens de notifier aux Représentants des Grandes Puissances à Constantinople cette décision de notre auguste Maître, et de leur communiquer en même temps copie de la dépêche circulaire explicative que je vous adresse à ce sujet en date d'aujourd'hui.

No. 252.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 72.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 14, 1876.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 30 of the 31st ultimo, in regard to the misapprehension which had arisen as to the mode in which the Italian Government proposed to communicate with the Porte upon the subject of Count Andrassy's despatch, and I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government are satisfied of the accuracy of your report in the matter. The misapprehension of the intentions of the Italian Government would seem to have been due to the expression "note" instead of "despatch," which M. Visconti Venosta stated that he made use of.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 253.

Mr. St. John to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 15.)

(No. 2. Political.)

My Lord, *Bucharest, January* 18, 1876.

IN conformity with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch marked Political No. 1, of the present month, I have the honour to report that I have privately ascertained that the General commanding the military district in Little Bessarabia, in his report to General Floresco, the Roumanian Minister of War, estimates the Russian forces in Bessarabia, to be close on 100,000 men.

I have also ascertained from good authority that General Floresco, who is Commander-in-chief, as well as Minister of War, has asked for, and obtained, an increase of 5,500,000 fr. from the Government, in order to enable him to put the army on a proper war footing, and also that large quantities of wheat, barley, and forage are being exported from Moldavia into Bessarabia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. ST. JOHN.

P.S.—Notice has been given to all Austrian subjects inhabiting Roumania, belonging to the Reserve Forces, to return immediately to their respective corps.

C. ST. J.

No. 254.

Mr. St. John to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 15.)

(No. 4. Political.)

My Lord, *Bucharest, January* 29, 1876.

I HAVE received the following report from Jassy respecting the concentration of Russian troops in Bessarabia.

"There is no doubt that Russia is concentrating considerable forces all along Bessarabia.

"The following towns are filled with troops: Bendar, Kishineff, Beltz, Terespol, and Balta.

"Kishineff, where the garrison has never surpassed 8,000 men, has now a corps of 24,000 men.

"At Beltz there are ten regiments of dragoons and cuirassiers, equal to about 8,000 horse.

"Recruiting is said to be going on to a large extent. There are constantly large transports by rail of troops of all arms.

"I have all this from very reliable sources.

"I hear that Austria is also going to effect large concentrations on her frontier. Czernowitz is going to be the centre of one."

It is difficult for us here to gather correct information of what is going on in Bessarabia, and I cannot vouch for the entire accuracy of the above report; but my informant is a person on whom I can rely, and his information agrees with the reports in circulation on that subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. ST. JOHN.

P.S.—I have been confidentially informed that the prefect of police at Bucharest has been instructed to send some of his most trustworthy agents into Bessarabia to report on the concentration of Russian troops in that locality. I hope, on the return of these agents to be able to report the result to your Lordship.

C. ST. J.

No. 255.

Mr. St. John to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 15.)

(No. 5. Political.)

My Lord, *Bucharest, February* 8, 1876.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 66 of December 20th of last year, respecting payment of the annual tribute to Turkey by the Principalities, and Sir Henry Elliot's despatch to your Lordship No. 867 of December 29th on the same subject, I have the honour to report that the tribute during the last two years was paid in March, and three years ago in August; but, with reference to the tribute now owing, that, as early as November last, Prince Ghika, the Roumanian Agent at Constantinople, received an official communication from the Minister of Finance there, intimating to him that circumstances compelled them to request payment of the annual tribute as soon as possible, consequently in advance.

Prince Ghika replied that it could not be done, as the money was not considered due till next March. Upon which the tribute was discounted by M. Zarifi, the Banker, who immediately sent a delegate to Bucharest, in order if possible, to obtain payment from the Roumanian Government, but failed.

As the question may again be raised next March, at which date M. Zarifi will expect a settlement, though, as I have been given to understand by the Government here, no particular period is fixed for the payment of the tribute, I consider it my duty to communicate to your Lordship the facts of the case as far as I have been able to ascertain.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. ST. JOHN.

No. 256.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 15.)

(No. 8. Political.)

My Lord, *Belgrade, February* 5, 1876.

ALTHOUGH the echoes which reach this place from Vienna and Berlin, and even from St. Petersburgh, are extremely pacific, and would lead one to suppose that political men in the continental capitals look upon the present disturbances in Turkey as in a fair

way of being solved in the sense of Count Andrassy's project, it is my duty to report to your Lordship that there numerous indications in Servia, which, unfortunately, point to a contrary result,

The confidential conversations of the Prince with myself, and with some of my colleagues here, the preparations which have been steadily going on for some months, and which are now prosecuted with renewed vigour, the extraordinary powers voted by the "Skoupstchina," and demanded by the Servian Administration, the activity of numerous unofficial agents, whose connections are well known, all confirm the supposition that something important is in contemplation.

Notwithstanding all this, Servian public men admit that their country is running a great danger, and that, in a military point of view, they will still be far from the state of efficiency considered as requisite in continental countries and armies, but alarmed by the internal difficulties and dangers of his Dynasty and Administration, and impelled by some mysterious force, Prince Milan appears more inclined than ever to take the fatal leap, headless of consequences, and regardless of foreign advice, remonstrance or threats.

With the return of spring, a supreme effort will probably be made to enlarge the area of the insurrection, and to delay a specific solution in the Herzegovina, by importing into the shifting sands of Eastern politics a Bosnian and Servian, and, possibly, a Bulgarian, and other questions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 257.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 15.)

(No. 53. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, February 8, 1973.*

I HAVE recently had some conversation with one of my colleagues, who is well acquainted with the military resources of Austria-Hungary, and with the topography of Bosnia, relative to an intention attributed to Count Andrassy to occupy that province in the event of the Prince of Montenegro succeeding Prince Milan at Belgrade, and he seemed to think that the operation would be one of greater difficulty than is generally believed.

He said that if Count Beust had accepted proposals five years ago, as he might have done, for constructing a railway from Brod through Travnic to Serajevo, Austria-Hungary would now be in a position to impose her views on both Servia and Montenegro; but that, as military intervention in a difficult country without roads is too serious a measure to be undertaken as a mere demonstration in support of the diplomatic action of the Government, it is not impossible that the Principalities may not be deterred by mere threats from risking the chances of war with Turkey, which may have results favourable to Slav aspirations, while they have reason to hope that they would be protected against great disasters in the event of a defeat.

This gentleman also expressed a strong opinion against the probability of measures for preventing assistance reaching the insurgents from beyond the frontier being carried out by the Slav officers usually employed in Croatia and Dalmatia, whose sympathies, like those of General Rodich, are well known to be entirely in favour of the insurrection.

He also said that he feared Prince Gortchakow was greatly deceiving himself as to the influence he could exercise over the populations in the insurgent provinces. He had already begun to send them orders to refrain from hostilities and to accept the terms which Europe was willing to secure them for the future, and his Highness might probably find that it was easier to sympathise with subjects in insurrection against their Sovereign than to induce them to submit when it appeared to him for the interest of Russia that they should do so.

I have, &c.
(For Sir Andrew Buchanan),
(Signed) J. P. HARRISS-GASTRELL.

No. 258.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 15.)

(No. 54.)
My Lord, *Vienna, February 10, 1876.*

I HAD some conversation with Count Andrassy respecting Lord Augustus Loftus' telegram of the 1st instant, afterwards so flatly contradicted by Sir Henry Elliot. His Excellency said he could not understand how these things could be, but that it might be possible that the Grand Vizier had had an audience of the Sultan, and that this had not been clearly stated in General Ignatiew's telegram. What he regretted most in the incident was its showing that by intrigues at Constantinople the Porte might be induced to modify its answer to his letter, and, by attaching conditions to its consent to his proposals, make it impossible for the neighbouring Powers, who are now morally engaged to use their best efforts for preventing the insurrection from being kept up from without, to act as strenously as they are prepared to do. On the receipt of Lord Augustus Loftus' telegram on Monday, in which Prince Gortchakow maintains the correctness of his previous statement to Her Majesty's Ambassador, rather suspiciously, however, avoiding any reference to the Sultan, being confined to my bed by a serious illness, and being incapable of attending to business, I sent a copy of the substance of the telegram to Count Andrassy.

I have, &c.
(For Sir Andrew Buchanan),
(Signed) J. P. HARRISS-GASTRELL.

No. 259.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 15.)

(No. 58.)
My Lord, *Vienna, February 10, 1876.*

AT the recent Court ball on the 5th instant, the Emperor availed himself of the opportunity of expressing his very great satisfaction, and his thanks to Her Majesty's Government for having supported Count Andrassy's proposals at Constantinople; and he expressed a hope that, if the six Powers would cordially act together, nothing could occur to prevent the speedy pacification of the insurgent provinces.

I have, &c.
(For Sir Andrew Buchanan),
(Signed) J. P. HARRISS-GASTRELL.

No. 260.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 15.)

(No. 60. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, February 10, 1876.*

WITH reference to the telegrams from Lord Augustus Loftus and from Sir Henry Elliot, which your Lordship forwarded to me on the 8th and 9th instant respectively, I have the honour to report the following notes of a conversation which Mr Harriss-Gastrell, by my instructions, held with Baron Orczy:—

With regard to the Bosnian frontier, Baron Orczy said that a band of a score or so of men with its leader had been recently disarmed on the Austrian frontier; and that as one or two incursions into Bosnia had taken place, the Turkish Government had hoped that more troops would be sent to guard the frontier. Austria would do whatever was possible, but Baron Orczy pointed out the great difficulty of effectually closing the frontier. It would require at least two corps d'armée. The configuration of the land on the frontier was very unfavourable to such an operation, for there was no length of unbroken line of hills to act as a barrier, but a series of hills pierced at short distances by numerous river valleys for the most part with steep sides. And this configuration of land extended into the Herzegovina and Bosnia and prevented the Turkish troops from acting as effectually as in the part of Bosnia on the Servian frontier. Moreover, the sympathies were strong on both sides of the frontier, and the distribution of the population into clans in the Herzegovina was another difficulty, which did not exist on the side of Bosnia next Servia, where the population was in isolated villages and more peacefully

disposed. For these two reasons bands entering from Servia could be better dealt with by the Turkish troops within Bosnia, and also by the Servians on their frontier, than Austria could on her frontier.

As regards the alarming news from Servia and Bosnia, his Excellency regarded them as the last flicker of the flame before the extinction of the insurrection. Servia would not move unless Montenegro did, and as Montenegro had not yet done so she would have no opportunity now. The Servian Loan meant nothing; after being refused in every capital in Europe, Servia had raised a forced loan by doubling her capitation tax, which was already largely in arrears; and without money Servia could make no preparations of importance.

With respect to an amnesty Baron Orczy said that Count Zichy had reported in a similar sense. The question was a most difficult one, for a premature amnesty might encourage the insurgents. And it would be a difficult matter to persuade Turkey to do a thing, which, when done, should be done of her own accord.

I have, &c.
(For Sir Andrew Buchanan),
(Signed) J. P. HARRISS-GASTRELL.

No. 261.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 15.)

(No. 63. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, February 11, 1876.*

I SPOKE to Count Andrassy some days ago of M. Costaforo's communication to him reported in my despatch No. 47, Confidential, of the 5th instant, and he said that I was correctly informed as to what had passed on the occasion. He had, however, decidedly declined having the despatch read to him, observing that, as from what he knew of its contents he could only disapprove of them, he advised M. Costaforo to keep it in his pocket. He told him at the same time that, if Roumania hoped to gain respect and consideration from other Powers, it would be by promoting good government, and developing the industrial and agricultural resources of the country, and that the idea of her wishing to place herself in an equally powerful military position as Montenegro was mere folly, as she had a population of unwarlike peasantry, whereas the whole Montenegrin race were brought up to the use of arms from their childhood. He said M. Costaforo then left him saying he had expected the lesson which he had received ("je m'attendais à la leçon que vous m'avez donnée"), and Count Andrassy added he believed him to be fully sensible of the absurdity of the proceeding ("qu'il en riait lui-même").

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 262.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 15.)

(No. 102.)
My Lord, *Paris, February 14, 1876.*

THE Duc Decazes told me this morning that the Ottoman Ambassador had asked for an interview, for the purpose of making a communication to him on the subject of the answer of the Porte to Count Andrassy's despatch.

The Duke said that the Porte had taken the affair in good part, and that the answer would no doubt be satisfactory.

His Excellency proceeded to observe that he thought that if the Austrian Government now resolutely and effectually closed its frontier, the insurrection in the Herzegovina would speedily die out.

He added that he had good reason to believe that there were not more than 6,000 insurgents in arms, and these were divided into two bands, which were not disposed to act in concert.

This information had, he said, been obtained at Vienna from an officer in the French Army, who, while smarting under a sentence of a court martial in Algeria, had deserted some time ago; and who had lately taken service with the Herzegovinian insurgents.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 263.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(No. 70.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, February 16, 1876.*

WITH reference to your Excellency's telegram of the 11th instant, I have to inform you that at an interview which I had with Count Beust some time ago, his Excellency read to me a form of reply which his Government had suggested to the Porte as being such as they could wish to receive in answer to Count Andrassy's proposal for the pacification of the Herzegovina. Count Beust did not leave with me any copy of this document, which was a very brief one; and I did not understand from him that it was the intention of his Government to press upon the Porte the adoption of this exact form.

I remarked at the time that the Porte might prefer to reply in its own words, but no further discussion ensued on the subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 264.

*The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.**

(No. 81.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, February 16, 1876.*

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith a copy of a despatch from Sir H. Elliot, containing an account of the system pursued by the Montenegrins in aid of the Herzegovina insurgents; and I have to request your Excellency to take an opportunity of making the Russian Government acquainted with the statements which have reached Sir H. Elliot, as reported in his Excellency's despatch.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 265.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Stuart.

(No. 11.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, February 16, 1876.*

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your despatch No. 28, Confidential, of the 4th instant, on the subject of an interview which you had lately had with a Greek officer of position, and reporting your advice to him as to the attitude which Greece should maintain in the present crisis in the East; and I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government approve your language upon that occasion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 266.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 66.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, February 16, 1876.*

HER Majesty's Government approve the language which your Excellency held to Raschid Pasha, as reported in your despatch No. 114 of 27th ultimo, respecting the imprudence of making a difficulty about receiving a copy of Count Andrassy's despatch, if the Ambassadors should be instructed to leave one with him.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

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* A similar despatch was addressed to Sir A. Buchanan.

No. 267.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 96.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 16, 1876.

HER Majesty's Government approve the reply which your Excellency returned to the Grand Vizier's request for advice, as reported in your despatch No. 120 of the 29th ultimo, with reference to the displeasure exhibited by the Sultan towards his Highness, and the reforms which it was important to carry out.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 268.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 97.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 16, 1876.

HER Majesty's Government approve the language held by your Excellency to the Grand Vizier, and to Raschid Pasha, as reported in your despatch No. 121 of the 29th ultimo, respecting the imprudence of employing Bashi-Bazouks on the Montenegrin frontier.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 269.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 99.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 16, 1876.

HER Majesty's Government approve the general support which your Excellency gave to the proposals of reform drawn up by Count Andrassy, as reported in your despatch No. 139 of the 31st ultimo, without pledging Her Majesty's Government to the details of the points on which they have been unable to give a definite opinion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 270.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 100.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 16, 1876.

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your despatch No. 144 of February 1, reporting the steps which you have taken for conveying to His Majesty the Sultan the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that any change in the person of the Grand Vizier would at the present moment be attended with great risk; and I have to state to you, that, under the circumstances mentioned in your despatch, Her Majesty's Government approve your decision not to ask for an audience of His Majesty.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 271.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 16.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, February* 16, 1876.

IN the Porte's note, accepting the Austrian proposals which I forwarded to your Lordship yesterday, Her Majesty's Government were represented as "entirely" supporting them.

The note was in the form of a Circular to the Foreign Representatives, but the word

did not appear strictly to Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs as applicable to Her Majesty's Government, and Raschid Pasha has asked to be allowed to substitute an amended copy in which it is omitted.

I have forwarded it to-day by Marseilles.

No. 272.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February* 17, 2·44 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, February* 17, 1876. 1·30 P.M.

I HAVE sent the following figures to Mr. White:—

"(Confidential.)

"I am informed that telegrams were sent yesterday by the Emperor of Russia to the Princes of Servia and Montenegro, strongly urging them to abstain from everything calculated to defeat the wish of the Powers to see tranquillity restored.

"His Majesty further warned the Princes that if they act differently they must expect neither moral support nor sympathy to save them from the consequences which they may bring upon themselves."

No. 273.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 17.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, February* 17, 1876.

I HAVE sent following figures to Acting Consul-General at Bucharest:—

"(Confidential.)

"I am told on good authority that since presentation to the Porte of Count Andrassy's despatch, Prince Charles has declared that it will be a humiliation to him to remain vassal to a Suzerain whom the European Powers consider to merit so little respect."

No. 274.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 18.)

(No. 103. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, February* 5, 1876.

THE Grand Vizier, who had not been received by the Sultan for some time, had a long audience of His Majesty two days ago.

The Sultan at first adopted the tone of the letter which I have already mentioned to your Lordship, and launched into bitter reproaches against his Minister on account of the continuance of the insurrection in the Herzegovina, while he was losing his time in devising unnecessary reforms in order to raise the Christians above the Mahommedans.

For a long time the Grand Vizier listened to and answered His Majesty with every mark of humility, but finding at last that this only increased the severity of the Sultan's language, he changed his attitude and spoke openly and boldly.

He said that those who had represented the movement in Bosnia as a matter of slight importance were not true friends to His Majesty, and still less so were those who tried to make him believe that there were not real grievances of which the population had a right to ask for redress.

The person responsible for the present state of things was Hussein Avni Pasha. During his Grand Vizirate a perfectly proper and loyal petition had been sent to the Porte, setting forth the grievances complained of by the people; but he had paid no attention to it, and the people in despair were driven to take up arms.

His Majesty had taunted him with wasting time in promulgating needless reforms, but it was his duty to warn His Majesty that there were other parts of his Empire from whence the complaints of maladministration were becoming loud, and if the people did not rise it was because they were of a less energetic race than the Bosnians.

* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

This argument appeared to make much impression on the Sultan, whose manner changed, and he showed a willingness to acquiesce in all the proposals of the Grand Vizier.

His Highness believes that he has achieved a success, and that for the present his authority will be greater.

It is to be remembered that this report of what passed is the version given by the Grand Vizier himself, and may perhaps be highly coloured.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 275.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received February* 18.)

(No. 155.)
My Lord, *Pera, February* 5, 1876.

WITH reference to Lord Odo Russell's telegram of the 3rd instant, inquiring what was the nature of the Mission with which Lord Campbell was charged by the Sultan to Prince Bismarck, I have the honour to state that he is on no Mission from the Porte, and that probably the Sultan never heard of him.

Lord Campbell arrived here in the autumn, and remained here about three months, during which he and Lady Strangford, who represented herself as being on a Mission of some kind, from whom or with what object I know not, were assiduous in going to see the Turkish Ministers and public men.

Just before they left Constantinople, Lord Campbell having said that he was going to Berlin, and was very intimate with Prince Bismarck, Rashid Pasha asked him to tell the Prince what he had said in the course of conversation of the impossibility of suppressing the insurrection in the Herzegovina as long as it was fostered from abroad.

This, I am told, is the whole secret of the so-called Mission.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 276.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received February* 18.)

(No. 157.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February* 5, 1876.

WITH reference to Lord Augustus Loftus' telegram of the 1st instant, I would submit to your Lordship that, although it would certainly be desirable that hostilities in the Herzegovina should cease during the introduction of the proposed reforms, the suggestion that a line of demarcation should be drawn between the troops and the insurgents is not one that would be put into practical execution.

The troops have for some time been in winter quarters, and ceased to act on the offensive, but they must keep up their communications between their military posts, and convey supplies to them.

The collisions which have latterly taken place were all caused by attempts of the insurgents to cut off the communications, to intercept the supplies, and to surprise detached positions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 277.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received February* 18.)

(No. 161.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February* 6, 1876.

ALTHOUGH the Council of Ministers has not come to a formal resolution in reference to the Austrian proposals, little difficulty is now apprehended, and it may be considered decided that the acceptance of the Porte will be notified in the name of the Sultan to the Representatives of the Great Powers; but the original intention of issuing a new Firman seems to be abandoned.

A reservation, which the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador considers reasonable and fair, will be made in reference to the question of applying all direct taxes to local purposes.

The Porte will at the same time forward to the Sultan's Representatives, for communication to the Governments to which they are accredited, a despatch entering into an examination of Count Andrassy's despatch of the 31st of December, and commenting upon those portions of it which are held to be inaccurate or exaggerated.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 278.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received February* 18.)

(No. 162.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February* 6, 1876.

THE instructions of the Italian Government upon the Austrian proposals having arrived yesterday morning, Count Corti proceeded at once to the Porte and read them to Rashid Pasha, leaving his Excellency a copy of them.

They contained no intimation to Count Corti to embody them in a note.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 279.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received February* 18.)

(No. 168.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February* 8, 1876.

THE Porte is much disturbed by the unsatisfactory accounts received from the Governor-General of Bosnia, who has applied for fresh troops.

Bands, believed to consist of old Grenzers, are stated to have passed the Save from Austria at four different points, but have been repulsed.

The body which invaded Bosnia is stated to have consisted of 400 or 500 men, all well armed.

Much excitement is said to prevail on both sides of the Servian frontier, and apprehensions are entertained of an aggression from that quarter.

Rashid Pasha tells me that Count Zichy has given him, on the part of Count Andrassy, the strongest assurances that measures shall be adopted to prevent the recurrence of such acts, and has promised that those who have taken part in them shall be disarmed and "internés."

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 280.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received February* 18.)

(No. 170.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February* 8, 1876.

SINCE writing my despatch No. 168, I have learnt that the news from Bosnia was regarded as so serious that the levy of additional Redifs has been ordered.

At the same time the Governor-General of Epirus reports the existence at Acta of an agitation which gives him much uneasiness.

The Greek populations have hitherto remained quiet, and it is hoped at the Porte that the Governor-General, who is not a man calculated to inspire implicit confidence, has exaggerated the cause for anxiety.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 281.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 18.)

(No. 172.)
My Lord. *Constantinople, February 8, 1876.*

THE assistance given by Servia and Montenegro to the Herzegovina insurgents has been commonly ascribed to a generous wish to help a kindred race to obtain redress for its grievances.

I repeatedly pointed out to your Lordship that what gave the insurrection its formidable character was the fact, apparently ignored by the Government most interested, that it was in reality a movement of national ambition.

It would, I think, be impossible to have a more full confirmation of this opinion than is found in the late despatches of Mr. Agent and Consul-General White.

The Prince of Servia has stated his views with more frankness than discretion.

The strongholds of the insurrection are close to the frontiers of Montenegro, to which the people wish to be annexed, but Prince Milan declares that, if they are ceded to that Principality, he will at once declare war.

He would do so also if an Austrian force were to occupy any portion of Bosnia, for the purpose of ensuring an equitable treatment of the people, and he would resist the grant to them of an autonomy, or the appointment of a Christian Governor.

If doubt were before possible, after the declarations of the Prince none can remain that the object of Servia is simply one of national aggrandisement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 282.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 18.)

(No. 177.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February 10, 1876.*

I AM informed, upon what appears unquestionable authority, that the Sultan has sent an imperative order to the Grand Vizier to make up to him the amount deducted from his coupons under the late reduction of interest upon the public debt.

In another despatch I have spoken of the utter inability of the public Departments to provide for the most pressing necessities, and the Minister of War admits that he would at no moment be surprised to hear that the troops in the Herzegovina refuse to act if kept in their present state of destitution.

The Commander-in-chief there has telegraphed to impress upon the Porte the necessity of immediately providing him with a sum of money to meet their pressing necessities, and the Minister has little to send them.

If, with a knowledge of this state of things, the Sultan persists in making large calls upon the finances, the prospects of the Empire may well be looked upon with dismay.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 283.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 18.)

(No. 178.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February 10, 1876.*

THE inclosed notification of an important decision respecting the acquisition of land has just been officially published by the Porte.

The restrictions which existed in certain districts on the purchase of land by Christians is abolished, and they are placed in this respect upon a footing of perfect equality with Mussulmans.

The peasants or small farmers, under the designation of "cultivateurs," whether Mussulmans or non-Mussulmans, are also to have the preference in the acquisition of land put up for sale.

Raschid Pasha had mentioned to me some time ago that the Government, recognizing the necessity of giving this class facilities for becoming possessors of the land they cultivated, had resolved upon this measure for their relief.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 283.

Extract from "La Turquie" of February 9, 1876.

NOUS publions ci-après une communication officielle ayant trait au droit de propriété foncière. Les dispositions qu'elle contient sont l'application directe du Firman Impérial. Il serait superflu de faire ressortir par des commentaires l'importance considérable de ce document, ainsi que ses résultats dans un prochain avenir pour l'extension de l'agriculture et le bien général des populations :

Communication Officielle.

"Article 1. Les sujets Musulmans et non-Musulmans de l'Empire pourront indistinctement acquérir des terres arables ainsi que des terres dépendant des fermes ou appartenant aux villages, et qui, étant propriétés de l'Etat ou des Vacoufs, seraient vendus par voie d'adjudication ou par voie de transfert si elles appartiennent à des particuliers.

"Dans le cas où certaines terres appartenant à l'Etat et aux Vacoufs n'auraient pu, en conformité d'un ancien usage, être transférées à des sujets non-Musulmans de l'Empire, cet usage sera aboli et les dispositions de la présente loi seront indistinctement appliquées.

"Art. 2. Le transfert des terres et immeubles entre sujets Musulmans et non-Musulmans sera opéré avec une parfaite égalité conformément aux dispositions de la loi qui régit la matière.

"Art. 3. Les cultivateurs Musulmans et non-Musulmans établis dans certaines fermes jouiront du droit de préférence dans l'acquisition des terres vendues, soit par voie d'adjudication, soit par voie de transfert de la part des particuliers."

No. 284.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 18.)

(No. 170.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February 10, 1876.*

AFTER the great fire at Pera in 1870, which left so many families houseless, a temporary permission was given to Christians to occupy houses in the Mahommedan quarters of Constantinople, and no slight surprise was felt some days ago when it was suddenly announced that this permission had been withdrawn.

The Porte, upon its attention being called to this notice, declared it to be unauthorized and contrary to the intentions of the Government, and an inquiry is now being made into the manner in which it came to be issued.

It seems hardly possible that, even if the Government wished to re-establish the old restriction, the present moment would have been chosen for carrying it out.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 285.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 18.)

(No. 67.)
My Lord, *Vienna, February 15, 1876.*

WITH reference to the Sultan's Iradé accepting the proposals in Count Andrássy's note of the 30th ultimo, the "New Free Press" of this morning says:—"The first question now to be considered is whether the insurgents will lay down their arms, and that the Iradé will produce this result is not to be expected; but the acceptance of the reforms will nevertheless have a depressing influence on the insurrection. We said a week ago, and we now repeat, in the words of Lord Derby, that Austria must earnestly fulfil her

international duties in watching the frontier, which, having hitherto been done very weakly, allowed great abuses to occur. The passage of armed bands and the importation of provisions and ammunition across the Austrian frontier will no longer be as easy as they have been. This we expect at least, and it is to be seen from the latest proceedings in the English Parliament that a conviction also prevails abroad that Austria will not withhold from the Porte the neighbourly and friendly assistance which one State owes to another in such circumstances.

The Statthalter of Dalmatia and the Commander-in-chief in Agram will not, it is to be hoped, act in opposition to the policy of the Government. The former is now at Trieste, on his way to Vienna, and we conclude, from his having been ordered here, that some pressure will be used in setting before him the changed state of affairs.

The "Pester Lloyd," the article goes on to say, has struck the right nail on the head when, after recommending the strongest moral means for suppressing the insurrection, it adds that the first part of the Austrian action in preparing and proposing the reforms can only be justified if the country, in the second part, fulfils its international duties towards Turkey. If the frontier is carefully watched, one of the ventilators through which the insurrection obtained air will be closed, and Montenegro will then be the only one open. We believe that, to give the Montenegrins juster views of international law, the next general action of the Powers will be at Cettigné, from whence Prince Nikita has been hitherto allowed to play an incredible part; while declaring his entire neutrality, his brother-in-law, Marcius Bacevic, who had so brilliant a funeral in Ragusa, fought and fell in the ranks of the insurgents; and His Highness has been negotiating with Constantinople, while strong bands of Montenegrins are in the field against the Turks, as he hopes to gain some concessions by peaceful means, and looks on Servia with great jealousy.

On the other hand, an extraordinary report is in circulation that Montenegro and Roumania have concluded a secret Treaty to bring "their armies" into the field in spring. The report is wild enough, but, though we do not believe it, we consider it a reason the more why the Great Powers should give a lesson to the little Princes of the Balkan peninsula; and, in order to give due assistance to the Porte, it must be decidedly declared to the wasps in Cettigné, Belgrade, and Bucharest, that they must remain quiet in their nests instead of stinging the Turks, or otherwise an European flyflapper will be employed against them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 286.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 18.)

(No. 68.)
My Lord, *Vienna, February 15, 1876.*

THE "New Free Press," in an article last Sunday, on the debates on the Address in the English Parliament, observed, that if the policy of the Three Powers is really limited to the pacification of the Herzegovina, peace may now be considered certain; but that should any other ideas be entertained, the intervention of England is a fortunate event for Austria. In that case, Austria will find in Great Britain an ally for a policy directed to the maintenance of peace; and if Count Andrassy has said to Sir Andrew Buchanan that there is no question in the east or in the west in which the interests of Austria and England are not identical, our Minister for Foreign Affairs has reason to congratulate himself on the reservations made by the British Cabinet in giving its support to the Austrian note; and he may also feel satisfaction at the imposing attitude of England, which the recent debates have revealed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 287.

Consul-General Stanley to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 18.)

(No. 5. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Odessa, February 4, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to this despatch, sent by English steamer through Her Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople, to make some further remarks on your Lordship's despatch

No. 1, Confidential, of the 3rd January, which I deemed it undesirable to make in my despatch No. 3, sent by post on the 31st January.

It is almost impossible to get here reliable information as to movements of troops in this part of Russia. Such movements are never published, and Russian officials will not speak of them, or profess ignorance, and are especially reticent to one in my position. The common people never know anything that happens more than a mile from their homes.

I have occasionally, in speaking to the upper classes and officers, endeavoured casually to turn the conversation into such a channel as might enable me to pick up information regarding the movement of troops, but I have invariably, either through ignorance or design, been baffled.

I have found my colleagues equally ignorant. They vary in their statements as to the numbers of troops in Bessarabia from 30,000 to 200,000.

My German colleague believes, as I do, that the number does not exceed the smaller figure given. Another, usually well informed, estimates it at 100,000.

Common rumour certainly puts it at the larger figure, and there is an undoubted feeling of uneasiness; but I attach little importance to these signs, as the people here are not in a position to be well informed on political questions.

It is said that the troops are not so much in the large towns Akerman, Bender, and Kischineff, as distributed in the smaller towns and villages to avoid observation. It is certain that there is now cavalry in Bessarabia, where they have not been quartered for many years.

Should your Lordship think it necessary or desirable, I could, doubtless, ascertain the exact truth by making a tour through the districts of Bessarabia, but I should have to be absent at least a fortnight, and should have to incur considerable expense, which I do not estimate at much under 100*l*. There is but one railway through the district. I should have to hire a carriage probably at Kischineff, unless the state of the roads were suitable for sleighs, as the postal administration only provides springless carts. The hire of horses on the post roads is cheap—2*d*. per mile per horse, and they are provided by Government; but off the post-roads they must be obtained by private arrangement, and would cost 1*s*. per mile. I would, of course, endeavour to keep the expenditure within the lowest limits possible.

Sporting, together with the wish to get statistics as to the cattle or agricultural state of the country, could be the declared object of my tour.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. E. STANLEY.

No. 288.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 20.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, February 20, 1876.*

AN amnesty is about to be published for the insurgents who return to their homes within a month, and arrangements will be made for the maintenance of the returning refugees and for the repairs of their houses.

No. 289.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 21.)

(No. 50.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, February 15, 1876.*

ON the receipt of your Lordship's telegram of the 3rd instant, transmitting one received from Sir A. Buchanan, in which it was stated that nothing was known at Vienna of General Ignatiew's nunience of the Sultan, or of a promised amnesty, as reported to me by Prince Gortchakow, I called at the Imperial Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and not being able to see the Chancellor I requested M. de Giers to elucidate this mystery.

I read to his Excellency my despatch No. 29 of the 2nd instant, in which I had reported to your Lordship my conversation with Prince Gortchakow, and I further communicated to him the general substance of my telegram of the 1st February, as recorded in my despatch No. 28 of February 2.

I stated to his Excellency that I was surprised to learn from Vienna that no information had been received there of an amnesty being prepared at Constantinople, and was,

therefore, anxious to know how far the information I had received from the Chancellor was correct.

M. de Giers later informed me, on the authority of Prince Gortchakow, that the information I had sent was correct, but that General Ignatiew had merely reported that an amnesty "was preparing," and that it could not be considered as a measure fully decided upon until it had received the Sultan's assent.

M. de Giers further stated that Prince Gortchakow had written privately to General Ignatiew to support any plan for a cessation of hostilities, and to take no isolated action, but to act in concert with his colleagues.

On the following day I received from your Lordship Sir H. Elliot's telegram of the 3rd instant, in which his Excellency says that General Ignatiew had had no audience of the Sultan, but had sent his Dragoman to the Sultan's Secretary "with the object of supporting the Grand Vizier, and that he may, perhaps, have sent a message about an amnesty."

I subsequently met M. de Giers at dinner at the French Ambassador's, and then inquired whether General Ignatiew had reported having had an audience of the Sultan, as mentioned to me by Prince Gortchakow.

M. de Giers replied that General Ignatiew had had a communication from the Sultan, through His Majesty's private Secretary, which had given rise to the mistake; he said that Prince Gortchakow had telegraphed to General Ignatiew, instructing him, in case adverse influences should seek to deter the Sultan from following the advice of the Grand Vizier, or that obstacles might be raised to the acceptance by the Porte of the Andrassy Note, to ask for an audience of the Sultan, or to convey to the Sultan in any other form he might think best, the most urgent counsels in support of the Grand Vizier, and of the proposals submitted by Europe.

It was acting on this instruction that General Ignatiew, not thinking it desirable to ask for a personal audience, had sent his Dragoman to the private Secretary of the Sultan with a message, the result of which was the telegram he addressed to Prince Gortchakow, and of which his Highness gave me the substance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 290.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 21.)

(No. 51. Confidential.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, February 15, 1876.*

THERE have been various allusions made of late by the European press to certain secret negotiations between the Porte and the Prince of Montenegro, with a view to withdraw the latter from giving further support to the insurgents of the Herzegovina.

I am privately informed that a Turkish agent, named Ketched Bey, has been sent to Cettigné to offer terms to the Prince of Montenegro. These terms were an accession of territory on the Herzegovinian frontier, bordering Dalmatia, the cession of the port of Spizza and the recognition by the Porte of the independence of the Principality. In return, the Prince was to preserve absolute neutrality, and to withdraw his subjects from the ranks of the insurgents.

I am told that the Prince was much attracted by these offers, and was not willing to give them a positive refusal. But he was afraid of being drawn into a snare, more especially as the concessions promised were only to be fulfilled when the insurrection was completely put down.

He was also afraid of the indignation of his own subjects, and of the insurgents, who might have thrown him over, and cast in their lot with the Prince of Servia.

The Prince, accordingly, without actually declining the proposed concessions suggested that with a view to an arrangement between the insurgents and the Porte, he should assemble the chiefs, at a point contiguous to his frontier, to whom the reforms proposed by the European Powers and accepted by the Porte should be submitted as the basis of a pacification; that delegates should be sent from the several districts of the two Provinces to assist at the deliberations, and that a suspension of hostilities should take place during the introduction of the reforms proposed by the Powers.

By adopting this course, the Prince of Montenegro seeks to occupy the position of a mediator, for which he would later reap the compensation now offered to him by the Porte.

My informant could not enter into much detail, but he stated that the foregoing

No. 291*.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received February* 21.)

(No. 60.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, February* 16, 1876.

IN obedience to your Lordship's instructions, I have made inquiries where I could safely do so, in regard to the reported concentration of troops in Bessarabia, and have learnt from different quarters that no such concentration has taken place.

At the present moment, I am informed there is but one division in Bessarabia, which is entirely on the peace footing.

These rumours may possibly owe their origin to the organization and dislocation of the cavalry, which commenced last year. In view of the suddenness of the breaking out of war in these days, of the great distance of the cavalry to move from the interior of the Empire, and likewise, also, on account of the greater facilities for mobilization, it was deemed advisable to concentrate as far possible the great mass of the cavalry on the western Polish frontier.

This movement has been gradually going on, and the cavalry will be permanently stationed in Poland and along the western frontier.

This arrangement will greatly facilitate the concentration of troops on any sudden emergency.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

was the general outline of the negotiations, and he seemed to think that they were still in action, and were not unlikely to lead to some results.

There is no doubt that every assistance will be given here to any negotiations which may prove beneficial to the Prince of Montenegro, in whom the Emperor and the Empress take a personal interest.

I may observe that the possession of a port on the Adriatic by the Prince of Montenegro would be of no small value to the Russian maritime interest in the Mediterranean.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 291.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received February* 21.)

(No. 52. Confidential.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, February* 15, 1876.

GENERAL LE FLO, the French Ambassador, called on me on Sunday, the 13th, and said that he had seen the Emperor that morning at the parade, who had mentioned that he had just received bad news from Constantinople.

His Majesty said that the Sultan had suddenly become irritable and unmanageable; and that he had shut himself up in his harem in a furious temper, having refused to go to the Mosque on Friday. The Grand Vizier was much alarmed, and had declared that if he was unable to appease His Majesty and bring him to reasons, he should resign.

This information appears to have caused some alarm here, for it was felt that if the violent party should gain the ascendancy at this moment at Constantinople, a catastrophe was imminent.

Fortunately, yesterday morning a telegram was received from General Ignatiew, stating that the Sultan had regained his composure, and had signed the Iradé for the immediate carrying into execution of four out of the five reform-proposals contained in the Andrassy note for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

This intelligence has given much satisfaction here.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 292.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received February* 21.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, February* 21, 1876.

I HAVE received following from Mr. White, dated yesterday:—

"My confidential information concords with your telegram of the 17th.

"Russian message delivered to Prince Milan, Thursday, by the Consul. Has, however, produced as yet no modification in the existing disposition to make preparation for possible hostilities, which are quietly proceeding, nor likely to be suspended unless Montenegro gives way."

No. 293.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received February* 22.)

(No. 3. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, February* 4, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that a numerous band of insurgents has appeared in the neighbourhood of Svilaj on the Save, about six miles below Brood, in the district of Gradachatz. Fears are entertained here for the security of the Brood road, as the nature of the country from Svilaj to Doboj by way of the mountain known as the Vuchiak Brdo is very favourable to the insurgents. The Kaïmakam of Gradachatz telegraphed here for troops, but none could be spared, and orders were sent to Banialuka to send forward from thence any that were available. The Commandant of that town also declared that he did not dare weaken his garrison, and finally one of the two battalions

stationed at Tuzla was ordered to the spot. Insurgent bands have also lately reappeared in the vicinity of Kobash and Derbent.

The north of Bosnia is very insufficiently provided with troops, and it is impossible, on an emergency, to bring any considerable force into the field without dangerously weakening the garrisons of the various towns and military positions. The only important band of insurgents for the moment is that under the leadership of Hubmayer, in the neighbourhood of Kostainitza, which is said to number about 1,500 men, but there are many other small detached bands scattered over the country, which will probably increase in strength as the spring advances.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 294.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 22.)

(No. 4. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Séraï, February 11, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that a few days since a Turkish force, consisting of about 500 regular infantry and cavalry, and some 400 Bashi-Bazouks, violated the Austrian frontier and attacked and plundered the Austrian village of Dobretin, near Novi. The inhabitants took to flight, and the Turkish troops burnt several houses, and, it is also said, killed two or three sick and infirm peasants who were unable to fly with the rest. Later in the day the inhabitants of the surrounding villages, assisted by the insurgent Chief Hubmayer, with a few of his followers who happened to be in the neighbourhood, attacked the Turks and drove them across the frontier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 295.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 22.)

(No. 7. Consular.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, February 3, 1876.*

THE late Imperial Firman of Reform, the contents of which had already been communicated by telegraph and published in the official Gazette the "Bosna," as reported to your Lordship in my despatch, Political, No. 1 of the 14th January, was received here on the 1st instant from Constantinople. The chief authorities went out in uniform to meet the bearer of it, and a solemn procession was formed, escorted by a body of police and a battalion of infantry with military music, which accompanied him through the town to the Government Palace. The Firman was then immediately read by the Chief Secretary of the Vilayet from a raised platform erected for the purpose in front of the palace. A short prayer was said; the troops cried "Long live the Sultan;" a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the fortress, and the ceremony ended.

No official notice had been given of the arrival of the Firman, or that it would be read in public, and there was consequently a very small number of the population present. The few that were there, both Christians and Mussulmans, seemed to treat the affair with the utmost indifference, as though it were a matter which did not in any way concern them.

In connection with judicial reforms, I may mention here that a certain Fakhum Effendi has just arrived here and assumed the functions of Vice-President of the Court of First Instance. This individual, formerly a scribe in one of the Government offices here, was exiled to Nish some years ago by the Governor-General Osman Pasha for misconduct and the theft of some official documents. Omer Fehmi Effendi, lately President of the above-mentioned Court, has also just been named Cadi of Serajevo; he is acknowledged by all classes, including his co-religionists, to be one of the most fanatical and illiberal Turks in the service. The Government is certainly most unfortunate at the present moment in its selection of officials for this province. From the Governor-General downwards I cannot mention one who has inspired any confidence in the people or led them to hope for an amelioration in administrative matters.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 296.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 22.)

(No. 185.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February 11, 1876.*

THE announcement that the Sultan was unable to appear at the Friday noonday prayer, which it is the invariable habit of the Sovereign of this country to attend with much pomp, is calculated to give rise to much speculation.

The belief in His Majesty's death will probably be general, and some days may pass before the truth is known; for the demise of a Sultan is frequently kept concealed, and till His Majesty's next appearance in public there will be many among the Mahommedan classes who will believe in his death.

The importance attached to the attendance at the Friday's ceremony is so great that Sultans known to be dying have not ventured to omit it even within a few days of their death, although they have had to be supported on their horse; and one, at least, is said to have died in his saddle on the way to the mosque.

A near relative of the medical man who attended the late Sultan Abdul Medjid in his last illness assures me that on the Friday before his death the doctor besought His Majesty not to attempt to go to the mosque, but the Sultan had answered that he durst not venture to be absent, and I have heard from an eyewitness that he saw the Sultan pass with a mechanical contrivance by which he was fixed and supported in his saddle.

I mention these circumstances as showing that the ceremony in question has in the eyes of the Turkish population an importance which we can hardly understand.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 297.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 22.)

(No. 187.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February 12, 1876.*

WITH reference to the report which has reached Lord Odo Russell, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I am not aware of the Austrian Government having submitted to the Porte a draft of the answer which should be returned to their proposals.

The answer resolved upon by the Porte, which at present awaits the Sultan's approval, was certainly drawn up by Raschid Pasha, who bestowed great pains on its preparation, but he showed it to the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, and discussed its contents with him.

Count Zichy suggested some modifications of the first draft, and requested me to support them.

They were not of any great importance, but they appeared improvements; and I stated this opinion to Raschid Pasha, through Mr. Sandison.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 298.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 22.)

(No. 189.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February 13, 1876.*

NO positive information can be obtained as to the health of the Sultan.

His Majesty is believed by some of the Turkish Ministers to be seriously ill; but there seems to be good grounds for the suspicion that his illness is only a pretext for postponing his sanction to the notes prepared by the Porte in answer to Count Andrassy's proposals.

The Grand Vizier himself is of this latter opinion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 299.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 22.)

(No. 191.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, February 13, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of the Circular note which has been officially addressed by the Porte to the Representatives of the six Powers, in answer to the communication made to it of the proposals of the Austrian Government in reference to Bosnia and the Herzegovina.

Four out of the five points contained in Count Andrassy's despatch of the 30th of December are unreservedly accepted, and the determination of the Sultan to give them full and immediate application is formally declared.

The point respecting the application of the produce of the direct taxes to local purposes, which had every appearance of having been put forward without sufficient consideration or knowledge of the financial system of the country to which it was to be applied, has not been accepted; but the object which Count Andrassy had in view is to be obtained by another arrangement, to which exception is not likely to be taken.

After the opinion of the Administrative Council has been obtained upon the necessities of the different localities, a fixed sum from the general revenues of the Empire will be assigned for local purposes, the application of which will be under the control of the Provincial Councils.

Raschid Pasha's note, being in the form of a Circular to the Representatives of all the Guaranteeing Powers, contains an expression to which it will be my duty to call the Minister's attention as not being strictly applicable to the communication by which I was instructed by your Lordship to express, not the entire,* but the general concurrence Her Majesty's Government in the proposals brought forward by Count Andrassy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 299.

Raschid Pasha to Sir H. Elliot.

(Circulaire.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, le 13 Février, 1876.*

J'AI l'honneur de porter à votre connaissance que la Sublime Porte a examiné avec soin les cinq points concernant la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine et contenus dans la dépêche que son Excellence le Comte Andrassy a adressée aux Représentants d'Autriche-Hongrie à Londres, à Paris, et à Rome, et dont MM. les Ambassadeurs des trois Cours Impériales m'ont communiqué[a] le contenu tout en m'en donnant lecture. Votre Excellence a bien voulu de son côté m'informer que le Gouvernement Britannique s'associait entièrement[a] aux propositions contenues dans cette dépêche.

La Sublime Porte ayant acquis la conviction que les Puissances sont disposées d'exercer par tous les moyens en leur pouvoir une pression morale devant avoir pour but et pour effet la prompte pacification des districts insurgés afin de prévenir les complications qui pourraient surgir de la continuation des troubles dans l'Herzégovine, et voulant donner cette fois encore une preuve de sa déférence pour les conseils amicaux des Grandes Puissances aussi bien que de son vif désir de ramener l'ordre et le bien-être parmi ses sujets égarés, je m'empresse de faire part à votre Excellence de la résolution arrêtée par Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan.

Le Gouvernement Impérial ayant pris note des bienveillantes dispositions précitées des Puissances, a ordonné en vertu d'un Iradé Impérial en date du 15 Mouharem, 1293, la mise immédiate en exécution en Bosnie et en Herzégovine des quatre sur les cinq points formulés dans leurs propositions et se déclare résolu à les mettre en vigueur dans toute leur intégrité dans ces deux provinces.

Votre Excellence relevera de la lecture des instructions, dont ci-jointe copie, que je viens d'adresser aux Représentants de Sa Majesté le Sultan auprès des Grandes Puissances, que le cinquième point a été remplacé par une combinaison qui répond amplement aux besoins de ces provinces, ainsi qu'aux intentions qui ont inspiré la proposition y relative de son Excellence le Comte Andrassy.

En informant votre Excellence de cette détermination de la Sublime Porte, je saisis, &c.

(Signé) RASCHID.

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* See correction in No. 311.

Inclosure 2 in No. 299.

Raschid Pasha to the Representatives of the Sublime Porte.

VOUS n'ignorez pas que son Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale d'Autriche-Hongrie s'était entendu avec les Grandes Puissances pour conseiller à titre amical à la Sublime Porte certaines réformes à appliquer en Bosnie et en Herzégovine, en vue d'amener, un moment plus tôt, la pacification de nos districts insurgés.

Il y a quelques jours M. le Comte Zichy, M. le Baron de Werther, et M. le Général Ignatiew, Ambassadeurs des trois Cours du Nord, m'ont communiqué verbalement le contenu d'une dépêche de M. le Comte Andrassy adressée le 30 Décembre dernier aux Représentants d'Autriche-Hongrie à Paris, à Londres et à Rome.

De leur côté MM. les Représentants de France, d'Angleterre et d'Italie m'ont prévenu de l'adhésion de leurs Gouvernements aux idées suggérées par le Cabinet Austro-Hongrois. Ma dépêche télégraphique du 1er de ce mois a porté ce qui précède à votre connaissance.

La présence de la forme officieuse et amical dans laquelle, comme je viens de le dire, cette communication nous a été faite, et comme aussi la même dépêche qui nous a été lue n'est pas directement à notre adresse, je crois tout à fait inutile d'entrer dans l'analyse de la teneur de ce document, et d'y relever certains points qui se prêtent à la discussion.

La Sublime Porte s'est donc bornée à s'occuper des cinq points qui résument les propositions du Comte, et les a examinés avec soin. Elle est convaincue de la ferme et sincère intention des Grandes Puissances de concourir d'une manière efficace à la prompte pacification des districts insurgés, et en conséquence, elle est heureuse de prendre acte de leurs dispositions bienveillantes. Elle n'a jamais enfin douté de la franchise et de la loyauté de leurs intentions à notre égard d'autant plus qu'elle même a tenu à cœur de ramener ces intéressantes populations égarées afin de les faire profiter à l'instar des autres provinces de l'Empire des bienfaits octroyés par le Firman du 12 Décembre dernier.

Soucieux du bien-être de ses sujets sans distinction, et voulant de sa haute et généreuse initiative étendre sur les districts révoltés aussi bien les faveurs déjà accordées que les mesures loyalement suggérées par le Comte Andrassy, mesures qu'il considère comme rentrant dans ses droits souverains et comme des améliorations complémentaires de celles déjà édictées par son récent et auguste rescrit, Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan s'est plu à ordonner, par un Iradé en date du 15 Mouharrem 1293, l'application des points suivants qui découlent des principes adoptés par la Sublime Porte, et qui devront rentrer en pleine vigueur dans toutes les parties sans exception de la Bosnie et de l'Herzégovine.

Ces compléments de réformes se résument ainsi qu'il suit :

1. Liberté religieuse pleine et entière.
2. Abolition du système des fermages.
3. Amélioration de la situation agraire des paysans cultivateurs.
4. Institution d'une commission locale composée en nombre égal de Musulmans et de non-Musulmans pour surveiller l'exécution en général de toutes les réformes décrétées.

Quant au point du projet de M. le Comte Andrassy qui concerne l'emploi des impôts directs pour les besoins de la province même la Sublime Porte peut observer que cette disposition ne saurait se conformer au système général de notre Administration financière.

Toutefois Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, dans ses sentiments de clémence et de haute sollicitude pour les contrées dévastées par l'insurrection, a voulu que leur situation soit prise en considération par son Gouvernement, vient en conséquence de décréter les mesures nécessaires pour affecter une somme qui sera fixée par ordre de Sa Majesté après avoir entendu les vœux des Conseils Administratifs basés sur les besoins des localités. Cette somme formera un supplément au revenu déjà alloué en Bosnie et en Herzégovine pour les besoins d'utilité publique. L'emploi des fonds destinés à ce dernier chapitre devra être minutieusement controlé par les Conseils provinciaux institués aux termes du Firman du 12 Décembre dernier.

Votre Excellence s'en tiendra essentiellement à cet ordre d'idées de la Sublime Porte, qui ne nous semble pas offrir une différence sensible entre la question concernant le fond et celle relative à la forme des propositions de M. le Comte Andrassy.

Je termine cette dépêche en déclarant, d'ordre de Sa Majesté notre auguste Maître, que le Gouvernement Impérial est fermement résolu à mettre dans toute leur intégrité à exécution ces réformes et à tenir la main à ce qu'aucune atteinte n'y soit portée.

Je vous prie, M. l'Ambassadeur, de donner lecture de ma présenté dépêche à son Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères et de lui en laisser copie.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) RASCHID.

No. 300.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 22.)

(No. 193. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February* 14, 1876.

UPON my questioning Raschid Pasha as to the truth of the report that the Austrian Government had submitted to him a draft of the answer which they considered he should return to Count Andrassy's proposals, he laughed and said that he could not deny its correctness.

It was not an answer that could possibly be adopted. It consisted of about three lines, and simply stated that the Porte accepted without reserve the whole of Count Andrassy's proposals.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 301.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 22.)

(No. 194.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February* 14, 1876.

MR. CONSUL HOLMES arrived here three days ago.

His account of the encouragement and countenance given to the insurgents by the Austrian authorities and by the Russian Consul at Ragusa, greatly exceeds all that I was prepared for.

The Russian Consulate is the open resort of the insurgent chiefs; their correspondence is sent to the Consul, who is a party to all their projects, and associates himself intimately with them.

He does not appear to make an attempt to conceal the part he is playing, for on the occasion of the death of the Chief Maxime, in one of the late encounters, the Russian flag at the Consulate was hoisted at half-mast, and M. Jomini himself joined the funeral procession.

With such acts as these it is not surprising that the insurgents should suppose their attempt to be fully approved by the Russian Government, for they can hardly be expected to believe that an accredited agent would venture upon them without knowing that it meets with the approval of his superior authorities.

Some of the wounded when asked why they continue to struggle, when the Porte is ready to grant all their demands, have answered plainly that they are bound to go on as long as they are told by Russia to do so.

The assurances given at St. Petersburgh of the wish of the Imperial Government that the insurgents would lay down their arms, must naturally go for nothing as long as its official Representative, with whom they are in communication, encourages them to go on.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 302.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 22.)

(No. 195.)
My Lord, *Pera, February* 14, 1876.

A FEW days ago I received a telegram from Mr. White saying that great sensation had been caused at Belgrade, by a report that a negotiation was going on for the cession by Turkey of a seaport to Montenegro.

I have answered that no such negotiation is in progress, and that the Porte would not be likely to entertain the proposal at the present moment.

I had some conversation on the subject with Raschid Pasha this afternoon, when he said that it would be quite impossible for the Porte just now to make any new concession to the Principality, as it would inevitably be followed by corresponding demands from Servia, and perhaps from other quarters.

I asked whether, without going into negotiations or taking an engagement to Montenegro, it might not be possible to let the Prince understand that when everything was quiet, the Porte would not be indisposed to see whether an understanding could be come to to improve the relations of the two countries.

He said he did not think it would be desirable on account of the sort of Protectorate over Montenegro to which Russia pretended; for any intimation such as I suggested, however vague, would probably be regarded as a pledge which that Power would think itself entitled to call upon the Porte to fulfil.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 303.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 22.)

(No. 196. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February* 14, 1876.

I LEARN, confidentially, that General Ignatiew has informed the Greek Minister that an alliance has been concluded between Servia, Montenegro, and Roumania, and that one of the late Servian Ministers is about to proceed to Athens to procure the accession of the Greek Government to it.

I have great doubts of the accuracy of this information.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 304.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 22.)

(No. 197. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February* 14, 1876.

GENERAL IGNATIEW informs me that the Mussulmans of Bosnia have addressed a telegram to the Emperor of Austria, the transmission of which was stopped by order of the Governor-General.

It expressed their wish to live on terms of harmony with their Christian fellow-subjects, in the improvement of whose condition they were ready to co-operate, but it added that if an attempt were made to withdraw the Province from the authority of their Sultan they would be forced to regard the Christians as their enemies, whom it would be their duty to treat as such.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 305.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 22.)

(No. 201. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February* 14, 1876.

THE Grand Vizier has sent to ask my opinion upon the propriety of addressing a communication to the various Governments, stating that the Porte having fully accepted Count Andrassy's proposals, it now rests with the Austrian Government to adopt the measures which, by depriving the insurgents of foreign assistance, will put an end to the insurrection.

Should this not be done, the Porte will consider itself forced to resort to the extreme steps which every effort has been made to avoid.

An attack upon Servia and Montenegro is what the Grand Vizier foreshadows, and the current of public opinion is setting strongly in favour of such a course, without much regard to the state both of the finances and the army, which must render the prosecution of hostilities upon an extended scale well-nigh impossible.

I have sent Mr. Sandison strongly to dissuade his Highness from the course he had hinted at, pointing out that such a communication would be regarded as offensive by Austria, and as implying a doubt upon the sincerity of the declarations lately given.

In addition to this it was known that the Russian Government would not be disposed to tolerate an attack upon Montenegro, and there would always be time to resort to the measures which may possibly become necessary without causing unnecessary irritation by prematurely announcing them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 306.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 22.)

(No. 78. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, February 19, 1876.*

WITH reference to Sir Henry Elliot's despatch No. 196, Confidential, of the 14th instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that Baron Hofmann, of whom I caused an inquiry to be made to-day, asserted strongly the disbelief of the Austrian Government in the existence of any Treaty of Alliance between Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro, with a view to war in the spring, and added that, if such a Treaty did exist, it could never be carried out, for, although he was not instructed to say that the Emperor of Russia had himself written to the Prince of Montenegro a letter of counsel and warning, yet he could assure me that a communication of that nature had been made, through an "organ," by his Imperial Majesty, and that the Prince of Montenegro was fully aware that, if he acted without the consent of Russia, he would receive neither moral sympathy nor any help against whatever fate might overtake him.

His Excellency proceeded to say that Russian influence had been exerted in a similar manner at Belgrade, though perhaps not so directly, and that, as regards Roumania, the new Minister for Foreign Affairs had given the most satisfactory assurances of the absence of all apprehensions on the part of Prince Charles, and of the belief of the Roumanian Government in the changed position of the insurrection, and in the certainty of the preservation of peace.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 307.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 22.)

(No. 80.)
My Lord, *Vienna, February 19, 1876.*

WITH reference to Mr. Consul Freeman's despatch No. 4 of the 11th instant, relating to a violation of Austrian territory and the plunder of a village near Novi by some Turkish troops, I have ascertained from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs that the Turkish troops crossed the frontier by way of reprisals upon a band of insurgents under the leader Hubmayer, but that finding Austrian troops in position beyond the village they at once retired. The Austrian troops having captured the insurgent band and its leader, Hubmayer, they were disarmed, and have been removed to the interior.

Baron Hofmann said that the strictest measures were being taken to prevent sympathizers from crossing the Austrian frontier from either Croatia or Dalmatia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 308.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 22.)

(No. 81. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, February 19, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that General Rodich, who is now here, will in a day or two return to his post.

I have learnt from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs that General Rodich has received peremptory instructions from the Emperor to take the most active measures for preventing aid of any kind from reaching the insurgents.

Baron Hofmann earnestly desired me to be informed that, in order to carry out the policy of the six Powers in favour of peace, no effort on the part of Austria would be spared either at Constantinople or in the disturbed provinces. His Excellency said that he thought a favourable amnesty would be issued by the Porte, and that measures were under consideration for facilitating the return of the refugees with the necessary amelioration of their condition and such assistance as they may require for re-establishing themselves in their homesteads.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 309.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 13.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Belgrade, February 22, 1876.*

EMPEROR OF RUSSIA'S pacific representations, of which Sir H. Elliot got confidential information on the 17th, were made to Prince Milan on that very day by the Russian Consul here, who left next morning for Vienna.

However, strange to say, this message delivered with the greatest privacy, has not been apparently productive of any result.

No abatement of warlike preparations whatever in the meantime in Servia.

No. 310.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 100.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, February 23, 1876.*

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople respecting the encouragement which Mr. Consul Holmes reports is given by the Russian Consulate at Ragusa to the cause of the insurgents in Herzegovina,† and I have to instruct you to mention these statements verbally to Prince Gortchakow as reports which have reached Her Majesty's Government on good authority.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 311.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 24.)

(No. 502. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February 15, 1876.*

I WAS informed, very confidentially, a few days ago that General Griva, formerly Minister of War at Athens, was believed to be making preparations among the populations of the north-west of Greece, over whom he possesses much influence, for an expedition of some kind. From further information, also of a strictly confidential character, which I have since obtained, it appears that some towns or villages in Epirus, including Arta, have already come to an understanding with Griva, and that they have inquired of General Ignatiew whether he considered the moment favourable for a movement.

His reply was to the effect that the time would come.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.

† No. 301.

No. 312.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received February 24.*)

(No. 205.) *Constantinople, February 16, 1876.*

My Lord,

I POINTED out to Rashid Pasha that in his note signifying the acceptance of the Porte of the Austrian proposals, it was scarcely accurate to use the word "entire" as applied to the support given to them by Her Majesty's Government.

His Excellency, recognising the justness of the remark, has begged to be allowed to substitute another copy of the note, as herewith inclosed, in which the word is omitted, for that transmitted to your Lordship by my despatch No. 191.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 312.

Rashid Pasha to Sir H. Elliot.

(Circulaire.) *Sublime Porte, le 13 Février, 1876.*

M. l'Ambassadeur,

J'AI l'honneur de porter à votre connaissance que la Sublime Porte a examiné avec soin les cinq points concernant la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine et contenus dans la dépêche que son Excellence le Comte Andrassy a adressée aux Représentants d'Autriche-Hongrie à Londres, à Paris et à Rome, et dont MM. les Ambassadeurs des trois Cours Impériales m'ont communiqué verbalement le contenu tout en m'en donnant lecture. Votre Excellence a bien voulu de son côté m'informer que le Gouvernement Britannique s'associait aux propositions contenues dans cette dépêche.

La Sublime Porte ayant acquis la conviction que les Puissances sont disposées d'exercer par tous les moyens en leur pouvoir une pression morale devant avoir pour but et pour effet la prompte pacification des districts insurgés afin de prévenir les complications qui pourraient surgir de la continuation des troubles dans l'Herzégovine, et voulant donner cette fois encore une preuve de sa déférence pour les conseils amicaux des Grandes Puissances, aussi bien que de son vif désir de ramener l'ordre et le bien-être parmi ses sujets égarés, je m'empresse de faire part à votre Excellence de la résolution arrêtée par Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan.

Le Gouvernement Impérial ayant pris note des bienveillantes dispositions précitées des Puissances, a ordonné, en vertu d'un Iradé Impérial en date du 15 Muharram 1293, la mise immédiate en exécution en Bosnie et en Herzégovine des quatre sur les cinq points formulés dans leur proposition et se déclare résolu à les mettre en vigueur dans toute leur intégrité dans ces deux Provinces.

Votre Excellence retirera de la lecture des instructions dont ci-jointe copie que je viens d'adresser aux Représentants de Sa Majesté le Sultan auprès des Grandes Puissances, que le cinquième point a été remplacé par une combinaison qui répond amplement aux besoins de ces provinces ainsi qu'aux intentions qui ont inspiré la proposition y relative de son Excellence le Comte Andrassy.

En informant votre Excellence de cette détermination de la Sublime Porte, je saisis, &c.

(Signé) RASCHID.

No. 313.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 118.) *Foreign Office, February 26, 1876.*

Sir,

MR. CONSUL FREEMAN has furnished your Excellency with a copy of his despatch, Consular, No. 7 of the 3rd instant, respecting the choice made by the Porte of officials to carry out the provisions of the recent Firman in Bosnia; and I have to assure you that Her Majesty's Government have read this Report with much dissatisfaction as, if Mr. Freeman is correctly informed, it shows that the Porte is not acting on the advice of Her Majesty's Government to employ active and trustworthy officers in the execution of the reforms.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 314.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received February 27.*)

(No. 29. Confidential.) *Athens, February 19, 1876.*

My Lord,

I RECEIVED yesterday from Sir Henry Elliot a copy of his despatch to your Lordship No. 202, Confidential, of the 16th instant, reporting that Colonel Grivas was supposed to be making preparations for a movement amongst the populations of the north-west of Greece, and to have already come to an understanding upon the subject with the people of Arta and with other towns or villages in Epirus.

I have not as yet been able to ascertain whether there is any real foundation for the above allegations against Colonel Grivas, or for the reported preparations on this side of the frontier. It is true that the Colonel is still said to be at present in Acarnania, and that his influence in that part of Greece is very great. He will, however, be watched by the Agents of the present Government, as well as by many political enemies, who will be glad to have an opportunity of imputing dangerous designs to him. Having been Minister of War in M. Bulgaris' Cabinet, his presence will be required here before long in order to undergo his trial, in company with his former colleagues, for their alleged violations of the Constitution.

Whilst waiting for further information respecting the attitude of Colonel Grivas and of the north-western populations, I may mention that the supposed state of Epirus has within the last two or three days given rise to a certain amount of uneasiness here. I have been told, in the strictest confidence, that a deputation of inhabitants of that Province had lately waited upon the Russian Consul at Janina, and represented to him that they were ready to commence an insurrectionary movement whenever he gave the signal, and that upon reporting the circumstance to General Ignatiew by telegraph he had received a telegraphic answer to the effect that they had better remain quiet at present. The same answer may have also said, as stated by Sir Henry Elliot, that the time would come, but this was not told to me.

I am assured that Colonel Grivas' name was not mentioned in the despatch of the Russian Consul to General Ignatiew, but that the French Consul at Janina had reported in a despatch to his Ambassador at Constantinople that Colonel Grivas was suspected of being implicated in the preparations for the above movement.

There can be no doubt that should such a movement break out in Epirus the Hellenic Government will have great difficulty in restraining the population on the Greek side of the frontier from taking an active part in it.

I shall send a copy of this despatch to Sir Henry Elliot, who will be able to test the accuracy of some of its contents, and I shall not fail to report to your Lordship, either by post or by telegraph, according to its importance, any further information which I may succeed in procuring respecting the state of affairs in the north-west.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. STUART.

No. 315.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received February 27.*)

(No. 50. Confidential.) *Rome, February 24, 1876.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to the telegram from Belgrade dated the 22nd instant, stating that the pacific representations of the Emperor of Russia to Prince Milan had apparently been productive of no result, and that there had been no abatement of warlike preparations in Servia, I took the opportunity of an interview I had with M. Visconti Venosta this morning of inquiring what information he had received from the revolted provinces.

His Excellency said that the whole position of affairs in regard to these provinces seemed to him to be greatly complicated and confused. On the one hand, nothing could be more satisfactory than the general assurances given at Constantinople by the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Ambassadors as to the determination of their respective Governments to use their best endeavours to bring about a pacification; while on the other, if his information were correct, it would seem that Russian Agents in the Herzegovina were propagating the project of annexing a part of that province to Montenegro, as a means of inducing the Montenegrins to desist from taking further part in the insurrection, a plan of which he (M. Visconti Venosta) avowed that he had some difficulty in discovering

the merits, either as a means of pacifying the Herzegovian or in the interests of the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 316.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, February 28.)

(No. 13. Confidential.)
Buda-Pesth, February 21, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inclose some further extracts from private letters received from Belgrade by the Ottoman Consul-General here.

Attempts at stirring up agitation among the Serbs along the frontier are undoubtedly being made by the agents of the Panslavist propaganda, and from all that I can learn the Government is neglecting no precautionary steps which will facilitate the employment of military force along the confines of Servia and Bosnia. I hear privately from Neusatz that the fortress of Peterwardein, the nearest to Belgrade, is the scene of much activity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure in No. 316.

Extracts from Private Letters from Belgrade.

LE Ministère de la Guerre vient d'acheter 100,000 fusils se chargeant par la culasse (système Wenzel) avec 500 cartouches pour chaque fusil. On achète en outre des chevaux pour l'artillerie et la cavalerie; et l'on a déjà commandé dix batteries de canons Krupp; mais pour subvenir à toutes ces dépenses le Gouvernement Serbe sera obligé de contracter un emprunt à des conditions très onéreuses. * * * *

Le parti Ristics-Grouics travaille beaucoup pour le renversement de la dynastie Obrenovics, et cherche à se rapprocher du Prince Nikita.

Le coup d'état combiné en vue de la prolongation de la Constitution a été abandonné pour le moment comme offrant trop de dangers; et l'on a l'intention de chercher le salut dans une diversion en Bosnie. Si un coup de main de ce genre réussit on croit pouvoir consolider pour toujours la dynastie. * * * *

Février 14.—Le Prince se trouve dans le plus grand embarras pour former le nouveau Cabinet. Le Ministère précédent a été trop faible et incapable de gouverner le pays même dans un époque normale. Il suivait en outre les conseils de MM. Ristics et Grouics, et est par cela même odieux au Prince, qui désire un Cabinet Conservateur; mais Ristics, qui veut absolument arriver au pouvoir, a su par ses intrigues isoler le Prince et empêcher la nomination des personnages appartenant à ce dernier parti. * * *

Les préparatifs de guerre continuent. On achète des fusils, système Chassepôt, des canons, des chevaux, et d'après des ordres secrets du Ministère de la Guerre, toutes les troupes et les milices seront appelées sous les armes au commencement du mois prochain. Aussi n'y a-t-il personne à Belgrade qui doutemit d'une prochaine déclaration de guerre.

Le Gouvernement continue à négocier avec des financiers pour la conclusion d'un emprunt de 2,000,000 de ducats; mais comme on offre à la Serbie des conditions très onéreuses, il est probable que ces négociations n'aboutiront point; mais le Gouvernement a déjà prévu cette éventualité et a soumis au vote de la Skuptchina un projet de loi par lequel le Gouvernement est autorisé à ordonner un emprunt forcé dans le pays même, imposant à chaque contribuable quatre ducats, ce qui donnerait 3,000,000 à 4,000,000. Cette loi, votée dans une séance secrète, a reçu la sanction du Prince.

No. 317.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 28.)

(No. 87.)
Vienna, February 22, 1876.

My Lord,

ABOUT a fortnight ago Dr. Levison, a Prussian subject, employed as a writer by the Vienna "New Free Press," was summoned before the Austrian police, and ordered to leave

the country, as the author of fabricated reports from the Turkish insurgent Provinces and from Prague, of a nature to discredit, and create difficulties for, the Imperial authorities.

Dr. Levison immediately complained to the German Embassy, and on their representing the case to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, they were authorized to assure him that he would be left unmolested. Nevertheless, however, the Austrian authorities again summoned him to appear before the police, when he was ordered to leave Vienna in three days and the territories of Austria in six. As he is the same person who was expelled from Paris in 1871, for a similar offence, the incident has caused some sensation here; and since his arrival at Berlin, he has addressed a letter to Prince Auersperg, the Austrian Prime-Minister, of which he has caused printed copies to be privately circulated, complaining of his expulsion, and attributing the basest motives to his Highness' official conduct.

Another Prussian subject, connected with the "Tag-Blatt," has also been ordered to leave the country.

It is alleged by the public that these gentlemen were Agents of the Prussian Government, and it is surmised that in connection with the Austrian press, there are other gentlemen under a similar influence, who may also, eventually, be requested to leave the country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 318.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 28.)

(No. 89.)
Vienna, February 22, 1876.

My Lord,

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 71 of the 16th instant,* I have the honour to inform you that Count Andrassy called upon me before he had received the letter, a copy of which is inclosed herewith, that I addressed to him on the 21st instant, communicating to him a Memorandum of the substance of Sir Henry Elliot's despatch No. 127 of the 30th ultimo, respecting the organized assistance afforded by the Prince of Montenegro to the insurgents in the Herzegovina. I, therefore, stated to him verbally the nature of the information which had reached Sir Henry Elliot, and he said it was entirely in accordance with the reports he had himself received on the subject. He hoped, however, that the Prince would now be made to understand that such proceedings could not be tolerated, as a remonstrance had been addressed to him by telegraph from St. Petersburgh, and General Rodich is about to proceed to Cettigné to represent to His Highness, on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government, that he could not be permitted to obstruct the measures about to be taken for the pacification of the Turkish provinces.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

P.S.—General Molinari, Governor of Croatia, has also arrived in Vienna, and, as I understand, having had an interview with Count Andrassy, will forthwith return to his post with a full understanding of the policy to be pursued.

A. B.

Inclosure in No. 318.

Sir A. Buchanan to Count Andrassy.

Vienna, February 21, 1876.

Dear Count Andrassy,

AS some days may elapse before I can visit the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, I inclose herewith, for your Excellency's information, a Memorandum of the substance of a report which has reached Her Majesty's Government, from a trustworthy source, respecting the support afforded to the insurgents in the Herzegovina by the Prince of Montenegro, and with the contents of which Lord Derby wishes me to take an opportunity of acquainting the Austro-Hungarian Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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* See note on page 143.

No. 319.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 28.)

(No. 92.)
My Lord, *Vienna, February 24, 1876.*

THE Turkish Ambassador here informs me that large supplies of grain and a quantity of timber have been forwarded by his Government to Ragusa, with a view to affording assistance to the refugees who may be willing to return to their villages and farms.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 320.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 28.)

(No. 93. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, February 24, 1876.*

COUNT ANDRASSY, in speaking to me of the proceedings of General Ignatiew, said that he understands his Excellency advised the Porte to give a favourable answer to the Austrian note, as its doing so could make no change in the state of the question, because there was no probability of the insurgents being satisfied with the reforms recommended.

With respect to M. Jonini, the Russian Consul at Ragusa, he said, that whatever may have been his past conduct and his present sympathies with the insurgents, the instructions under which he will now have to act are entirely satisfactory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 321.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 28.)

(No. 96. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, February 24, 1876.*

I LEARN from the Minister of the Netherlands that he has recently submitted to Count Andrassy a proposal, on the part of his Government, to accept the services for the Dutch Indian army of any adventurers who may have come or may come to Ragusa with a view of joining the insurgents in the Herzegovina, and who may be willing to proceed to Java.

Count de Zuylen said that his Excellency appeared to consider that what he proposed would be a very satisfactory way of getting rid of those persons, and he suggested that he should see General Rodich on the subject. His interview with that officer, was not very satisfactory, as General Rodich maintained that there were no foreign sympathizers with the insurgents, and that all foreigners who had lately arrived at Ragusa, wishing to join them, had been immediately sent away.

As for the Slavs who were in arms, General Rodich said, if peace were made they would remain in the country, and if the insurrection was prolonged, they would, of course, continue to support the cause for which they had been fighting.

Count de Zuylen, in giving me this information, stated that he saw no hope, therefore, of carrying out the wishes of his Government, as it was evident that General Rodich was not disposed to afford the assistance and co-operation without which it would be impossible to do so.

What his Government proposed was to send a small steamer to the Dalmatian coast to receive recruits, and to carry them to Alexandria, to join the reinforcements forwarded to Java by the Suez Canal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 322.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 28.)

(No. 98.)
My Lord, *Vienna, February 24, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, with reference to your telegrams of yesterday respecting Servia, I sent Mr. Harriss-Gastrell to-day with the inclosed Memorandum to see Baron Hofmann; and, in his absence, Mr. Gastrell held a conversation with Baron Orczy, of which I inclose a report which he has addressed to me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 322.

Memorandum.

HER Majesty's Government are informed that, although the Russian Consul at Belgrade warned Prince Milan on the 17th instant against the disastrous consequences to which the Principality would be exposed by supporting the insurgents in Bosnia and the Herzegovina in opposition to the declared will of Europe, preparations for war were still being actively carried on on the 22nd instant.

Do the reports received by the Austrian Government confirm the information? and, if it be true, as reported in the newspapers, that all the Mussulmans in Bosnia are being enrolled and armed, and have been ordered to hold themselves in readiness for military service, has this measure been caused by the menacing attitude of Servia?

Has Hubmayer arrived at Agram on his way to Switzerland, or have he and his followers joined Karageorgewitch?

Sir Andrew Buchanan would feel obliged by any information which Baron Hofmann could be good be good enough to communicate to him on these points.

Inclosure 2 in No. 322.

Mr. Harriss-Gastrell to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir, *Vienna, February 24, 1876.*

I HAVE shown your Excellency's Memorandum to Baron Orczy, as Baron Hofmann was not at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

As regards Servia, his Excellency stated that it was true that the Russian Consul had on the 17th instant informed Prince Milan that Russia would view with displeasure any hostile movement, and that if Servia acted against the wishes of Europe it would be at her own risk and peril; and his Excellency added that the Austrian Consul was instructed to give the same advice in similar terms.

Baron Orczy did not believe that the Government of Servia was seriously continuing to make war preparations, but thought that the journals were allowed to flare up a little before the excitement was extinguished, and before the impotency of Servia to make any movement became known. Servia had missed her loan, had been refused guns for want of cash, and had seen her boasted army melt away from want of pay.

As regards the insurgent leader Hubmayer, Baron Orczy said he had arrived at Agram on his way to Saibech, or Switzerland, probably to communicate with a Committee at Berne, which was in relation with Hubmayer and Karageorgewitch. Hubmayer and his followers had been disarmed, and he was warned away from the frontier.

In Bosnia the levy was that of the second reserve, called out, not as a precaution against Servia, but to fill up the gaps in the Turkish forces reduced by disease and casualties. Perhaps, too, his Excellency added, the Turks wished to show that they have reserve forces and could suppress the insurrection.

Baron Orczy mentioned also that many Italian sympathisers had been sent back from Ragusa and Zara; and that, moreover, the insurgents did not view with favour any such foreigners who made their way to them.

His Excellency also referred to the Turkish Commissaries who were to proceed to the Herzegovina, and said that the special instructions to them would be submitted to the

Powers, who could then offer counsels, and that the Consuls of all the Powers would act as heretofore between these commissaries and the insurgents.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. P. HARRISS-GASTRELL.

No. 323.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 28, at night.)

Vienna, February 28, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

A RUSSIAN named Vassilitsky, who has been in Ragusa, charged with distribution of food to the refugees, was introduced to Count Andrassy to-day by the Russian Ambassador, and it is hoped his influence may be useful in inducing refugees to return. There will be some difficulty, however, Count Andrassy says, about those who carried off the cattle and murdered members of the families of their landlords. His Excellency tells me that Governor of Croatia promises that tranquillity shall be restored shortly in Bosnia; but accounts from Servia are bad, and nothing certain is yet known of the change in the conduct of Montenegro.

In a Report forwarded yesterday, Consul Freeman suggests that Porte should prohibit Mussulmans from carrying arms. Count Andrassy says that the Porte could not do so, as even Austrian Government cannot prevent Dalmatians wearing arms. Consul Freeman also suggests that a permission from the Porte to a cadi at Serajevo, to publish a work now being printed in Government press, likely to increase fanaticism of the Mussulmans, should be withdrawn for the present, and Count Andrassy would be willing to recommend this if Her Majesty's Government would do so also.

No. 324.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 103. Confidential.) *Foreign Office, February 29, 1876.*

My Lord,

IN a conversation which I had with Count Schouvaloff on the 25th instant, he spoke of the difficulty which the Austrian authorities found in repressing the sympathy shown for the insurgents in the Herzegovina by their own subjects in the immediate vicinity of the frontier.

I thought it right to take the opportunity to mention to Count Schouvaloff what is stated in Sir H. Elliot's despatch No. 194 of the 14th instant, as to the conduct of the Russian Consul at Ragusa, viz., that he had attended the funeral of one of the insurgent Chiefs, and had hoisted the flag of the Consulate half-mast high on the occasion.

I did not mention the source from which I had derived this information further than saying that I thought it likely to be accurate.

Count Schouvaloff said that if the Consul were found to have behaved as reported he would certainly be severely reprimanded, and very probably be dismissed. He did not, however, think the story quite impossible, as he knew that it had at one time been the practice of the Russian Foreign Office to nominate gentlemen of strong Slavic sympathies to the Consular establishments in those parts.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 325.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 29.)

Vienna, February 29, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

HAVING learned that Consul Taylor has been dangerously ill, and is still in a precarious state, I have told Mr. Monson, now at Fiume, to proceed to Ragusa, and report to me on the subject. I have thought it expedient to acquaint Count Andrassy with the object of Mr. Monson's mission, and his Excellency said it would be very desirable if he could be instructed to make known to refugees and insurgents that Mr. Spillman has no

authority to speak in the name of England, and that Her Majesty's Government desire pacification of the Herzegovina on the terms offered by the Sultan. Pray inform me by telegraph if I may comply with this suggestion.

No. 326.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 29, at night.)*

Constantinople, February 29, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

PORTE has received very satisfactory accounts from Herzegovina.

The principal insurgent chiefs are at Cettigné, where General Rodich is also.

They have sent messengers to principal Mussulmans in the Herzegovina saying that as hostilities appeared about to cease they hoped they might again live together in peace.

The dispositions to be taken by the Porte respecting an amnesty and the return of the refugees will be published almost immediately.

No. 327.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 1, 10·30 A.M.)

Vienna, February 29, 1876, midnight.

(Telegraphic.)

I HAD misunderstood Dutch Minister when I reported him in my despatch No. 96 to have acted by instructions from the Hague. His own Government have not yet expressed an opinion on his proposals, but Baron Hofmann says they are still under consideration of the Austrian Government, and may possibly be accepted.

Count Andrassy has received news to-night of a Republican outbreak in Servia.

No. 328.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 1.)

(No. 5. Political.) *Bosna-Serai, February 18, 1876.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the insurrectionary movement in this province appears to be on the increase. There have been several collisions lately between the troops and the insurgents, and according to official reports the latter have in every case been repulsed with great loss. No reliance, however, as I have frequently informed your Lordship, can be placed on any statement emanating from the Turkish authorities, and I, therefore, give the following details under the strictest reserve.

On the 3rd instant a large body of insurgents who infested the country between Novi and Kroupa in the Sandjak of Bihach, and had repeatedly cut the telegraph wire, were attacked near the village of Ivaniska by a force of irregulars. The combat is said to have lasted six hours with a loss to the insurgents of 150 men. On the side of the Turks there were 22 killed and 20 wounded. This would seem to indicate a severe conflict, as it is rarely the Turks acknowledge so many casualties, and they were probably far in excess of the number stated.

On the 7th instant about 600 insurgents crossed the River Tara and attacked four companies of regular troops stationed in the village of Giurgevich, district of Plevale, Sandjak of Novi-Bazaar. The insurgents were repulsed with the loss of four of their leaders and retired across the river to the monastery of Dobrafovina, whither troops were being sent in pursuit.

A trifling skirmish is also reported to have taken place at Beraja between Banialuka and Gradiska, but I have reason to believe that it was a very much more serious affair than is represented by the Turks, and that these latter suffered considerable losses. The fact of a battalion of infantry having been despatched from here in haste to Banialuka would seem to confirm my assertion.

Information has been received here that the insurgent chief Hubmayer and some twenty of his followers have been arrested in Austria and placed in confinement. It is thought that this act, far from discouraging any insurrectionary movement, will rather have

* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

the effect of irritating the frontier population in Austrian Croatia and inciting the insurgents to still greater efforts.

Troops continue to arrive here from time to time by way of Mitrovitza, and after a few days halt are sent on either to the Herzegovina or to the north of the Bosnia, but by far the greater number to the Herzegovina, notwithstanding the already large force collected in that province. These troops, who are chiefly Asiatic, seem quite unable to resist the rigours of a Bosnian winter, and there is a lamentable amount of sickness and mortality amongst them. The prevailing diseases are said to be typhus and various pulmonary complaints.

The Imperial Firman of December has now been read in all the chief towns of this province, and I am told that everywhere it has been received with the same indifference as at Serajevo. The promised reforms, if conscientiously executed, would probably a-year ago have prevented, or at all events delayed, the present outbreak: but I fear it is now too late, and have little doubt that before many weeks have elapsed the revolt will assume very serious proportions.

The acceptance by the Porte of the reforms proposed in Count Andrassy's note is also not likely to produce any result, from the simple fact that all classes resolutely refuse to believe in the possibility of their execution by Turkish officials; and I would here venture to remark that one important point seems to have been entirely overlooked. There is no question of disarming the Mussulmans, and yet, as long as a part of the population are permitted to carry arms and the remainder are denied this privilege, there cannot even be a semblance of equality. No doubt it would be a difficult measure to execute at the present moment, but I believe it could be done by a firm governor-general, backed by a few battalions of picked troops; and at any rate, if the Mussulmans cannot be induced to deliver up their arms, they might be prohibited from carrying them in public. Not even the poorest Mussulman peasant now comes to market without being more or less armed, and the better classes are all armed to the teeth. This might be prohibited, and anyone transgressing the order shall immediately have his arms confiscated. The effect of such a measure would be very great, and would be an indication that the Government was in earnest, and would, as events permitted, introduce the other promised reforms.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 329.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 1.)

(No. 8. Consular.) *Bosna-Serai, February 16, 1876.*

My Lord,

I BEG to inform your Lordship that Omer Fehmi Effendi, President of the Court of Appeal and Cadi of this Vilayet, has lately been occupied in making a Turkish translation of an Arabic work called "Tzhar-ul-kak," or "Declaration of the Truth," which appears to be a mere diatribe directed against Christian missionaries and their so-called intrigues against the Mussulman faith. The official Gazette, the "Bosna" of the 14th instant announces that Omer Effendi has received the sanction of his Government to publish this work, and that it is now being printed at the Government printing-office in this town, and will shortly be offered to the public.

Under ordinary circumstances I should not have considered it necessary to report this matter to your Lordship, but the publication of such a work in this province at the present moment by a high functionary, and as it were under the auspices of the Government, can hardly be regarded with indifference. Whatever the object of the translator, there is no doubt that to the majority of Mussulmans the book will only prove an incentive to religious fanaticism, and I think the Porte will do wisely to retract the permission to publish it. Already the relations between Christians and Mussulmans in this and the other chief towns of the province are strained to the utmost. Some trifling but ill-advised act may at any moment cause an open rupture, and no effort should be spared to bring about a mutually better feeling.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 330.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, March 1, 1876, 3:10 p.m.*

I REPEAT a telegram from Sir A. Buchanan, and with reference to the concluding passage, I have to instruct your Excellency to report whether you have any knowledge of the work, the publication of which Mr. Freeman considers would be dangerous.

No. 331.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 122.) *Foreign Office, March 1, 1876.*

Sir,

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your despatch No. 201, Confidential, of the 14th ultimo, giving the substance of a communication made to you by the Grand Vizier, foreshadowing the possibility of an attack by the Porte upon Servia and Montenegro, and I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government approve the representations which your Excellency addressed to the Grand Vizier on this subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 332.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, March 1, 1876.*

HER Majesty's Government have no knowledge of Mr. Spillman, and he has no authority to speak in their name. You may authorize Mr. Monson to say so if necessary.

No. 333.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 2.)

(No. 102. Confidential.) *Vienna, February 28, 1876.*

My Lord,

COUNT ANDRASSY showed me to-day one of the medals which Kara Georgevich is said to have distributed 4,000 of in Bosnia and the Herzegovina. On the one side is the effigy of Kara Georgevich, and on the reverse the words "Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality."

All Slavs are also called upon to appear at the unfurling of the banner of their emancipation on the plain of Kossowa, where the battle was fought which resulted in the conquest of Servia by the Turks.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 334.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 2.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, March 1, 1876.*

PORTE has communicated officially to the Embassies the measures to facilitate return of the refugees.

Functionaries have been delegated to protect them from violence or arbitary proceedings.

Orders are sent to give them relief and facilities for rebuilding their houses and churches and the means of resuming their farming operations.

Tithe is remitted for the present year and other taxes for two years.

Austrian Government have been requested to cause these decisions to be made known to the refugees in that country.

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* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

No. 335.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 2.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, March 2, 1876.*

PORTE was misinformed as to General Rodich having been at Cettigné, as stated in your telegram of yesterday. He can only reach there to-day. The Government here are confident as to the speedy termination of the insurrection. Mr. Spillman is said to have joined foreign sympathizers in a Republican manifestation at Sutorina.

No. 336.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, March 2, 1876, 6·10 P.M.*

SINCE sending my telegram of yesterday, I have received Mr. Freeman's despatch. If the work is as described, it would probably be wise in the Porte to prevent the issue of such a publication at this juncture by a Turkish official.

No. 337.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 132.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, March 2, 1876.*

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch No. 205 of the 16th ultimo, inclosing an amended copy of Raschid Pasha's note signifying the Porte's acceptance of the Austrian proposals, in which the word "entive," as applied to the support given to them by Her Majesty's Government, is omitted. Her Majesty's Government approve your Excellency's proceedings in this respect, and I have to inform you that the amended copy of the note will be substituted for that inclosed in your despatch No. 191 of the 13th ultimo.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 338.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 3, night.)

(Telegraphic.)

(Confidential.) *Vienna, March 3, 1876.*

SIMILAR instructions will be sent to Count Zichy as those to Sir H. Elliot communicated to me by your telegram of yesterday. Count Andrassy tells me that as Prince of Servia is unwilling to stop his armaments on pretext that there may be a change of Government in Turkey, he has been told that the exportation of arms from Austrian frontier will be prohibited, and his Excellency proposes to ask the Russian Government to adopt a similar measure in Bessarabia.

No. 339.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 4.)

(No. 34. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Athens, February 22, 1876.*

WITH reference to Sir Henry Elliot's despatch No. 202, Confidential, of the 15th instant, I mentioned yesterday to M. Contostavlos that a report had reached me to the effect that Colonel Grivas was making preparations for a movement in the north-west of Greece, in concert with the population of Arta and of other towns and villages in Epirus; and I asked whether the Hellenic Government had received any information to that effect.

* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.

M. Contostavlos was evidently surprised at my inquiry, and declared that he had had no previous knowledge of the report in question; that on this account, and from being aware of the great influence which Colonel Grivas exercised in that part of the country, he could not at once and from his own knowledge positively contradict the allegations against that officer, but that he could scarcely conceive the possibility of there being any foundation for them, as if any such preparations had been going on, the local authorities would have discovered them and reported them to the Government. He promised, however, to call M. Coumoundouros' immediate and serious attention to the matter; and he came this morning to tell me that M. Coumoundouros equally disbelieved in the truth of the report, both for the reasons which he had already given to me, and from doubting whether Colonel Grivas, who was an opponent of the present Government, would have the imprudence to take part in so dangerous an enterprise.

I said that at any rate it would now be easy for the Government to ascertain through their agents in the North-West the exact truth with respect to the report which had reached me, and to put an effectual stop to any attempts at agitation upon the frontier.

M. Contostavlos quite agreed with me, and assured me that he would let me know the result of the inquiries which the Government would now make respecting Colonel Grivas' proceedings, although there was every reason to suppose that the state of the north-western Provinces was perfectly tranquil and satisfactory. He further told me that he had no reason to apprehend any outbreak in Epirus at present, although he could not answer for what might occur there if the insurrection in the Herzegovina and Bosnia was not soon brought to an end. There had been some excitement, he said, at some places on the Greek side of the frontier, in consequence of reports that the Mussulmans on the other side were meditating a massacre of the Christians, but no attempt at any disturbance.

I have also learnt, confidentially, from another source that persons here who see and correspond with friends connected with Epirus do not apprehend any early disturbance in that Province.

The uneasiness to which I alluded in my despatch No. 29, Confidential, of the 19th instant, as having arisen here with respect to the state of Epirus, appears to have been confined to the few persons who were acquainted with the circumstances therein related; and I understand that those persons are now feeling more confident and reassured, in consequence of the information which they have since received.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

No. 339*.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 4.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, March* 4, 1876.

CONSUL HOLMES left Constantinople this morning to return to his post.

No. 340.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 5.)

(No. 39. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Athens, February* 26, 1876.

AS three or four days had elapsed since I had first spoken to M. Contostavlos respecting the alleged preparations of Colonel Grivas for a movement in Epirus, I called yesterday upon M. Coumoundouros, in order to inquire of him whether he had received any positive information upon the subject.

He made no attempt to conceal from me that reports had previously reached him relative to intrigues in which Colonel Grivas was said to be engaged, but assured me that he did not believe there could be any foundation for the more serious allegations to which I had alluded—that Colonel Grivas' position, in view of the approaching State trial, was such that he would, no doubt, be glad to take advantage of any diversion which might be useful to him, but that he must be well aware that to compromise himself with any insurrectionary movement at present could only increase his unpopularity, besides being in other respects injurious and dangerous to his interests.

Which I inquired further about the state of Epirus, M. Coumoundouros said that he had no apprehension of any outbreak there, unless the insurrection in Herzegovina and Bosnia should be prolonged, in spite of the attempt which the European Powers were making, in concert with the Porte, to put a stop to it—and that, as regarded Acarnania, there was an efficient monarch in that Province, who would be able to prevent any dangerous agitation, as long as the insurrection did not spread to Epirus.

Independently of the precautions of the local authorities, which ought to be sufficient, unless the Hellenic Government are playing a double game in the matter, M. Deligeorges is said to be now residing at Missolonghi in order to watch the proceedings of Colonel Grivas, with whom he has been at enmity since the general elections of 1874, when he was defeated through the Colonel's high-handed influence. If, therefore, the proceedings of the latter can be connected with any suspicious or dangerous purpose, they are not likely to be left unobserved or undenounced. In fact, it has been hinted to me that the present allegations against him may merely be the inventions of his political enemies.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

No. 341.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 7.)

(No. 9.) *Bosna Serai, February 21, 1876.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that a telegram has been received here from the Porte confirming the Imperial Firman of the 12th December, and announcing the following additional reforms and concessions:—

1. Complete religious liberty to the non-Mussulman inhabitants of Bosnia and the Herzegovine.

2. Government lands to be sold on easy terms, due respect being had for the rights and interests of neighbouring proprietors.

3. Abolition of the system of sale by auction of the tithe on agricultural produce.

4. Increase of supplies for public works.

5. General amnesty and distribution of food to all insurgents who lay down their arms.

6. Formation of a Commission of Control, composed of Mussulmen and Christian notables of the province, to watch over the execution of the reforms.

The Porte also announces that Haidar Effendi has been named President of the Commission of Control, and will shortly arrive in Bosnia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDW. B. FREEMAN.

No. 342.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 7.)

(No. 70.) *St. Petersburgh, February 28, 1876.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 60 of the 16th instant, I have the honour to inclose a Memorandum which I have received from Mr. Michell, reporting information from a confidential and reliable source in regard to the reported concentration of Russian troops in Bessarabia.

This information, which is derived from Bessarabia, tends to confirm what I have previously reported to your Lordship, and to prove that the contemplated slight augmentation of military forces in the south of Russia is of no political significance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 342.

Memorandum.

I HAVE ascertained from a confidential and reliable source that the Russians forces in Bessarabia have only been strengthened by two regiments of cavalary. The cadres of the several regiments previously stationed in that province are being filled up by recruits taken from the last conscription.

At Odessa, and in its neighbourhood, a small increase has been made to the ordinary peace establishment of the troops. A regiment of infantry has been brought to Odessa, and reinforcements are expected in the summer, when the camp is to consist of the following troops: two regiments of infantry, six batteries of foot artillery, one battery of horse artillery, four batteries of steel guns, one sotnia of cossacks, one regiment of hussars; in all about 12,000 men; or nearly double the number at present at Odessa.

It is expected that a portion of these reinforcements will reach Odessa before the troops go under canvas, for about ten houses have been rented by the municipality for the accommodation of troops, over and above the large barracks that exist.

At about the beginning of the year the General in command of the Odessa district and the Chief of his Staff were summoned to St. Petersburg by telegraph. The General and his Staff were delayed for about ten days by the suspension of the railway traffic. Ultimately, the General went to Warsaw, where he remained some time, while the Chief of the Staff proceeded to St. Petersburg, where he is at the present moment, giving rise to a report that military measures are being concerted in view of eventualities in Turkey.

(Signed) JOHN MICHELL,
Her Britannic Majesty's Consul.

St. Petersburgh, February 22, 1876.

No. 343.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 7.)

(No. 72.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, February 28, 1876.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 51, of February 15th, I have the honour to inclose herewith a letter published by the "Journal de St. Petersbourg," from the correspondent of the "Journal de Genève" at Ragusa, on certain negotiations which are reported to have taken place between an Agent of Ali Pasha, the Turkish Commissioner at Mostar, and the Prince of Montenegro.

This letter is dated from Cettigne, 6th February, and must apparently have been written with the knowledge of the Prince.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 343.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of February 13/25, 1876.

Le correspondant de Raguse du "Journal de Genève" transmet à cette feuille, sous la date du 10 Février, la lettre suivante, qu'il dit avoir reçue de Cettigné et avoir "traduite lui-même du Slave:"—

"*Cettigné, le 6 Février*, 1876.

". . . . Je consens volontiers à vous dire ce que je sais sur tout cela; mais vous me permettrez de ne parler que des choses dont je suis absolument certain, sans m'occuper des mille bruits absurdes mis en circulation depuis quatre ou cinq jours.

"L'envoyé d'Aali Pacha est arrivé ici le 29 Janvier et a été reçu par le Prince le même jour. Je puis vous citer presque textuellement les paroles qu'il a prononcées:—

"'Altesse,' a-t-il dit, 'son Excellence Aali Pacha, le nouveau Commissaire de Sa Majesté le Sultan à Mostar, est arrivé à son poste. Son premier soin, en entrant en fonctions, a été de songer à vous faire connaître la ligne de conduite qu'en conformité des instructions de la Sublime Porte il se propose de tenir envers les insurgés. J'ai eu l'honneur d'être choisi pour cette mission délicate, et j'ai la certitude qu'avec la bienveillance de votre Altesse je la remplirai à la satisfaction de tous.

"'Son Excellence Aali Pacha m'a chargé de vous exposer que le Sultan est décidé à se montrer bon et juste pour les insurgés qui déposeront les armes, qui se soumettront. On pourvoira tout d'abord à leurs besoins urgents, en leur donnant des vivres en quantité nécessaire; en relation aux maux de l'état de guerre, on fera droit à leurs justes plaintes, et indépendamment des réformes générales à accomplir prochainement, aussi bien en Herzégovine que dans le reste de l'Empire, il sera fait prompte justice des abus locaux

qui pouvaient être données. Ces promesses, dans la pensée intime du Sultan pour ses sujets, seront fidèlement tenues et c'est les griefs qui ont poussé les populations à prendre les armes pouvant disparaître dès que ces populations elles-mêmes le voudront : disparu, même aujourd'hui. Rendre rentre alors, et avec lui la prospérité dans cette Province de l'Herzégovine, malheureusement entièrement dévastée par la guerre civile.

« Quelques-uns des sujets de votre Altesse ont aussi pris les armes et combattu avec les insurgés. Les troupes de Sa Majesté le Sultan ; ils ont mis ainsi, jusqu'à un certain point, le Monténégro dans l'insurrection, et c'est pour ce motif que son Excellence Aali Pacha a cru devoir communiquer à votre Altesse les dispositions récemment arrêtées par la Sublime Porte. Si les insurgés se soumettent—et s'ils ne veulent que la répression des injustices commises à leur égard, j'ai l'espoir qu'ils se soumettront—l'intervention en leur faveur des sujets de votre Altesse deviendra sans objet et devra cesser. Son Excellence Aali Pacha est même compter que votre Altesse daignera intervenir pour assurer ce résultat ; il y compte en vue de la justice, du droit, de l'humanité, trois mots qui auront toujours dans le cœur de votre Altesse un puissant écho.'

« Le Prince a répondu par quelques paroles gracieuses et amiables pour le Sultan, pour Aali Pacha et pour son Envoyé ; puis il a continué :—

« 'J'apprends avec un extrême plaisir que Sa Majesté le Sultan veut donner entière satisfaction aux populations révoltées et, comme vous, j'espère que cela mettra fin à la lutte et ramènera parmi elles l'ordre et la prospérité ; mais je ne puis rien sur ceux de mes sujets qui sont passés en Herzégovine. Comme l'ont fait, avant et après eux, des Italiens, des Français, des Allemands, des Anglais, des Russes, des Autrichiens, et même des Turcs, ils ont, volontairement, embrassé la cause des insurgés ; ce je ne pouvais les en empêcher. Je ne saurais davantage les rappeler aujourd'hui. Le bon sens cependant leur fera comprendre quel doit être leur devoir en pareille occurrence.'

« Je ne sais si l'envoyé d'Aali Pacha fut satisfait de cette réponse ; il s'inclina, puis il reprit :

« 'Ma mission officielle est remplie : j'ai maintenant une mission officieuse. La Sublime Porte sait que le Monténégro désire avoir un port sur l'Adriatique, et elle est disposée à lui en donner un en Albanie. On pourra même lui en donner deux, si l'on aide à votre Altesse, comme on paraît incliner à vouloir le faire à Constantinople, les territoires de Nikchitch, de Peniani, de Zubci, de Satorina. (Ce dernier territoire aboutit en effet à la mer dans les bouches de Cattaro.) Le Gouvernement du Sultan serait seulement désireux de connaître si, moyennant ces cessions de territoire et de ports, votre Altesse consentirait à retirer son appui moral à l'insurrection.'

« Le prince a répondu sans la moindre hésitation :

« 'Je suis très touché des propositions que vous me faites et j'en témoignerai toujours une grande reconnaissance à Sa Majesté le Sultan ; mais je ne puis les accepter. Pour ce qui est des cessions de territoires, si vous comprenez dans ces cessions la partie de l'Herzégovine qui va de Klek à Nikchitch en remontant jusqu'à Névésigné, on pourrait peut-être négocier. Mais si vous vous en tenez aux districts de Satorine, Zubci, Peniani, Nikchitch, il n'y a pas de voie à espérer. Non en ce qui me regarde, car moi personnellement je vous parle, pour le retour à la tranquillité, à l'ordre, même sans aucun avantage pour le Monténégro ; malheureusement les populations ne pensent pas de même ; elles ne veulent plus de joug Ottoman, et quelles que soient les réformes que l'on puisse leur promettre, elles préféreront décidées, à n'en pas vouloir attendre la réalisation ; elles disent au contraire qu'elles lutteront jusqu'à la mort pour leur indépendance complète, absolue.

« 'Dans ces conditions, et malgré le désir réel que j'ai de posséder un port dans l'Adriatique, je ne puis intervenir ; car mon intervention ne servirait à personne et nuirait peut-être à tout le monde.'

« L'envoyé d'Aali Pacha, hors de la franchise du prince, mais il déclare que ses instructions ne lui permettent point de poser les négociations sur ce terrain.

« 'Je répondrai,' dit-il, 'la réponse de votre Altesse à Son Excellence le Commissaire Impérial, et s'il y a lieu je reviendrai à Cettinié.'

« 'Vous y serez toujours le bienvenu,' répondit le prince.

« On parla ensuite de chasse et d'autres. L'envoyé Turc insista sur ce point qu'il était urgent de faire rentrer les récoltes ; il dit deux fois pour l'époque des semailles, c'est-à-dire pour Mars ou plus tard ; cependant, dit-il, les chrétiens demeureraient inactifs et il en résulterait l'année prochaine pour ces malheureux, malgré les secours qu'on pourrait leur faire venir, une grande famine.

« 'Le Sultan,' ajouta-t-il, 'ne pense qu'à leur donner de quoi vivre et labourer jusqu'au mois de septembre ; à cette époque si la tranquillité ne se fait pas il faudra, quelle que puisse être la solution qui sera donnée plus tard à la question de l'Herzégovine, il faudra nourrir la population entière de cette province jusqu'à la récolte de l'année suivante autant dire jusqu'à la fin de 1877. Or, admettons l'hypothèse, que je crois de pure théorie, de l'annexion de l'Herzégovine au Monténégro, dont les ressources sont si limitées : comment se tirera-t-il de toutes ces misères ? Prenons au contraire l'hypothèse de la constitution de l'Herzégovine en Etat indépendant—ce sera encore pis : la population mourra positivement de faim, ou il faudra que l'Europe lui fasse l'aumône pendant deux ans. Il n'y a donc qu'un moyen de terminer cette affaire honorablement et à la satisfaction de tous : C'est celui que j'ai eu l'honneur d'exposer à votre Altesse de la part de Son Excellence Aali Pacha et qui est approuvé à Constantinople.'

« La conversation avait pris une tournure amicale ; le prince répondit qu'il était très-frappé de la justesse des observations de l'envoyé Turc ; qu'à coup sûr ces observations méritaient d'être méditées, mûries, pesées, et qu'il ne manquerait point de le faire.

« 'Mais au surplus,' ajouta-t-il, 'vous me supposez sur les insurgés une influence que je n'ai jamais eue, et que je n'aurai peut-être jamais. Je ne suis point, soyez-en sûr, le maître de l'insurrection ; mon pouvoir dans le camp insurrectionnel est au contraire très-limité. Mais ce que je pourrai faire pour le bien de tous, pour le bien général, je le ferai, je vous le promets.'

« L'entretien continua sur ce ton quelque temps encore, puis l'envoyé Turc prit congé du prince.'

No. 311.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 7.)

(No. 76.)

St. Petersburgh, February 26, 1876.

My Lord,

IT is reported here that Caboulij Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador at this Court, lately sent a message to General Tchernaieff, the principal editor of the Russian "Mir" or "World," and invited him to call on him.

General Tchernaieff acceded to his request, although with some hesitation. He subsequently published in his paper an account of his interview with Caboulij Pasha (a copy of which, in translation, is annexed), and the conversation which had taken place on the question of the Herzegovina insurrection, in which it appears that Caboulij Pasha expressed his opinion that the only means of terminating the insurrection would be by extermination of the insurgents.

This opinion of the Turkish Ambassador when reported in a public journal, had produced an unfavourable impression, and had been much commented on in official circles here.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 311.

Extract from the "Russki Mir."

LE "MONDE RUSSE" ET SON EXCELLENCE KABOULI PACHA.—Voici l'article du "Monde Russe," dont le télégraphe a déjà fait connaître la substance à nos lecteurs et dans lequel le rédacteur en chef de cette feuille, M. Tchernaïeff, rend compte d'une conversation qu'il a eu avec l'Ambassadeur de Turquie. "Nous avons eu ces jours-ci," dit le rédacteur du "Monde," "l'occasion de nous entretenir avec l'Ambassadeur de Turquie, son Excellence Kabouli Pacha, sur l'insurrection des Slaves. Comme cette conversation n'a eu en aucune façon un caractère confidentiel, nous ne croyons pas inutile de faire connaître à nos lecteurs l'opinion de la Porte Ottomane sur les moyens de pacifier l'Herzégovine et la Bosnie. Parlant des affaires de l'Herzégovine, l'Ambassadeur a dit tout d'abord qu'on avait eu Russie une idée fausse de l'armée Turque. On s'imagine ici, dit-il, que nous ne sommes pas en mesure d'en finir avec les insurgés, ce qui aurait été accompli depuis longtemps si nous avions pu leur faire une guerre en règle. L'Ambassadeur s'arrêta ici à ses propres souvenirs de l'île de Candie en 1869, et ajouta, 'quand nos troupes entrent dans un village, les habitants font mine de continuer leurs travaux ; les vieillards, les femmes et enfants viennent au devant d'elles en leur apportant de l'eau, puis les désarment et demandent leur appui pour les défendre contre les brigands réunis dans la montagne (les insurgés).' (M. Tchernaïeff rappelle ici en note les engagements

ments où les Turcs ont été battus par les insurgés, notamment ceux de Dabré, Jaconé, Pálanké, Mourakovitch, Plané, Trkovizé, Radovanové.) 'A peine nos troupes se sont-elles remises en route, que les insurgés descendent des montagnes et trouvent dans les villages aide, secours et abri jusqu'à ce qu'ils ne reprennent le chemin de la montagne. Cela s'est toujours passé ainsi tant que nous avons combattu l'insurrection en rase campagne. Tout a changé du jour où nous avons adopté le système des blockhaus. Au moyen de ces postes fortifiés nous avons séparé les différentes localités et leur avons coupé toute communication avec les insurgés de la montagne. Puis resserrant ceux-ci de plus en plus près, nous les avons réduits dans l'impossibilité de continuer la lutte. La même chose s'est renouvellée cette fois-ci en Herzégovine. Avec ces gens là, il est impossible d'essayer de s'entendre et de négocier parce qu'on ne peut pas compter qu'ils tiendront leurs promesses.'* Pour prouver son dire l'Ambassadeur eut encore recours à sa propre expérience. 'Dans une des insurrections antérieures en Herzégovine, j'y fus envoyé,' dit-il, 'pour rétablir l'ordre. Mes troupes réussirent à faire prisonnier un insurgé. Je le fis venir et lui promis de le relâcher, de lui donner de l'argent pour s'en retourner chez lui sans même lui faire promettre qu'il ne nous combattrait plus, mais à la seule condition qu'il prendrait avec lui et répandrait autour de lui parmi les insurgés cent exemplaires de ma proclamation. Il me le promit et jura qu'il ne porterait plus les armes contre nous. Je lui répétai que je n'avais point besoin de ce serment, que sa présence dans les rangs ennemis m'était parfaitement indifférente. A peine, cependant, avait-il franchi nos avant-postes qu'il m'avertit par une lettre qu'il lui était impossible de tenir son engagement, qu'il avait brûlé mes proclamations, mais qu'il maintenait son serment de ne plus porter les armes contre nous. Peut-on, après cela,' me dit son Excellence, 'compter sur la parole de ces gens là? Le seul moyen,' reprit-il, 'd'en finir avec l'insurrection, c'est de les exterminer, mais cela ne peut pas se faire,' ajouta t-il.

"Que dire," dit le "Monde," "l'opinion du représentant de la Porte sur le moyen de pacifier l'Herzégovine. Si c'est là en même temps l'opinion du Gouvernement Turc, ce dont il serait difficile de douter, l'acceptation par le Sultan de la note du Comte Andrassy n'est plus qu'une amère dérision à l'égard des Grandes Puissances."

No. 345.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 7.)

(No. 77.) *St. Petersburgh, February 29, 1876.*

My Lord,

AT an interview I had this day with Prince Gortchakow, I mentioned to his Highness, in conformity with the instructions of your Lordship's despatch No. 81 of the 16th instant, the statement referred to by Sir Henry Elliot in his despatch No. 127 of the 30th ultimo, in regard to the system pursued by the Montenegrins in aid of the Herzegovine insurgents.

His Highness replied that the position of the Prince of Montenegro had been not only one of great difficulty, but one of some personal danger. He had abstained from joining the insurgents, but he had not been able to prevent certain of his subjects from enlisting in their cause.

With an extended frontier, with a population wholly sympathising with their co-religionists, and with a warlike race like the Montenegrins, full of military ardour and of hatred to the Turks, it was no easy matter for the Prince of Montenegro to withstand the pressure put on him, even at the risk of his life.

He had, however, succeeded in holding back his subjects, although there may possibly be 300 or 400 who, at their own risk and peril, had joined the insurgents.

His Highness, however, did not admit that the participation of Montenegro had taken place with the cognizance of the Prince of Montenegro, and referred to the counsels and warnings which had been repeatedly given him from St. Petersburgh, and to which he had conformed as far as he had been able to do so.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

* "Que dire," fait observer le "Monde," "du Gouvernement Turc, après tous ses hatti-houmaïoun, ses hatti-chérif, ses firmâns solennels, restés sans effet quelqu'en exécution du Traité de Paris?"

No. 346.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 7.)

(No. 80.) *St. Petersburgh, February 29, 1876.*

My Lord,

I HAD an interview with Prince Gortchakow this day, and, in conformity with the instructions of your Lordship's despatch No. 100 of the 23rd instant, I brought under his notice verbally the statements contained in Sir Henry Elliot's despatch No. 134 of the 14th instant, in regard to the encouragement and countenance given to the insurgents by the Russian Consul at Ragusa.

I stated that Her Majesty's Government had received these reports from a reliable source, and that I was instructed by your Lordship to mention them to his Highness, as the facts referred to were calculated to give a false impression of the policy of the Imperial Government in regard to the insurrection.

Prince Gortchakow said that he had already received from Constantinople the information I was instructed to communicate, which had been mentioned by Sir Henry Elliot. He did not deny the facts; but observed that M. Jonini, the Russian Consul, had been most instrumental in preventing the Prince of Montenegro from openly co-operating with the insurgents; that he had strictly and successfully carried out his instructions to warn the Prince of Montenegro of the dangers he would incur by acting against the pacific efforts of the European Powers; that he could not interfere with the feelings of humanity which had led M. Jonini to succour the wounded and pay the last tribute of respect to a deceased friend, nor could he disavow him on account of these sentiments.

I observed to his Highness that, while giving full latitude to the personal opinions and private feelings of M. Jonini, he was still an official servant of the Imperial Government, and that his public acts, if in contravention of the policy of his Government, would naturally give rise to distrust and suspicion.

Prince Gortchakow replied that the policy of the Imperial Government could not be misinterpreted, it was clear and open as noon-day. The most stringent counsels had been given both to the Prince of Servia and Prince of Montenegro, and M. Jonini had rendered great service in exercising a salutary influence on the Prince of Montenegro.

His Highness further remarked that M. Jonini had considerable influence in those parts, which could now be usefully exercised in inducing the insurgents to submit and the refugees to return to their homes.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 347.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 7.)

(No. 82.) *St. Petersburgh, February 29, 1876.*

My Lord,

IN reply to my inquiry to-day, M. de Giers stated that he did not believe that any alliance had been contracted between Servia, Montenegro, and Roumania, which implied engagements of a binding nature. There had been "pourparlers" and an exchange of opinions; but he did not think that any positive engagements had been entered into.

With the intimacy existing between Russia and the Prince of Montenegro, it is not likely that any engagements of a political nature would have been taken by the Prince of Montenegro without the knowledge of the Imperial Government.

I have the honour to enclose to your Lordship herewith the précis of an article from the "Golos," published in the "Journal de St. Petersbourg," on the political attitude and position of Servia and Montenegro, which may be said to represent pretty correctly the sentiments and opinions of the Imperial Government.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

I have, &c.

No. 348.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 7.)

(No. 83.) *St. Petersburgh, February 29, 1876.*

My Lord,

AT my interview with Prince Gortchakow to-day, I inquired from His Highness how matters were progressing towards the pacification of the Herzegovine.

Prince Gortchakow expressed himself hopefully, although he said nothing of a decided nature had taken yet place. His Highness observed that the Porte had acted wisely, and that the Grand Vizier and Raschid Pasha had shown courage and decision in the part they had taken.

He referred to the visit to Vienna of General Rodich, the Austrian Governor-General of Dalmatia, and considered that his influence on the insurgents and refugees would be most salutary. Of Slavonic origin himself, and known to possess strong sympathies for the population of the Herzegovine, General Rodich was specially fitted for the important task committed to him, and he entertained no doubt that his voice and counsel would have great weight with the insurgents and refugees.

Prince Gortchakow further observed that more stringent measures were being adopted by Austria on her frontiers, which would exercise a considerable moral influence on the adjoining population.

I subsequently had an interview with M. de Giers, who stated that conciliatory influences were now at work, not only the part of Austria, but also on the part of Ali Pasha, who was endeavouring to gain over the moderate chiefs and partisans of the insurrectionary party, and he hoped with some success.

M. de Giers stated to me most emphatically that under no circumstances would Russia act alone (his words were "en tête à tête") or separate herself from the other powers in the Eastern question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 349.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 7.)

Constantinople, March 7, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)
RASCHID PASHA has telegraphed, but has not yet received a reply respecting book spoken of by Acting Consul Freeman.

He is strongly of opinion that the publication of irritating matter in Bosnia is very undesirable.

No. 350.

*Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received March* 8.)

Constantinople, March 8, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)
INFORMATION has been received by the Porte of a severe fight on the Dalmatian frontier on Saturday.

On the following day the combat was renewed by a body said to be of 700 men, who came from the Austrian territory with large supplies of ammunition.

This occurrence, so immediately after the assurances of the Austrian Government that their frontier should be efficiently guarded, has produced great discouragement at the Porte.

It is feared that the effect of it in Montenegro will be very mischievous.

No. 351.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.†

Foreign Office, March 8, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)
I HAVE to instruct you to call the serious attention of the Austrian Government to the report contained in Sir Henry Elliot's telegram of the 8th instant.

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* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.
† Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Constantinople.

No. 352.

*Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received March* 9.)

Vienna, March 9, 1876.

(Telegraphic)
(Confidential.)
WITH reference to your telegram of yesterday, I executed your instructions to-day in an interview with Count Andrassy. He said some information had reached him from Constantinople, but he only knew of one band under Musics being near the frontier, which Ljubibratics, who had left Ragusa under a false pretence, had probably joined with a small following. General Rodich had gone to Zara to open the Diet, but, in conformity with suggestion of the Prince of Montenegro, he was instructed to go to Sutorina to urge insurgent Chiefs to accept amnesty.

His Excellency considers it essential to success of such representations that the Turks should avoid conflicts with insurgents, and that they should rather, by acting in large masses, push them quietly towards the Dalmatian frontier, on crossing which they would be disarmed. He urges immediate arrival of Turkish Commissioners, and as he believes that a change of Government at the Porte would prove fatal to his efforts in favour of peace, Count Zichy is to communicate this conviction either personally or indirectly to the Sultan, and he suggests that Sir H. Elliot should do so likewise.

No. 353.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.†—(*Received March* 9.)

St. Petersburgh, March 9, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)
ASSISTANT Minister for Foreign Affairs informs me that as yet no proposal has been received from Count Andrassy to prohibit export of arms from Bessarabian frontier, as mentioned in Sir A. Buchanan's telegram of the 3rd instant.

No. 354.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

Foreign Office, March 9, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)
MR. GREEN brings with him the revise of the papers for Parliament respecting the Herzegovina.

No. 355.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.‡—(*Received March* 9, *at night.*)

Belgrade, March 9, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)
MILITARY preparations slacking here on account of, it is said, Russian advice.

Forty arrests at the place where Ferdinand disturbance occurred last week, that insignificant riot having given rise to the most alarming reports.

No. 356.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 10.)

Constantinople, February 17, 1876.

(No. 207.)
My Lord,
I AM informed that the Emperor of Russia yesterday telegraphed in very strong terms to the Princes of Servia and Montenegro, urging them to abstain from doing anything calculated to defeat the efforts of the Powers to bring about a pacification in the Herzegovina.

* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Rome, St. Petersburgh and Constantinople.
† Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Constantinople, and Rome.
‡ Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.

I understand that His Imperial Majesty distinctly warns the Princes that if they act differently they must not expect either the moral support or even the sympathy of Europe to save them from the consequences which they may bring upon themselves.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 357.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 10.)

(No. 209.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February 17, 1876.*

I HAVE been informed on good authority that Prince Charles of Roumania has declared that it would be an unendurable humiliation to him to remain the vassal of a Suzerain, towards whom the Great Powers of Europe have manifested so great a mark of disrespect as the presentation of Count Andrassy's despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 358.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 10.)

(No. 210.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February 17, 1876.*

THE readjustment of the tax for exemption from military service, according to the terms of the Firman of December, is found to be attended with difficulty.

The grievance complained of by the Christains was that the tax was required from all male members of their communities, by children from their birth and old men long past service; and the Firman proclaimed that it should not for the future be enforced upon these two categories.

Unless, therefore, the Government were to abandon a large proportion of the revenue derived from the tax, it became necessary greatly to raise the amount to be paid by each individual of an age to serve.

This they are unwilling, and declare themselves unable, to do.

The Government, on the other hand, represent, unfortunately with too much reason, that they are not in a position which would justify them in making any sacrifice of revenue, but they have referred the question to the different Christian communities, and are disposed to accept any mode which they may indicate as the least onerous for ensuring the collection of the sum hitherto taken.

The discussion of this question has naturally led to that of the expediency of rendering the Christians liable to military service, for which some of them, and especially the Bulgarians, are showing themselves disposed to ask.

They are aware that the conscription would, in many respects, press more heavily upon them than the exemption tax, but they know likewise that no Firmans or regulations will do so much to bring about a real equality between Mussulman and Christian.

The present Ministers are not, I believe, prepared to entertain the proposal if it should be brought forward.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 359.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 10.)

(No. 212.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February 18, 1876.*

THIS being Friday, the time of the noonday prayer was looked to with interest by the public, for the Sultan having been unable to attend it last week, and being known not to have left his harem in the interval, speculation was rife respecting his condition.

His Majesty, however, appeared, and the alarming rumours have been quieted.

The Ministers of War and of Marine attended the ceremony, as is the custom, and the Sultan afterwards granted them audiences, at which I understand him to have spoken in no flattering terms of the Grand Vizier.

It is not, indeed, to be doubted that His Majesty is extremely dissatisfied with Mahmoud Pasha, and he is at little pains to conceal this from the other Ministers, though the Grand Vizier himself receives frequent messages from His Majesty, assuring him of his confidence and support.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 360.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 10.)

(No. 213.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February 18, 1876.*

COUNT ZICHY, by order of his Government, has conveyed to the Porte, for communication to the Sultan, the acknowledgment of the Emperor of Austria for the manner in which His Majesty had received the proposals submitted to his consideration.

He at the same time gave the most satisfactory assurances with regard to the measures which the Austro-Hungarian Government were prepared to take for preventing their subjects from continuing to assist the insurrection.

Efficient steps had already been adopted in respect to the Croatian frontier, and they would at once be applied to that of Dalmatia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 361.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 10.)

(No. 220.)
My Lord, *Pera, February 20, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that an amnesty will shortly be published in favour of the insurgents who lay down their arms or return to their homes within a month.

The houses being destroyed, the refugees who had left the country will be assisted in restoring them, and measures are also being concerted for the maintenance of those who are destitute of the means of living.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 362.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 10.)

(No. 221. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February 20, 1876.*

MR. CONSUL HOLMES has stated in his despatches that he believes it would be good policy on the part of Turkey to cede to the Prince of Montenegro certain small districts on the frontier, and also the sea port of Spitz.

The districts in question are of no sort of value to Turkey, but rather a cause of embarrassment. They administer their own affairs without interference from the Ottoman authorities, and they not only pay no taxes, but receive some small assistance from the Province to which they nominally belong.

There never were people who had less cause for complaint against their rulers, but they are all numbered among those who are popularly considered as having been driven to desperation by intolerable oppression.

The cession of these districts would certainly be no real loss to Turkey, and the grant of the port of Spitz may also be advocated on many excellent grounds.

Mr. Holmes having mentioned to the Russian Ambassador that the relations between Montenegro and the Porte would be benefited by this cession, General Ignatiew has spoken of it to me with unusual earnestness.

I remarked that the suggestion was far from being a new one, having often been brought forward before, but at this moment I did not think it was possible to expect that

the Turkish Government would ever be induced to make a gift of territory to the Prince of whom they had so much reason to complain.

I reminded him that, on one occasion when the suggestion was made, Fuad Pasha had answered that it was especially the Russian Government which had rendered it impossible, by asserting Montenegro to be an independent State; for while it might be easy for the Porte to change the delimitations of Provinces forming part of the Sultan's dominions, the cession of territory to an independent State was a very different thing.

General Ignatiew replied that he perfectly remembered this answer, but he was convinced that, if the Porte was disposed to entertain the proposal, the recognition of the sovereignty of the Sultan might be obtained from the Prince in return.

He expressed his certainty of being able to secure this result in very confident terms, declaring "que je me fais fort de l'obtenir."

Some of my colleagues, as well as myself, have been struck by the great eagerness shown by General Ignatiew upon this subject.

It may be explained by his anxiety to save his Government from the reproach of having deserted the Slavs, as they were reproached for deserting the Greeks after the Cretan insurrection, by which they forfeited the confidence of the whole Hellenic race, and have never been able to recover it.

There has long been reason to believe that the Prince of Montenegro received assurances that he should not be a loser if he allowed himself to be guided by Russia, and he has implicitly followed the course pointed out to him.

If, on the occasion, he abstained from declaring war with Turkey out of deference to the injunctions received from St. Petersburgh, the Russian Consul-General at Ragusa has, on the other hand, been his confidential adviser in the convowed assistance by which he has mainly contributed to keep the insurrection alive.

The part taken by the Consul-General has been one of such open encouragement to the insurrection that Mr. Holmes, who has been an impartial eye-witness of it, refuses to believe it possible that Russia will venture to withdraw from the cause she has been supporting without being able to point to some practical benefit which she had secured for Montenegro.

This would, he says, be so universally regarded by the Slav populations as a defeat sustained by Russia, that their consideration for that Power, and their trust in it, would be greatly lowered.

If the pacific tendencies of the Emperor, or the engagements into which he has entered with Austria, have determined him really to support Count Andrassy in the efforts which that Minister is at last certainly making to bring the insurrection to an end, his Ambassador is probably much more alive than His Majesty to the effect which it will have upon the Russian influence over the Slavs, and it is intelligible that he should endeavour to avert it by simultaneously obtaining from the Porte a concession to Montenegro, to which much more value will be attached than to the administrative reforms for the revolted districts.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 363.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 10.)

(No. 222.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February 20, 1876.*

IN a preceding despatch I have alluded to the suggestion that the recognition by the Prince of Montenegro of the Suzerainty of the Sultan might possibly be obtained if some small districts were granted to the Principality.

Such a recognition would agreeably flatter the pride or vanity of the Turks, who attach an exaggerated importance to the theoretical and unprofitable territorial claims of their sovereign, but the practical benefit of it is not so certain, although the present undefined position of Montenegro is no doubt eminently unsatisfactory.

Most Governments have abstained from pronouncing an opinion whether the Principality properly [illegible] for facing or not, but Russia frankly asserts its independence, and exerts over it an influence or protectorate which [illegible] is no degree shaken by the attempt of Austria to bid for a share of them.

Nothing could be said against a simple recognition of the Suzerainty of the Sultan, but if the intention is to propose to put the Principality in the same position as the other

vassal States, under a guarantee of the six Powers, Her Majesty's Government might not regard it with equal favour.

Against any advantage to be expected from an arrangement which should partially withdraw Montenegro from the exclusive Protectorate of Russia must be placed the probability that a European guarantee of its autonomy, such as is enjoyed by Servia and Roumania, would operate as an encouragement to acts which Turkey would be debarred from resenting, excepting after concert with all the Powers.

If the question is seriously brought forward it will call for much consideration, but at present I am inclined to doubt whether it would be advisable for Her Majesty's Government to be a party to an arrangement such as I have alluded to.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 364.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 10.)

(No. 227.)
My Lord, *Pera, February 22, 1876.*

I HAVE given Raschid Pasha an extract from Mr. Acting Consul Freeman's despatch No. 7 of the 3rd instant, commenting upon some of the late judicial appointments in Bosnia.

Those who are acquainted with this country know that all reforms depend upon the selection of the public functionaries much more than upon the regulations and orders issued by the Porte.

The Grand Vizier, to whom I also spoke about the persons mentioned by Mr. Freeman, excused himself on the plea that all judicial appointments in the provinces were made by the Minister of Justice, without reference to him.

The appointment of one of the two individuals has, however, already been cancelled, and further inquiries will be made into the character of the other.

His Highness further complained that more than a month ago the papers respecting the arrangement to be made for the appointment of Christian Caimakams in Bulgaria had been sent to the Minister of Justice, who, up to this time, had done nothing in the matter.

He would now take it into his own hands.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 365.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 10.)

(No. 228.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February 22, 1876.*

HAYDAR EFFENDI and Yussh Effendi have been appointed to proceed respectively to Bosnia and the Herzegovina to superintend the carrying out of the new measures of reform.

The former is a Mussulman of very liberal principles, who was long Turkish Ambassador at Vienna, and the second is a Christian employé of the Porte, well acquainted with the province.

I have had conversations with both these gentlemen, who seem much in earnest in the task they have before them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 366.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 10.)

(No. 241.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February 28, 1876.*

I HAVE asked Count Zichy whether he had received any particulars of the incident mentioned in Mr. Acting Consul Freeman's despatch of the 11th, respecting the violation

of the Austrian frontier near Novi by the Turkish troops, who were said to have burnt a village and killed some old people.

Count Zichy said that he had heard nothing whatever of any such occurrence, though he felt sure that if anything serious had taken place he would have been informed of it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 367.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 10.)

(No. 242.) *Pera, February* 28, 1875.

My Lord,

THE Turkish Ambassador at Berlin appears to have given Raschid Pasha much the same account of the supposed mission of Lord Campbell to Prince Bismarck as is contained in Lord Odo Russell's Confidential despatch to your Lordship No. 68.

Raschid Pasha declares that all he did was to write a short private note to Lord Campbell, whom he understood to be intimate with Prince Bismarck, asking him to tell the Prince quite openly what he heard while at Constantinople respecting the manner in which the insurrection in the Herzegovina was kept alive.

The pretended Memorandum of Instructions which he was supposed to have given to Lord Campbell was a pure fiction.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 368.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 10.)

(No. 243.) *Constantinople, February* 29, 1876.

My Lord,

THE apprehensions of the Christians of an attack upon them by the Mahometans, which were conveyed to your Lordship in the letter of the Church Missionary Society inclosed in your despatch No. 104, have been general in all parts of the Empire, but have now greatly subsided.

The native Christians were much less alarmed than the foreigners, and at Constantinople it was especially the English who gave way to apprehensions for which I was unable to discover any sufficient justification.

The calling out of the redifs caused discontent and distress, and, being attributed to the revolt of the Christians in the northern provinces, a decided irritation against the whole community was a not unnatural consequence.

It is impossible ever to feel perfect confidence that there may not be instances in which this irritation may lead to acts of violence, but, as far as I have been able to ascertain, the cause for anxiety is much less than has been represented.

If, however, the insurrection in the Herzegovina should end in a military occupation by foreign Powers, the indignation which it would create among the Mussulman populations would be so great as to render the position of the Christians extremely critical throughout the Empire.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 369.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 10.)

(No. 245.) *Constantinople, February* 29, 1876.

My Lord,

THE accounts received from the Herzegovina are of an encouraging nature and calculated to give rise to hopes that the Insurgents are making up their minds to discontinue the contest.

General Rodich, who is understood to have received peremptory injunctions from the Emperor of Austria, is at Cettinje, where the principal insurgent leaders are also collected.

These, according to a report received from Mooktar Pasha, have sent messages to the Mussulman Beys in the Herzegovina, to say that as there was a prospect of pacification, they hoped that they might again live together in harmony.

The arrangements respecting an amnesty and the return of the refugees have been submitted for the approval of the Sultan, and their publication may be expected almost immediately.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 370.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 10.)

(No. 249.) *Constantinople, February* 29, 1876.

My Lord,

SERVER PASHA expresses himself as much satisfied with the assurances which he has received from the Austrian Ambassador of the determination of his Government to do all in their power to discountenance the continuance of the insurrection.

It is considered here that the difficulty of closing the frontier against the insurgents has been greatly exaggerated.

It is thought that as, notwithstanding the nature of the country, the Porte was able effectually to guard the same frontier when the Dalmatians were in insurrection six years ago, an exhibition of a similar good will on the part of Austria will prove equally efficacious.

As no doubt is entertained of the sincerity of the assurances given by the Austrian Government, there are confident hopes that good results will follow.

Not the least important of the measures, which can be adopted as influencing the conduct of Montenegro, will be the closing of the Bocche di Cattaro against the Insurgents, which Raschid Pasha tells me has been promised by the Austrian Ambassador.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 371.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 10.)

(No. 250. Confidential.) *Constantinople, February* 29, 1876.

My Lord,

THE language held by General Ignatiew, not only to his colleagues but to persons not likely to abstain from repeating it, leads to the certain conclusion that, as far as depends upon him, he will endeavour to frustrate the attempts at pacification, unless concessions are made to Montenegro.

The General's position and proceedings are so peculiar that it is impossible to form a confident opinion as to the extent to which he acts with the concurrence of his Government.

My own impression is that he is allowed very great latitude, and that his Government are not informed, and do not wish to be informed, of much that he does.

He is in constant direct personal communication with the Prince of Montenegro, and when what he writes does not agree with what is said from St. Petersburg, the Prince no doubt believes that, if the latter conveys the ostensible policy of Russia, her real policy is to be learnt from the Ambassador at Constantinople.

The collapse of the insurrection without benefit to Montenegro would be a severe, though probably momentary, blow to the Russian influence, but a still greater one to that of General Ignatiew himself, and, if the Emperor has determined loyally to support the present pacific efforts of Austria, his Ambassador is anxious that it should be known that he personally objects to the course.

He wishes that the efforts of the powers to induce the Insurgents to abandon the struggle should be made conditional on the cession to Montenegro of the Turkish district which it covets.

The Porte will not hear of this being even discussed at present; and after the acceptance of the Austrian proposals upon the understanding that the powers would discourage the continuance of the insurrection, a cession of territory could not with any

decency be pressed upon its acceptance as the condition upon which their goodwill was to be obtained.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 372.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(No. 93.) *Foreign Office, March 10, 1876.*

Sir,

I HAVE to inform your Excellency that it has come to the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government, through Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, that the Porte had received information that a severe fight took place on the Dalmatian frontier on the 4th instant, and that on the following day the combat was renewed by a force said to be 700 strong, who came from Austrian territory with large supplies of ammunition, and that this having occurred so immediately after the assurances of the Austro-Hungarian Government that their frontier should be efficiently guarded has caused great discouragement to the Turkish Government, and that it is feared that the effect of it in Montenegro will be very mischievous, and I have, therefore, to request your Excellency to call the serious attention of the Imperial Government to this matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 373.

Consul-General Stanley to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 11.)

(No. 2. Political. Confidential.) *Odessa, March 5, 1876.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt this day of your Lordship's despatch, Confidential, No. 2 of the 14th February, stating that your Lordship hardly thinks it advisable I should myself visit Bessarabia, and instructing me to report if I know of any trustworthy person whom I could send.

I notice that your Lordship had not received my letter on the subject, dated 1st February, sent through Her Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople, in which I entered into fuller details than I had done in my letter of 31st January.

I regret that I know of no trustworthy person here who would be available for the mission except Mr. Vice-Consul Hunt, and he could ill be spared from the office work, which is very heavy just now, and it would lead to much confusion were I or any other person to take the management of the books and accounts which are under his charge. Those others who are qualified are in business; and even could I find one with leisure to go, which I doubt, the cost would be greater than were the mission undertaken by one in Her Majesty's service, as the former would, in addition to the expenses incurred, expect a remuneration for his services, nor would he probably do it so thoroughly.

I do not think it would be at all advisable, and I should be personally averse to going in any sort of disguise. It would be unnecessary to call attention to my absence, but were it remarked, the explanation given would be that it was a general tour of inspection of my Consular district, entered on with special relation to agriculture, the routine of crops, mode of sowing, and breed of cattle. These are subjects which are known to interest me, and would, I think, be deemed a sufficient motive; and the information I should thus gather would, I hope, be useful.

By the beginning of April the country will be more practicable for wheeled carriages, and the journey would cost much less than in the winter months.

I have no wish to go, and am merely doing myself the honour of stating some reasons which may remove your Lordship's objections to my going, should I, were there no such objections, be considered the fittest person for the mission. This is on the supposition that your Lordship wishes to obtain the information at once.

I do not say that I cannot obtain it here, but it would take a long time, and would not be so reliable as that derived from personal observation.

The only other person I know of is Mr. Vice-Consul Phillips, of Kertch, who would accomplish the mission with intelligence and tact. He speaks Russian sufficiently well, is young, and would have no objection to the common post-cart and to other discomforts inseparable from travel in South Russia, and would do the journey economically.

I have, however, ventured to recommend him for the post of Inspector of Grain-loaded Vessels at Taganrog.

Should he receive this appointment, and should your Lordship also approve of his being sent to Bessabaria, Mr. Consul Carruthers at Taganrog would doubtless make arrangements for the inspection of vessels in Mr. Phillips' absence, and I would personally give Mr. Phillips instructions as to his conduct when in Bessabaria. He could be here two days after I received authority to send him.

He is unknown here, and his movements could cause no comment.

With regard to the concentration of troops in Bessarabia, I believe the fact to be that the number of regiments has not been increased there, with the exception of some squadrons of cavalry, but that those which are there have been raised to their full strength, and are ready to march anywhere at the shortest notice. In Odessa itself the number of all troops does not exceed 3,500.

I have taken advantage of an English gentleman going to England to send this letter by him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. E. STANLEY.

No. 374.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.†—(Received March 11.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Vienna, March 11, 1876.*

LJUBIBRATICS, whilst resting within the Austrian frontier, has been arrested. If his doubtful claim to an Austrian nationality can be established, civil proceedings must be taken for his detention. Count Andrassy says conflict is now one fabricated (by?) telegrams, but though time may be necessary for the pacification of the country, the intervention of Servia and Montenegro, and a general conflict has been prevented. He sends to-day an energetic instruction to Belgrade. He has not asked Russia to close her frontier, as he has not yet heard of arms being received from it. General Rodich reports difficulty in effecting a meeting with insurgent chiefs, who are lurking around Turkish cantonments.

No. 375.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 13.)

(No. 6. Political.)

My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, March 2, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that a small band of armed Servians crossed the Bosnian frontier a few days ago in the neighbourhood of Vishegrad. The strength of the band has been variously stated, but, from the most reliable information I can obtain, I believe it consisted of a very few individuals, whose object was probably to make a reconnaissance in that neighbourhood, and also to ascertain the state of feeling of the Christian population. This band was attacked by the Turks, but offered no resistance, and retired across the frontier with the loss of one its number.

The Austrian Consul-General here informs me that stringent measures are being taken to insure a strict observance of neutrality on the Bosnian and Herzegovinian frontiers, and that the refugees from those provinces have been informed that after the expiration of fifteen days they will no longer receive any assistance either in food or money from the Austrian Government. Small as the sum was hitherto given them, the withdrawal of such aid will doubtless be the cause of great misery; but yet I fear it will not influence the return of the refugees to their homes. In every direction the insurgents seem to be animated by the same continued determination to fight to the last rather than again submit to Turkish authority. Active preparations for war have been going on all the winter in Servia, and I was shown to-day a private letter from Mr. Principality stating that it was expected an invasion of Bosnia in force would take place about the second week in March. Of course much depends on the state of the weather; but should

† Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Constantinople, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

it continue as favourable as at the present moment, I think some offensive movement may shortly be expected.

From the Herzegovina I hear that his Excellency Ali Pasha has lately made a tour through the districts of Ljubushki, Gabella, and Stolatz, and that he found the Christian population, which is however chiefly Catholic, well disposed towards the Government. At Dolanje his Excellency gave orders for the immediate reconstruction, at the expense of the Government, of the church and priest's house which was destroyed by the Turks during the early part of the insurrection.

At the present moment, when no public works or improvements of any kind are undertaken in this province, I cannot refrain from mentioning a fact which is highly characteristic of the present temper of the Turks. Orders were received here last week from Constantinople to construct a second minaret to the chief mosque of this town, and the works have been already commenced. It is to be built much higher than the existing one that it may command the Orthodox church and steeple. The execution of this work at the present juncture, when, notwithstanding the proclamation of religious liberty, the Christians are refused the permission so ardently desired to have bells in their churches, cannot be regarded otherwise than as a demonstration of Mussulman fanaticism and superiority. Many people are inclined to think that the matter of church bells is of very little consequence, but I am convinced that the Christians of all classes attach great importance to it, and were a free permission immediately granted to put up bells wherever desired in the churches of this province, it would probably do more than any other measure to convince the population that the Porte was this time earnest in its intentions of reform. Ibrahim Pasha refuses to take the initiative in this or in any other matter. He passes the greater part of his time in his harem, and is a mere puppet in the hands of a few influential native Mussulmans. The arrival of Haidar Effendi is anxiously awaited; and it is hoped that he will show more energy and firmness, and keep himself free from all pernicious local influence.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 376.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 13.)

(No. 112. Confidential.)

Vienna, March 8, 1876.

My Lord,

THE accounts which arrive here as to the probability of the reforms of the Porte effecting the pacification of the Herzegovina are very contradictory, and they evidently take their colour from the wishes and hopes of the persons who forward them.

Count Andrassy, however, admitting that the entire suppression of the insurrection and the return of the refugees may be attended with difficulties, continues to speak confidently on the subject, and he said to me recently that possible changes in the Government at Constantinople, through the caprice of the Sultan, were, in his opinion, more likely to prevent the success of the measures in progress for restoring tranquillity in the province than any unwillingness of the insurgents to lay down their arms, or of the refugees to return to it.

There is no doubt, however, that the Representatives of the refugees, with whom General Rodich has been in communication, have declared that, until their fellow-countrymen in arms have accepted the amnesty offered by the Sultan, it will be impossible for them to leave Dalmatia, as they would have to fear ill-treatment, not only from the Mussulmans, but also from the insurgents, who might endeavour to prevent their returning peaceably to their villages. It is hoped here, however, that when the conciliatory measures to be taken by the Turkish authorities are more advanced, these objections will be got over, and the refugees who refuse to return will receive no assistance from the Government after the end of the month.

General Rodich's mission to Cettigné is represented to have been successful, Prince Nicolas having engaged not only to give no encouragement to the insurgents, but also to use his influence with them in favour of peace; and it is therefore believed that the Chiefs of the insurrection will see the hopelessness of continuing hostilities, when they find that supplies and assistance can neither reach them from Dalmatia nor from Montenegro.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 377.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 13.)

(No. 116.)

Vienna, March 8, 1876.

My Lord,

THE expenditure which has been incurred in Croatia and Dalmatia in supplying food and other necessaries to the Bosnian and Herzegovinian refugees amounts, up to the present date, to about 700,000 florins, and it is believed that, when the Delegations meet at Buda-Pesth next month, they will be asked to provide the funds requisite for covering the outlay.

The question as to whether each section of the Monarchy should meet its own expenditure, or as to whether the assistance given to the refugees should be a charge on the common Budget, may give rise to some discussion, for as Hungary is only liable for 30 per cent. of the common expenses, the respective shares of the two countries may be considerably affected by the decision which may be taken on the subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

March 9.

P.S.—Since writing the above a Pesth newspaper considers that the expenditure incurred for maintaining the refugees must have exceeded 700,000 florins, as it believes the Hungarian Ministry of Finance alone has advanced 400,000 florins for the purpose.

A. B.

No. 378.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 13.)

(No. 127. Confidential.)

Vienna, March 9, 1876.

My Lord,

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, I have the honour to inform you that I waited this morning on Count Andrassy, and stated to him that I had been instructed to call the serious attention of the Imperial Government to the intelligence received at Constantinople, and reported in Sir Henry Elliot's telegram of the 8th instant, that a band of 700 men with large supplies of ammunition coming from Austrian territory had taken part in a combat between the Turkish troops and the Herzegovinian insurgents on the 5th instant.

His Excellency said that similar information had been forwarded to him from Constantinople, but as he had received no confirmation of it from Ragusa, he believed it must be exaggerated. There was, however, a body of insurgents under the command of a priest named Musics, near the frontier, and as Ljubibratics is known to have left Ragusa under a false pretext, he may have joined it with a small following, which could not, however, have exceeded 100 men.

The measures which have been already taken and those which were preparing, would, he felt confident, prevent any important assistance in men or supplies reaching the insurgents; and what he considered most important now was that the Turkish authorities should co-operate without delay with those of Austria in endeavouring to establish peace.

For this purpose General Rodich, who had been obliged to leave Ragusa to open the Dalmatian Diet, has been instructed to comply with a suggestion of the Prince of Montenegro, by which his Highness said his own hands would be strengthened, and to proceed to Suttorina and represent to the insurgent chiefs the impolicy of continuing hostilities which must end disastrously to the country, instead of accepting the advantageous terms which have been offered to them by the Porte.

His Excellency said he had every reason to hope that such representations would prove successful when it was made manifest to the insurgents that no assistance could reach them from without; but he felt at the same time that if the Turks carried out an intention which they are alleged to have, of attacking an insurgent camp near Klek, negotiations for peace will probably fail, as the insurgents will represent any conflicts sought by the Turkish troops as proving the insincerity of the offers of the Porte. The Turkish Commander-in-Chief, on the contrary, to endeavour to avoid conflicts, and by acting in large masses, and keeping between the insurgents and Montenegro, to push them quietly towards the Dalmatian frontier, on crossing which they would be disarmed and

removed to the interior, from whence they could eventually be sent to their homes with the refugees.

His Excellency then expressed regret at the delay which has occurred in the arrival of the Commissioners, and he said he feared Mouktar Pacha, who is desirous of military successes, may be unwilling to support the pacific mission confided to them, but what he considers would be most fatal to the efforts which are being made to effect the pacification of the insurgent provinces, would be a change of Ministers at Constantinople, as the Christians would be induced by their Chiefs to see in such an eventuality a proof that the policy of the Government had changed.

His Excellency said he had therefore authorized Count Zichy either to seek an audience of the Sultan, or, if the Turkish Ministers thought it more expedient, to communicate indirectly with His Majesty, to represent to him that the Emperor of Austria is most desirous of seeing an insurrection suppressed which is almost as detrimental to the interests of Austria as to those of Turkey; and that already with a view to this object he had not only succeeded in preventing the conclusion of an offensive alliance against Turkey between Servia and Montenegro, but had received a positive engagement from Prince Nicholas to use his influence with the insurgents to induce them to return to their allegiance on the terms offered by the Porte; that the Emperor had further taken measures to prevent the insurrection receiving assistance from his own territories, and, while he was representing to the insurgent Chiefs the folly of attempting to carry on hostilities in opposition to the will of Europe, he was endeavouring to induce the refugees to return to their homes. That His Imperial Majesty felt, however, that to insure the success of his efforts in favour of peace it was absolutely necessary that he should be able to convince the insurgents of the benevolent and conciliatory sentiments with which the Sultan is ready to pardon their revolt, and he might find it impossible to do so, if a change of Ministers at Constantinople should enable the promoters of the insurrection to persuade the ignorant peasantry that the Sultan had repented of the concessions which he had promised to them, and had dismissed the Ministers by whom they had been recommended.

His Excellency said some action of this kind was, he believed, the more necessary as the Sultan was not only displeased with his present Ministers, in consequence of their inability to provide funds to meet his exorbitant requirements, but because Server Pasha is said to have assured him that the insurrection was entirely suppressed before he left the Herzegovina, and that all reports to the contrary must be false.

Count Andrassy then expressed a hope that, if any steps were taken by Count Zichy, with a view to prevent the dismissal of the Grand Vizier, Sir Henry Elliot might be instructed to support them; on which I observed that Her Majesty's Ambassador had, I believed, taken indirect means to make known to the Sultan, some weeks ago, his opinion of the great inconvenience, or even danger, which might attend a change of Government at Constantinople under present circumstances, but that, though authorized to ask an audience for this purpose, if he deemed it necessary, he had been of opinion that the Sultan was more likely to accept advice, which he must know to be honest, if it reached him indirectly, than if it were tendered to His Majesty by a foreign Ambassador in person.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN

No. 379.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.[c]—*(Received March 13, at night.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, March 13, 1876.*

ACCOUNTS from the Herzegovina are contradictory.

Those received by the Porte announce complete success of troops in several engagements, though they suffered severely from the snow, and lost many horses in it.

The Porte professes not to know that guns had to be abandoned, but I believe that to have been the case.

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[c] Repeated to Sir A. Buchanan.

No. 380.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.[a]—*(Received March 13, at night.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, March 13, 1876.*

THE Porte is greatly pleased by the communication made by Count Zichy, of the energetic measures adopted by his Government for guarding the frontier.

No. 381.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—*(Received March 14.)*

(No. 9. Political.)

My Lord, *Belgrade, February 17, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed by me this day to Sir Henry Elliot, on the influence exercised on Servian proceedings by the acts and designs of the Prince of Montenegro.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 381.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Belgrade, February 17, 1876.*

EVER since the commencement of the present disturbances in the Herzegovina it has been apparent that the conduct of the Prince of Montenegro has been exercising an influence on the attitude of Servia, and his example has been constantly used as a reproach to Prince Milan in the Slav newspapers published in the Hungarian dominions, and even by violent partizans of the "Omladina" in this Principality.

The connection of that Prince with the origin and duration of the present insurrection is generally believed here, and invoked as a title to popular favour amongst Slavs.

There are some circumstances in which that Prince has been particularly fortunate, and which contribute to invest him with a peculiar reputation of success in the national cause.

He is said to have secured a loan, whilst Servia, with superior resources, has hitherto failed in contracting one; he appears to have escaped the admonitions of either Russia or Austria for his conduct, whilst Servia received a solemn warning from the Great Powers last October; more than that, the Imperial Court of Russia has given Prince Nicholas several indications of its sympathy, whilst Prince Milan has had none bestowed upon him since Count Soumorokoff's mission here at his marriage, and even the customary presents granted by the Czar on those occasions have been hitherto withheld.

Somehow or other an idea has got abroad that sooner or later the Prince of Montenegro would derive actual benefit, in the shape of an accession of territory, concurrently with the termination of the insurrection.

This supposition, though, as far as I can see, resting upon no basis, acts as a stimulant on the excitable politicians of Belgrade, and having been recently repeated, as if approaching realization, produced an unusual sensation here, by giving the war party a most welcome and convenient argument.

I felt it my duty to inform your Excellency of this mischievous report on the 10th instant, at 7 A.M., by telegraph, and received a contradiction of it in reply on the 14th instant (Inclosure No. 1 in No. 10, Political, of this day).

In the meantime the Prince of Montenegro considered it his interest to send one likewise to Prince Milan, and I see from the "Times" newspaper, of the 12th instant, that he has thought it worth his while to get a similar denial published in a telegram dated Cetigné, February 11, disclaiming at the same time "any discouragement by his Government of the insurrection."

The despatch of a new special Envoy from here to Cetigné had been intended for some weeks previously, and Colonel Ranko Olympitch was at once sent off in that

[a] Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

capacity, with instructions at the same time to transmit here regular information as to the conditions and plans of the insurgent forces.

It is evident, therefore, that an approaching pacification is not anticipated here, and that Servia may be induced in the long run to participate in the struggle, unless the pacification of the Herzegovina is more prompt and easy than the people here are disposed or willing to believe.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 382.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 14.)

(No. 10. Political.)
Belgrade, February 17, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying decyphers of two telegrams, viz., one sent to me by Sir Henry Elliot and his Excellency's reply to it, on the subject of a reported cession of territory by the Porte to Montenegro, which are referred to in my despatch of this day to Sir Henry.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 382.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Belgrade, February 10, 1876, 7 A.M.

(Telegraphic.)

SOME sensation produced here by the reported negotiations between the Porte and Montenegro for some territorial cession to the latter.

It would be highly desirable if possible to contradict such a transaction as if contemplated.

Inclosure 2 in No. 382.

Sir H. Elliot to Mr. White.

Constantinople, February 14, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

THERE is no truth whatever in the report that negotiations are going on for the cession of a port to Montenegro, and the Porte would be little disposed to entertain the question at the present moment.

No. 383.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 14.)

(No. 11. Political.)
Belgrade, February 21, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed by me this day to Sir Henry Elliot on the subject of the military preparations going on in Servia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 383.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,
Belgrade, February 21, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency the following particulars with regard to the armaments which are prosecuted with some vigour at this moment in this Principality.

As regards the militia, fresh lists are being drawn up, both of the 1st and 2nd class of these bodies, and the men belonging to either have been instructed to remain within reach of their respective battalions from the $\frac{25\text{th February}}{7\text{th March}}$ next, so that they may be embodied at the shortest notice.

A reserve list is being drawn up of all able-bodied men from 20 to 50, who from some cause or other have been exempted hitherto from enrolment in either class of militia.

The totals of both classes of militia are estimated here at 140,000 men, but I presume that their actual strength in the field would not exceed 100,000.

The regular troops of all arms amount only to 4,700 men.

The number of commissioned officers is only 300; thirty more have received commissions within the last few days. A staff is being organized, and a list of 3,000 non-commissioned officers has been prepared.

It has been determined to purchase 4,000 horses, but as yet only 800 have been bought in Transylvania.

It is contemplated to contract for the making of 80,000 new uniforms; in the meantime shirts, boots, cartridges, and a variety of war material are being provided, and I hear that 4,000 revolvers have been contracted for.

Nothing has been done as yet either as regards commissariat or ambulances.

With regard to arms, this Government has been for some time deliberating whether to purchase old Sniders in England or French Chassepots in Prussia. The latter have been offered as low as 1*l.* per rifle with 100 cartridges by a German firm. But the idea of contracting for either kind has been given up for the present, whilst the plan of purchasing 40 rifled ordnance, which was much spoken of, has, it appears, been definitively abandoned.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 384.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 14.)

(No. 13. Political.)
Belgrade, February 28, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a confidential despatch addressed by me on the 25th instant to Sir Henry Elliot, reporting the reasons assigned for the quasi-martial attitude of the Prince of Servia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 384.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

(Confidential.)
Belgrade, February 25, 1876.

Sir,

I BEG to assure your Excellency that I have been assured from a source, which I have hitherto found reliable, that the chief reason which has prompted Prince Milan to assume a bolder and quasi-martial attitude is the growing suspicion in his mind that a bait, in the shape of an accession of territory, was about to be offered by Austria, on behalf of the Porte, to the Prince of Montenegro.

This opinion is strongly entertained here by persons who are supposed to be well acquainted with the nature of the relations which have existed during the last two years between the Court of Vienna and that Prince.

It is admitted that probably Prince Nicholas would be content with a secret promise

to that effect just now, and would be willing to wait for its realization until such time as the insurrection has been completely subdued.

It has been a traditional principle of Russian policy that no advantages should ever be secured either to Servia or Montenegro, without the appearance, at least, of their being due to the influence and protection of that Court, and these two petty States are kept in tow by the memory of past favours, and by the hope of future ones.

Until now Russia has always preferred Montenegro to Servia, but has studied, and been most careful to preserve, her influence in both. Were the former to secure some prospective benefit at the expense of Turkish integrity, it would be most easy to incite the latter to some desperate move, and complicate matters.

There is every probability that Russian Agents here, and, by Russian Agents, I mean those of General Ignatiew, have been urging Prince Milan to prepare for every emergency, and that he himself has been suspecting for some time the sincerity of the professions of the Prince of Montenegro.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 385.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 14.)

(No. 14. Political.)
Belgrade, February 28, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed by me on the 26th instant, reporting representations made by Prince Wrede, the Austrian Agent and Consul-General to the Prince of Servia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 385.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Belgrade, February 26, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that Colonel Prince Wrede, the Austro-Hungarian Representative here, having returned from Vienna the day before yesterday, had an audience of the Prince of Servia yesterday, at which I understand that he acquitted himself of the instructions of Count Andrassy by inquiring the reason for the armaments which are at present going on here with activity.

My Austrian colleague further laid great stress on the perfect agreement existing at present in the views of his own Cabinet and that of St. Petersburgh on their determination to effect promptly the pacification of the insurgent districts, and on the assurances given by the Prince of Montenegro to co-operate in the process of pacification.

The Prince of Servia appears to have admitted the military preparations going on here, denying at the same time anything like an aggressive purpose, and justifying them by the possibility of future complications, even should the present ones be overcome, which was, he thought, by no means so certain.

His Highness is reported further to have observed the discrepancy between the present language of Austria and that held by Count Andrassy to himself at Vienna in August last, with regard to the Prince of Montenegro, when the Count completely exculpated that Prince from the suspicion of actively favouring the insurrection, whilst at present his withdrawal from all further support of it is chiefly depended upon—in combination with Austria's severe measures within her own borders, recently initiated—as perfectly sufficient and reliable means to insure the termination of the insurrection.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 386.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 14.)

(No. 15. Political.)
Belgrade, March 1, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE been informed that M. de Kerjégu, the French Acting Consul-General here, had an audience of the Prince of Servia yesterday, for the purpose of representing to His Highness, on behalf of the French Government, the necessity of his discontinuing the military preparations now going on here.

As that gentleman has not had the courtesy—hitherto observed between myself and my French and Italian colleagues here—to mention the fact of his audience to me, I am therefore unable to give your Lordship any information as regards either the nature of that gentleman's instructions or the reply made by Prince Milan to his observations.

I presume, however, that the official language of His Highness must have been similar to that held by him to Prince Wrede, and to that in which he addressed me privately four weeks ago when I spoke to him on the subject.

It is impossible to imagine that he can be mistaken or ignorant as regards the pacific intentions of the Great Powers, and therefore any official remonstrances made here, whether singly or collectively, would appear superfluous at this moment.

Facts will be the best arguments, and the cessation of the insurrection would convey, if brought about, an incontestable proof of the inutility of all calculations based upon its strength. If, however, its termination were delayed too long, the constant repetition of the same warnings addressed to Servia is only productive of irritation, and likely to give these people an exaggerated notion of their own importance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 387.

*Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received March* 14.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, March* 13, 1876.

I HAVE sent following figures to Mr. White:—

"The Porte is informed that the Prince of Servia has telegraphed the militia to be prepared to march to the frontier at the shortest warning.

"Is there any truth in this report?

"The Servian Agent has been informed that no hostile designs are entertained by the Porte, and the Prince cannot seriously believe defensive measures to be necessary."

No. 388.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 14, *night.*)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, March* 13, 1876.

MONSON telegraphs, in spite of conflicting accounts, combat on 7th seems to have been disastrous to Turks. He is assured, from Turkish sources, that every effort will be made to carry out amnesty, and provide for returning refugees.

No. 389.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 15.)

(No. 131.)
Vienna, March 12, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a translation by Mr. Milbanke of a telegraphic précis published this morning in the Vienna newspapers of an answer given yesterday by M. Tisza in the Hungarian Diet, to a question put to him some days ago, as to whether the Government of Hungary had been a party to Count Andrassy's note of the 30th of December last, and as to what would be the attitude of Hungary in the event of the

* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

measures for pacifying the Turkish provinces proving abortive, and of Servia intervening.

M. Tisza said he considered it improbable that Servia would place herself in opposition to the interests of Europe, but that in such an eventuality, the decision of the Monarchy would be guided by those interests.

With respect to the return of the refugees, he said the Government could not be reproached with inhumanity if it withheld further assistance from them; now they could not only return with safety, but would be assisted in rebuilding their houses.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 389.

Speech by Minister President Tisza in the Hungarian Diet, March 11, 1876.

(Translation.)

MINISTER-PRESIDENT TISZA, in answering the interpellation of the Deputy Polit, said that he would not go into all the details of the speech that accompanied it, but would merely make a few remarks. Deputy Polit spoke of the ungrounded antipathy of Hungary for Servia, but such an antipathy does not exist. He spoke of Hungarian officials wandering about as vagrants on the frontier, but the Minister begs to repudiate any such expression with reference to Hungarian citizens, and particularly Hungarian officials (great applause). Deputy Polit need have no fear, for the Minister knows that the Servian and frontier populations are not to be judged according to the single instances that are brought to our notice; but even were this the case, Hungary would not be afraid.

Referring to the interpellation itself, the Minister answers the question as to whether he had been a party to Count Andrassy's note of December, in the affirmative—not, however, as regards the drawing up of the terms of the note, which must be regulated by the foreign policy of the Government.

In answer to the question, as to whether the Hungarian Government approve of the intervention, Minister Tisza replies that there is no question of intervention, but only of good advice, which had been given in concert with the European Powers, and which had been accepted in a most friendly manner by the Porte. This action was required in the interests of European peace, and can only be heartily approved of by the Hungarian Government.

In answer to the question, as to what the action of Hungary would be in the event of the pacification not being effected, and of the intervention of Servia, the Minister replied that such an eventuality was most improbable, and that it was not to be supposed that the heads of the Servian Government would bring their country into opposition to the interests of Europe. Should, however, such an eventuality occur, the policy of the Empire would be guided by those interests. Still, the Minister feels assured that, just as those persons are mistaken who hoped to create disunion between the European Powers in consequence of the note, so also are those deceived who hope to make Servia the means of such disunion.

With reference to the question as to the return of the refugees, M. Tisza replied that no particular declaration was necessary, but that the Empire has not disregarded the interests of humanity is shown by the subvention, amounting to nearly 1,000,000 florins, which has been already given to them. It is only natural, that as soon as the refugees are enabled to return home, and are even assisted in the rebuilding of their houses, and in the cultivation of their fields, all reason for any subvention from us ceases, and the refugees would themselves prefer returning home. Whoever prevents them from doing so would be acting contrary to their interests.

The speaker concluded by expressing a hope that the House would accept his explanation.

No. 390.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 16.)

(No. 132. Confidential.)
Vienna, March 12, 1876.

My Lord,

THE answer of M. Tisza, reported in my despatch No. 131 of this date, was arranged with Count Andrassy, who framed it so as to leave it uncertain whether intervention in Bosnia would not expose Servia to the risk of war with Austria-Hungary.

His Excellency has, however, I believe, not the slightest intention of engaging in such a war.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN

No. 391.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 15, *night.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, March* 15, 1876.

I HAVE received the following telegram from Mr. White dated to-day:—

"Orders about militia such as are mentioned in your telegram of 13th have been under consideration, but there is no evidence of their having been actually issued. Probably more time is required for reflection, and in the meantime the militia will be partially exercised.

"Horses continue to be bought in Hungary and Bessarabia. Reported Turkish (movements?) near Widdin are made the most of."

No. 392.

Mr. Vivian to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 15, *night.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Bucharest, March* 15, 1876.

THREE Servian officers have been here to purchase and arrange for the transport of cavalry horses, it is said 2,000. They also wish to buy some Krupp cannon, but I believe they failed. They are gone to Russian Bessarabia to buy the horses, and I shall know what they do.

Roumanian Government say they answered that there was no objection to their purchase or transport of horses from here so long as Servia was at peace, but that if she declared war the transit of any contraband would be prohibited here.

No. 393.

Mr. Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March* 15, *night.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Ragusa, March* 15, 1875.

AFFAIRS are worse than ever. Austria apparently is making efforts for pacification, but without visible success. Russian Agents more and more active in preventing submission, but Consul Jonin himself less openly. Return of refugees almost impossible, from want of money and provisions. No money at Mostar. Insurrection as vigorous as ever. Turks defeated again near Piva. Army terribly reduced by famine and sickness. Soldiers forced to carry provisions themselves; no transport animals.

I hope to leave for Mostar to-morrow.

No. 394.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.†—(Received March 15, *night.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, March* 15, 1876.

WITH reference to your telegrams of yesterday, Prince of Servia denies report affecting him, and nothing certain is known here as to the nature and extent of Turkish losses in the imprudent combat. Baron Hofmann does not believe that Ljubibratic was accompanied by troops, as stated in inclosure in my despatch No. 134; that he will be sent to Lintz, and the foreigners taken with him interned, except the lady, who has been requested to leave the country.

A Turkish force being on its way to provision Nisch, which is besieged by insurgents,

* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, Rome and Constantinople.

† Repeated to Berlin, Rome, St. Petersburgh, and Constantinople.

Prince of Montenegro has proposed an armistice of ten days, during which the fort may be provisioned, and the insurgent Chiefs meet General Rodich at Sutorina.

No. 395.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, March 16.)

Sir, *Ragusa, March 7, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's despatch of the 2nd instant, respecting the encouragement alleged to have been given by Mr. Styleman, the correspondent of the "Times" newspaper, and by other Englishmen here, to the insurgents in the Herzegovina, and the refugees, not to accept the amnesty offered by the Sultan, and instructing me as to the action I should take if any such unfavourable influence has been exercised by Mr. Styleman or by any Englishmen associated with him.

Having been only a few hours in Ragusa, and there being but little time before the despatch of the mail, I have as yet had no opportunity of learning anything about Mr. Styleman's proceedings, but I shall not fail to make myself acquainted with them, and to contradict explictly any such statements as he is reported to have made.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 396.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 16.)

(No. 134.)
My Lord, *Vienna, March 13, 1876.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 130* of the 11th instant, referring to the detention of Ljubobratics by the Austrian Government, I have now the honour to transmit herewith, in translation by Mr. Milbanke, a newspaper telegram relating the circumstances under which that insurgent leader was arrested, with some of his companions.

I shall not fail to take an opportunity of asking Count Andrassy whether this account is accurate, and, if so, why the rest of the band was allowed to return to the Herzegovina.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 396.

Newspaper Telegram.

(Translation.) *Ragusa, March 12, 1876.*

THE day before yesterday, early in the morning, Ljubobratics and his troop took up their quarters at Veniani, which, according to the map, is in Herzegovinian territory. At noon, however, the captain of the district, Daucha, appeared, with a company of infantry under the command of Captain Filouss, and informed Ljubobratics that he had crossed the frontier.

Ljubobratics denied that he had crossed the border, and produced the Austrian Staff Officer, Rosskiewic's, military map to support his assertion, but gave orders to his troops to withdraw.

The troops were just engaged in eating their dinner, and Captain Filouss begged Ljubobratics and his staff to finish their dinner where they were. This kind offer was accepted with thanks both by himself and his Aide-de-camp, Petrovic.

But after dinner, as he was on the point of joining the troops with his companions, Captain Filouss sent an officer to beg him to spend the night at Imoski. This, however, Ljubobratics declined with thanks; and he was then informed that he and his companions were prisoners.

The prisoners were conveyed at night, under an escort of infantry, to Imoski, where they were secured in the barracks of the gendarmerie, and the following morning they were sent to Sign.

Ilkaesic, a native of Nevesinje, and one of the bravest of the insurgent chiefs, took the command of the troops in the place of Ljubobratics.

* Recording No. 374.

In addition to Ljubibraties, the following volunteers were also made prisoners:—Conte Faelli, Mdlle. Jeanne Marcus, and four others.

No. 397.

The Earl of Derby to Consul Stanley.

(No. 3.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, March 16, 1876.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 2, Confidential, of the 5th instant, respecting the propriety of your visiting Bessarabia, at the present moment, and I have to state to you that, upon further consideration, I think it would be more advisable that you should not carry out your suggestion, neither do I think that under present circumstances it is necessary that you should send any one in your place.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 398.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 163.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, March 16, 1876.*

HER Majesty's Government approve your Excellency having called the attention of the Porte to the late judicial appointments in Bosnia, as reported in your despatch No. 227 of the 22nd ultimo, and I have to instruct you to take an opportunity of stating that apathy shewn in such matters cannot fail to have disastrous results if allowed to continue.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 399.

Consul Taylor to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 18.)

(No. 2.)
My Lord, *Ragusa, March 10, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to forward copies of three despatches of 8th, 9th, and 10th instant, I have lately addressed to Sir A. Buchanan at Vienna.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. G. TAYLOR.

Inclosure 1 in No. 399.

Consul Taylor to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir, *Ragusa, March 8, 1876.*

MR. MONSON arrived here yesterday.

The latest news is that the insurgents, numbering about 1,000 men, under Ljubibratics and the priest, Pope Don Giovanni Mucich, have recommenced hostilities on the other side of the Narenta, while Socica and Lucca Petkovich are making raids into Turkish territory from the direction of Montenegro.

The Turkish forces seem to be very inactive, acting on the defensive simply, a great reason for which is their nearly total want of baggage animals, and consequently of supplies for the proper support of their troops in the field. As a consequence Ragusa, which was formerly dependent upon the Herzegovina for meat, has now to draw supplies from Trieste and Fiume, which so enhances the price as to put sound, healthy meat entirely beyond the means of the majority here, and renders living nearly as costly at Ragusa as in London.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. G. TAYLOR.

Inclosure 2 in No. 399.

Consul Taylor to Sir A. Buchanan.

Ragusa, March 9, 1876.

Sir,

TWO days ago the insurgent Chiefs Socica and Peko Pavlovitch attacked the Turks at Metrovitza, and, after a short combat, defeated and drove them for a distance of four hours as far as Lipnik, between Gatsko and Niksich, but nearer the former town.

It is reported the Turkish loss amounted to 800 men, all their cannon, ammunition, and horses.

Precise accurate details of the fight and its consequences are still wanting.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. G. TAYLOR.

Inclosure 3 in No. 399.

Consul Taylor to Sir A. Buchanan.

Ragusa, March 10, 1876.

Sir,

THE General commanding here, Ivanovich, informs me that after the fight reported in my despatch of 9th instant to your Excellency, fifty-two families passed over from Turkish into Austrian territory. He also informed me that above thirty Turks crossed the border into Austria, and there wilfully murdered an Austrian non-combatant subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. G. TAYLOR.

No. 400.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 18.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, March* 17, 1876.

AUSTRIAN Ambassador tells me that Turkish Commander-in-chief is authorized to arrange with General Rodich and the insurgent Chiefs respecting suspension of hostilities for ten days, if an understanding can be come to for provisioning Niksich.

No. 401.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, March 19.)

Ragusa, March 11, 1876.

Sir,

WITH reference to my despatch of the 7th instant, respecting the alleged proceedings of the correspondent of the "Times" newspaper, Mr. Stillman (for such is, I am informed, the correct spelling of his name), I have now the honour to state that I fear that there is little doubt but that the allegations referred to in your Excellency's despatch of the 2nd instant have a certain substantial foundation.

From Mr. Stillman's own mouth I have it that at the meeting of the insurgent chiefs who signed the proclamation of the 26th ultimo (a meeting of which your Excellency will have seen the account in the "Times" early this month), he insisted that it should be signed by one of the chiefs (Babich, I believe), with whose signature, as he was absent at the moment, it had been proposed to dispense; and that he did this that "there might be no appearance of a want of unanimity among the insurgent leaders." Upon the two occasions on which I have met Mr. Stillman at the Consulate, he has, I think, been somewhat on his guard, and has, with what struck me as rather an ostentatious manner, professed his impatience at being detained here, and his disappointment that the managers of the "Times" would not allow him to return to England. I fear that much mischief has been done by him; not among the educated people here, but among the ignorant classes, who, not without some reason, regard the correspondent of the "Times" as the recognised exponent of public opinion in England, and as consequently invested with a *quasi* official character.

Mr. Stillman lives with the Secretary of the Russian Consulate-General; he is every day with M. Jonin, the Russian Consul-General, and ordinarily dines with him, and with

the members of the Russian Commission for the relief of the refugees. He is in constant communication with the Russian officers who are directing the insurgent operations, and with their friends at Cettigné.

Mr. Stillman's antecedents in Crete are known to your Excellency. It is averred here that at his instigation emissaries have been recently despatched to rekindle the flame of insurrection in that island. His own expression is, that he likes "assisting *at* insurrections," a declaration which, it would seem, would be rendered more strictly correct by the suppression of the preposition.

It is, at this crisis, very unfortunate, that the sole representative of the English press in these regions should be Mr. Stillman, and very much to be desired that the directors of the "Times" should accede to his professed anxiety to be relieved from his position with as little delay as possible. I shall take every opportunity of discrediting his influence, but I am afraid that the mischief is already done.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 402.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, March 19.)

(Confidential.)

Sir,

Ragusa, March 11, 1876.

EVERYONE with whom I have conversed here, of whichever side he may be the partisan, agrees on one point, viz.: that it is quite impossible for the Austrian Government to prevent the insurgents from receiving through Austrian territory sufficient supplies of munitions of war. Everyone agrees also that the reason of this is the connivance of the Austrian officials, whose duty it is to prevent anything of the kind. From Baron Rodich down to the humblest *douanier*, all are more or less warmly in favour of the insurgents. All the officials are Slavs; and they take no pains to conceal their sympathies. General Iovanovic, who commands here, is not only a Slav, but the brother-in-law of Baron Rodich. I am assured from several sources that *armed* insurgents have openly moved about the neighbourhood of this town without any interference on the part of the military. The insurgent chiefs come and go as they please, and hold their meetings openly at a café in front of my hotel. The French Vice-Consul tells me that he recently supped there for the purpose of seeing them. Ammunition is passed across the narrow strip of Austrian territory without hindrance. According to the Turkish Consul-General, twenty cases of cartridges were thus passed only the other day; and Mr. Stillman, of the "Times," boasts, in my hearing, that artillery can be landed anywhere on the Dalmatian coast, and be transported across the frontier for the use of the insurgents with the greatest ease.

General Iovanovic stated to me on the 8th instant that it was no use trying to persuade the refugees to return home, as they said that they had no homes to return to, and would certainly starve if they attempted anything of the kind. Koetset Effendi, Ali Pasha's Secretary, who was present at the moment, observed that the Turkish authorities would provide food, seed-corn for the cultivation of the land; would protect the refugees from molestation, assist them in rebuilding their houses, which in general only required roofing, &c.; but the General said that such arguments were unavailing, that the refugees declared that the country was a desert, that their cattle were gone, that, consequently, they could not till the land, and that even if they could till it, there could be no crops till next year; in short, that there was no persuading them.

Koetset Effendi told me subsequently that Baron Rodich's manner and demeanour in executing Count Andrassy's instructions were amply sufficient to destroy all the effect of the language which had been put into his mouth at Vienna.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 403.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, March 19.)

(Confidential.)

Ragusa, March 11, 1876.

Sir,

THE Russian Consulate-General here is the scene of much activity. M. Jonin informed me that he is hard at work night and day; and his Secretary tells me that he spends six or seven hours daily in cyphering and decyphering telegrams. There are many Russians at Ragusa, professedly engaged in succouring the refugees, but who, according to General Iovanovic, are busily employed in counteracting M. Jonin's policy.

The whole thing appears to me a perfect comedy. I have no doubt but that M. Jonin's ostensible instructions from St. Petersburgh and Vienna are all that could be desired by Count Andrassy, and by those who sincerely wish for the pacification of the Herzegovina. But even if M. Jonin does not, other people, I suspect, do read between the lines of those instructions, and so frustrate Count Andrassy's intentions.

As soon as his Excellency's project of reform was finally agreed to by the Powers, M. Jonin paid a visit to Cettigné. Shortly afterwards, the insurgent Chiefs likewise went to Montenegro; and on their return, Mr. Stillman found them, as he says, unanimous in their rejection of the Sultan's offer of an amnesty.

As for Montenegro, it is clearly Prince Nikita's interest to follow the advice of Russia, and refrain from active and open support of the insurgents. If he did otherwise, Russia must abandon him to the hostilities of Turkey; whereas, as it is, Russian money and Russian officers can further the operations of those obstinate Montenegrins, who will persist in disobeying the Prince, and in helping the insurgent cause.

M. Jonin has been seven years here, and seems to have worked the oracle to some purpose. He has known how to profit by the intense Slav proclivities of the southern extremity of Dalmatia; proclivities which culminated in the grand demonstration made here on the occasion of the Emperor's visit last year, when only one Austrian flag was hoisted in the town; and which are now, perhaps, being used to make an Austrian occupation of the disaffected Provinces, and their subsequent annexation to the Empire, or their independence (under the Sovereignty of an Austrian Archduke) a matter of eventual necessity, and a pretext for a rectification by Russia of her Bessarabian frontier.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 404.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, March 19.)

Ragusa, March 11, 1876.

Sir,

THE following is the official Turkish account of the combat at Mouratovitza on the 6th instant, as I have received it from the Turkish Consul-General here:—

"Les approvisionnements de Piva étant à la veille de s'épuiser, le Gouverneur militaire de Gusco, Selim Pacha, dût y diriger d'urgence 20,000 oeques de farine répartis dans des sacs de huit oeques, et confiés à 2,500 soldats d'infanterie, qui les remirent à la garnison de Piva. Au retour Lundi passé, près de Mouratovitza, les insurgés essayèrent de couper le passage aux troupes; comme du côté de Monténégro on voyait arriver des renforts, et que les neiges, d'une hauteur de trois mètres environ, nécessitaient une prompte rétraite sur Gusco, lieu de garnison, les soldats, après un combat assez acharné, qui fit subir des pertes sensibles aux insurgés, firent évacuer à ceux-ci leur position et effectuèrent leur retraite en se frayant un passage dans les neiges. Les pertes subies par les troupes Turques sont relativement peu importantes. Ils ont cependant perdu beaucoup de chevaux, qui, affolés, allaient s'ensevelir dans les neiges."

This account differs widely from that received from Cettigné, according to which 800 Turks were decapitated, and many cannon taken. Subsequent reports assert that two field-pieces fell into the insurgents' hands; but the Turks declare that the troops had no artillery with them, and that the story has been invented to account for the presence of two steel guns supplied to the insurgents from Montenegro.

The truth clearly is that the Turks have met with a serious disaster. The capture of all their baggage animals would alone be a great calamity, even if unaccompanied by such heavy losses in killed and wounded as have been reported. But the true significance of the event will be seen in the impetus given at an important moment to the insurgent

cause, and, as the Turks themselves seem ready to admit, in the indefinite prolongation of the struggle, the end of which every one here now regards as further off than ever.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

P.S.—Danitsch Effendi has just received a telegram placing the Turkish loss on the 6th at sixty killed and fifty-four wounded; some of the latter escaped to Piva. The telegram reiterates positively that Selim Pasha had no cannon with him.

No. 405.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, March 19.)

(No. 21.)

Ragusa, March 11, 1876.

Sir,

THE steamer being detained by stress of weather until to-morrow morning, I am able to add to my preceding despatch No. 20, of this day's date, that I had been informed by Mr. Stillman, the correspondent of the "Times," that he has this morning seen letters from the insurgent Chiefs Socica and Luca Petrovich, and from a Russian officer, who was present at the battle of Mouratovitza on the 6th instant, confirming the accounts originally telegraphed from Cettigné, of the heavy losses of the Ottoman troops, giving the number of the decapitated Turks as 800, of horses captured as 70, and of mules as 34. The Russian officer states that the Turks made no resistance, but having retreated to the river bank without striking a blow, were there slaughtered like sheep, and that, in fact, it was no combat, but a wholesale massacre. The Kaimakam of Goransco is stated to have been killed, and his two wives to be prisoners. The two field-guns captured are reported to be breech-loaders, of English make. The amount of the rest of the spoil, including a large number of officers' sabres, the insurgents had not yet had time to verify.

The Russian and Turkish accounts are, as your Excellency sees, so conflicting, that it is impossible to accept either as at all accurate.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 406.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 14.)

(No. 48. Confidential.)

Athens, March 11, 1876.

My Lord,

I STATED in my despatch No. 29, Confidential, of the 19th ultimo, that I had been confidentially informed that the French Consul at Yanina had specially mentioned Colonel Grivas in one of his reports to the French Ambassador at Constantinople, as being suspected of making preparations for a movement in Epirus.

This portion of my information turns out to have been correct, as the Marquis de Galinne told me three or four days ago, that he had received a despatch from his Government, inclosing a copy of the report in question, and instructing him to make inquiries respecting the truth of the allegations contained in it. He had accordingly spoken of the matter to M. Contostavlos, who answered that I had made similar inquiries some ten days before, and gave the same reasons which he had previously given to me for believing that there could be no truth whatever in the allegations against Colonel Grivas.

M. de Galinne had felt convinced, as soon as he had read the Consul's report, that the story was highly improbable considering Colonel Grivas' present position in view of the approaching trial, and his hostility to the present Government; and as I had read to him, when he called upon me, my despatch No. 39, Confidential, of the 26th ultimo, containing a report of my conversation with M. Coumoundouros upon the subject, he yesterday had the kindness to read to me a despatch which he had written, in much the same sense, to the Duc Decazes.

M. Contostavlos mentioned in the course of a visit which he paid to me yesterday, that he had not yet heard M. Coumoundouros had received any precise information in answer to the inquiries which had been instituted at my suggestion respecting Colonel Grivas' proceedings. He assured me, however that the Colonel would be closely watched

and that the Government were doubly interested in taking proper precautions, as if he was engaged in any movement, its real object, whatever the ostensible one might be, would probably be against them, rather than against the Ottoman Government.

Colonel Grivas is said to have announced his intention to appear before the Special High Court at Athens, when it assembles for the purpose of trying him, with M. Bulgaris and the other members of the Cabinet, over which the latter presided.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

No. 407.

*Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received March* 19, 5 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, March* 19, 1876, 1·45 P.M.

GENERAL IGNATIEW had an audience of the Sultan yesterday to deliver a letter from the Emperor.

He took advantage of it to insist very strongly on the necessity of making territorial concessions to the Prince of Montenegro.

The Sultan had been warned by the Grand Vizier that this proposal was likely to be made and answered firmly that it would not be entertained.

No. 408.

*Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received March* 19, 6 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, March* 19, 1876, 1·50 P.M.

INFORMATION has been received that a body of insurgents, stated to be six thousand strong, is collected to prevent the arrival of supplies at Niksich.

As it is essential that the fortress should be provisioned, an important engagement is considered imminent, unless the Chiefs consent to allow the convoy to pass.

No. 409.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 20.)

(No. 91.) *St. Petersburgh, March* 9, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAD an interview yesterday with M. de Giers, the Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs, when I inquired from his Excellency whether Count Andrassy had addressed any proposal to the Imperial Government in regard to prohibiting the export of arms from the Bessarabian frontier, as reported in Sir Andrew Buchanan's telegram to your Lordship of the 3rd instant.

M. de Giers replied that no proposition of this nature had reached the Imperial Government from Vienna. His Excellency observed that the Russian frontier did not touch Servia, and he could not therefore understand the object of prohibiting the exportation of arms from the Bessarabian frontier.

As regarded Roumania, his Excellency stated that the last reports received from the Russian Agent and Consul-General at Bucharest were more satisfactory; that the popular agitation had somewhat subsided, and (to use the expression of the Consul-General) that the population were sobering down (commençait à se dégriser).

His Excellency expressed hopes that the mission of General Rodich would be attended with good results, but observed that a certain time was required to allow his good counsels to prevail, and that it was only in a few days that we could expect to learn the result of his pacific endeavours.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

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* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

No. 410.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 20.)

(No. 94.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, March* 14, 1876.

I INQUIRED to-day from Prince Gortchakow whether he had received any information on the subject of a movement among the population of the north-western Provinces of Greece, in which General Grivas, formerly Greek Minister of War, was said to be concerned.

Prince Gortchakow replied that he had no knowledge of any such movement in north-western Greece; but that there had always existed in Greece what His Highness termed "la grande idée," which effervesced from time to time. He did not attach any importance to it, and observed that the present state of Greece was more satisfactory; the position of the King and his Government was much improved, and he did not, therefore, consider that any danger menaced from that quarter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 411.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 20.)

(No. 95.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, March* 14, 1876.

THE Russian papers of this morning report the arrest of Liubobratich (as reported in Sir Andrew Buchanan's telegram of the 11th instant), but they state that it took place in Turkish and not in Austrian territory.

Prince Gortchakow stated to me to-day that he had received this information, but not from any official source. His Highness said that he had received no fresh official information on the negotiations now carrying on in the Herzegovina and Montenegro, and that he gave no credence to the newspaper telegrams and reports which were always grossly exaggerated—when even not pure inventions—so much so that he was constantly putting to himself the question "qui est ce qu'on trompe?"

Prince Gortchakow said that he was neither a "pessimist" nor an "optimist." He considered it of the first importance that the Porte should hasten to carry into effect the reforms and measures it had announced. Facts would do more than promises, and the measures to encourage and the means to enable the refugees to return to their homes should be applied without stint and without delay.

In reply to my inquiry as to the position of Mahmoud Pasha, his Highness stated that it had considerably improved, and that he had in some measure regained his influence. On my mentioning the possibility of Hussein Avni displacing Mahmoud, Prince Gortchakow remarked that his accession to power would be a calamity. It would be war and the complete revocation of the moderate and conciliatory policy pursued by Mahmoud under the influence of the European Powers.

His Highness appeared, however, to be quite reassured as to the position of Mahmoud, and to be under no apprehension of his retirement from office.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

P.S.—Since writing the above I have received the inclosed article from the Agence Générale Russe giving some details in regard to the arrest of Liubobratich.

A. L.

Inclosure in No. 411.

Extract from the "Agence Générale Russe" of March $\frac{2}{14}$, 1876.

LE "Monde Russe" a reçu avant-hier de son correspondant de Raguse un télégramme lui annonçant que Liubobratich, Pékovitch et une certaine Mdlle. Merkus—une Hollandaise qui a aidé pécuniairement l'insurrection—avaient été arrêtés par des soldats Autrichiens "sur territoire Turc" puis désarmés et internés dans l'intérieur de l'Empire. Nous n'avons pas voulu croire à l'authenticité de cette nouvelle, qu'aucun télégramme officiel ni de Constantinople, ni de Vienne n'est venu en effet confirmer depuis avant-hier. Ce soir

seulement nous apprenons par une dépêche privée de Vienne que le "Politische Correspondenz" donne la version exacte de cette arrestation, qui n'aurait pas été opérée sur territoire Turc, ainsi que nous le pensions bien, mais sur territoire Austro-Hongrois. C'est bien Ljubobratich qui a été arrêté par une patrouille Autrichienne avec les insurgés formant son état-major et qui, dit la dépêche, se nomment: George Pétrovitch, Cuno Valle, Jakschitch, Jago Miskitch, Carlo Valle, Cesare Cesari et enfin la dite Mlle. Merlens. Reste à savoir comment il se fait que Ljubobratich, qui doit connaître cependant les Localités, et ne saurait ignorer les ordres reçus par les autorités-frontières Austro-Hongroises, a pu se trouver sur territoire Autrichien à portée d'une patrouille Autrichienne? Quoiqu'il en soit, cette arrestation, qui va faire du bruit dans les rangs des insurgés, leur enlèvera toute illusion, s'ils en conservent toujours sur la protection directe ou indirecte qu'ils peuvent encore espérer du côté du Gouvernement Austro-Hongrois. Il ne faudrait pas non plus, d'un autre côté, que la Porte comptât trop sur les dispositions des Puissances à faire la police pour elle et y fondât toutes ses espérances au point de borner son activité à l'adhésion de réformes et à l'envoi de Commissaires peu disposés à les prendre au sérieux.

Il serait difficile de dire cela, par exemple, de Moukhtar Pacha, le délégué Turc en Herzégovine, qui, à peine arrivé, rebut dans les rangs de la police locale non seulement des Chrétiens, mais même des réfugiés. La mesure est radicale. Sera-t-elle salutaire et empêchera-t-elle les collisions, voilà ce qu'il est assez difficile de dire d'avance. Nous apprenons en même temps que dans tout l'Empire les élections pour les tribunaux et les municipalités ont lieu sans pression aucune de la part de l'administration, au point qu'à Bengasi les Circassiens en ont profité pour se faire élire, les armes à la main. C'est malheureusement trop souvent ce qui arrive dans les pays où l'arbitraire a été longtemps la seule loi; la liberté ne sert en pareils cas qu'à remplacer la force qui disparaît d'un côté par la force qui apparaît du côté opposé. On nous annonce également que le Prince de Monténégro a solennellement promis au Général Baron de Rodich de coopérer à la pacification.

D'après ces nouvelles, comme on le voit, on devrait croire que le but pacifique, si ardemment poursuivi par les Puissances, ne peut manquer d'être bientôt et sûrement atteint. Malheureusement, c'est surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de l'Orient qu'il est permis de dire que les jours se suivent et ne se ressemblent pas.

Qu'on a déjà vu par nos propres dépêches et correspondances—reproductions fidèles et impartiales des phases quotidiennes de la crise—combien ces phases varient du jour au lendemain. On est en Orient sur un terrain tellement glissant qu'on est souvent obligé de reculer un pied derrière l'autre, sinon pour avancer, de moins pour se tenir en équilibre. D'un autre côté, des trois parties en présence, la Porte, les Puissances, les insurgés, il n'y a guère que les deux dernières qui savent bien ce qu'elles veulent. Les insurgés veulent un changement complet, sérieux, assuré, garanti, dans leur situation; les Puissances veulent la paix et les moyens propres à la préserver; la Porte veut également la paix, cela va sans dire, mais veut-elle aussi résolument les moyens qui seuls peuvent la lui assurer, et, les voulût-elle, en a-t-elle réellement la disposition? Toute la question est là; aussi, le vague qui plane encore sur la crise ne disparaîtra-t-il que le jour où la crise elle-même aura cessé d'exister.

No. 412.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 20.)

(No. 103.) *St. Petersburgh, March* 15, 1876.

My Lord,

M. DE GIERS told me this morning that satisfactory intelligence had been received yesterday from Servia, and that the Prince had given tranquillizing assurances to the Russian Agent at Belgrade.

He stated that Prince Gortchakow was still hopeful of a good result to the pacificatory influences now in action; but he observed that the telegrams received were of such a contradictory nature that it was impossible to form any correct judgment as to the future.

We must await, his Excellency said, the final result of General Rodich's mission.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 413.

Sir A. White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 20.)

(Telegraphic.) *Belgrade, March* 20, 1876.

THE language of my Austrian colleague to Prince Milan when insisting on a pacific pledge on his part implied ultimatum on the part of Guaranteeing Powers, and eventually occupation of Servia in case of refusal.

No. 414.

*Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received March* 20, *at night.*)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, March* 20, 1876.

I AM told by Count Andrassy that the Porte having agreed to a suspension of hostilities for twelve days to enable insurgent Chiefs to confer with Turkish Commander-in-chief, General Rodich has been ordered to arrange this conference without delay, and to attend it himself. Fourteen days will be allowed for the acceptance of the amnesty, and the property of the rangers and insurgents, not accepting it before the end of that period, will be confiscated, and the proceeds of the sale applied to the relief of sufferers from insurrection.

Porte professes to have deposed 20,000 Turkish pounds at Moscow for assisting refugees, and that a further sum will be remitted if required.

Reinforcements of regular troops will, however, still be necessary for maintenance of order.

No. 415.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 21.)

(No. 252.) *Pera, March* 1, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a note from Raschid Pasha which has been sent to the Representatives of the Guaranteeing Powers, communicating to them the measures that have been decided upon by the Porte for facilitating the return of the refugees from the insurgent districts who are at present in Servia, Austria, and Montenegro.

Special functionaries had been delegated to protect them from violence and oppression.

The local authorities had been directed to give them pecuniary relief, and to afford the necessary facilities for the restoration of their houses and churches, as well as the means of cultivating the land.

The tithe is remitted for a year, and the "impôt" for two years; this vague expression including, I am told, the tax for military exemption, and some others.

The Austrian-Hungarian Government have been invited to make these arrangements known to the refugees at present within the Emperor's dominions.

That Government formerly represented the number who had entered their territory to exceed 100,000, but I understand this to be now ascertained to have been a great exaggeration, and the number now actually in Austria does not probably reach 55,000.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 415.

Raschid Pasha to Sir H. Elliot.

Sublime Porte, le 29 Février, 1876.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

J'AI l'honneur d'informer votre Excellence que les dispositions suivantes relatives au retour dans leurs foyers des familles qui de la Bosnie et de l'Herzégovine ont cherché un refuge sur le territoire Austro-Hongrois, en Serbie et au Monténégro, viennent d'être arrêtées:

* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.

La Sublime Porte s'inspirant de ses sentiments de bienveillance envers ces familles dont la situation fait l'objet de toute sa sollicitude, a décidé, pour leur assurer avant tout une entière protection, de déléguer des fonctionnaires ayant pour mandat de veiller à ce qu'elles soient à l'abri de toute violence et de tout arbitraire. Elle a donné aux autorités locales l'ordre de leur fournir des subsides, toutes les facilités nécessaires pour la reconstruction de leurs maisons et de leurs églises et de procurer aux cultivateurs les moyens qui leur seront indispensables pour reprendre leurs travaux. Enfin elle a décidé de faire aux populations des localités éprouvées remise de la dîme pour la présente année et de l'impôt pour deux ans.

En informant votre Excellence que j'ai prié le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique de porter à la connaissance de ces familles qui se trouvent en Autriche-Hongrie les nouvelles faveurs dont elles sont l'objet de la part du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, je saisis, &c.

(Signé) RASCHID.

No. 416.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 253. Confidential.)

Constantinople, March 2, 1876.

My Lord,

COUNT ZICHY expressed to me to-day the great satisfaction which he had had in being able to converse fully on subjects connected with the insurrection with Mr. Holmes, with whom he had had conversations of the highest interest.

This opening led naturally to the evidence given by Mr. Holmes of the encouragement which has been given by the Russian Consul at Ragusa to the insurgents and the Prince of Montenegro.

The conversation then turned upon the extreme anxiety of General Ignatiew, of which Count Zichy was quite aware, that some territorial concession should be made to that Principality.

I asked my colleague whether he did not think it plain that the cause of the anxiety was a wish on the part of the General to avoid the discredit of the appearance of having abandoned the Prince after having led him in a false direction.

I represented that the pacification would be regarded as due to the influence of the Austro-Hungarian Government if it followed simply on the acceptance by the Porte of Count Andrassy's proposals, but that if a territorial concession were claimed or obtained for Montenegro there was no one who would not attribute it to the exertions of Russia.

It would be Russia and not Austria which put an end to the movement.

For my own part, I said, I should like to see the Austro-Hungarian Government acquire over the Principality a portion of that influence which had hitherto belonged exclusively to the other Power, and I could not think it desirable to give my support to General Ignatiew in the measures which he would like to see adopted to prevent such a result.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 417.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 254.)

Constantinople, March 4, 1876.

My Lord,

WASSA EFFENDI, who is appointed to superintend the reforms to be inaugurated in the Herzegovina, and especially to provide for the return of the refugees, left Constantinople yesterday.

I was not previously acquainted with him, but, as far as I am able to judge, he appears to be a man of energy, and in earnest in the duty confided to him.

He is an Albanian by birth, a Roman Catholic by religion, and was, I believe, formerly a follower of Garibaldi.

The task that he has before him is an arduous one, and one of his first difficulties is likely to be in getting sufficient funds placed at his disposal for the relief of the destitute people he is to watch over.

I asked him also what power he would have of executing prompt and summary

punishment in the case of outrages against the refugees, and I cannot say that his answer is satisfactory.

There will be three different authorities in the provinces, all more or less independent, between whom some jealousy is pretty sure to arise; and I cannot find that any of them possesses the power of carrying out a summary capital punishment.

In this country, as in England, a soldier who murders a civilian is handed over for trial to the civil authority, which cannot carry out a capital sentence till it is confirmed from Constantinople, and the benefit of a prompt example, which is so essential in a state of things like the present, is thereby lost.

It is not to be expected that acts of violence will not be perpetrated against the refugees; for in addition to the fanatical feelings by which the Mussulmans may be animated, many of them must entertain a thirst for revenge for wives and children murdered, and for property carried off by those who are about to return, and it will require a firm hand and a resolute repression to keep them in check.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 418.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 263.)

Constantinople, March 7, 1876.

My Lord,

WHEN I received your Lordship's telegram of the 2nd instant, I informed Raschid Pasha what Mr. Acting Consul Freeman said respecting the book about to be printed at the official press of Bosna-Serai, which he considers of a nature calculated to inflame the fanaticism of the Mussulmans.

Raschid Pasha considered it highly undesirable that the publication of any irritating work should take place in Bosnia at the present moment, and said he would telegraph immediately to ascertain particulars of the work, and how the permission for its publication had come to be authorised; but he had not yesterday received an answer.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 419.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 264.)

Constantinople, March 7, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE read to Raschid Pasha what Mr. Acting Consul Freeman says in his despatch No. 11 of the 18th ultimo, of the necessity of not allowing the Mussulman population of Bosnia to go about with arms, while the Christians are not permitted to carry them.

Raschid Pasha considers that there might be much difficulty if it was proposed to make the Mussulmans give up their arms; but neither they nor the Christians should be allowed to come armed to the towns and bazaars.

The matter shall not, he says, be lost sight of.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 420.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 266.)

Constantinople, March 8, 1876.

My Lord,

THE Porte is much discouraged by the news just received from the Herzegovina.

Perfect confidence had been placed in the assurances received from the Austro-Hungarian Government that the Dalmatian frontier should be efficiently guarded, and that the insurgents should no longer receive from that quarter the assistance which had hitherto enabled them to maintain the struggle.

Information has now been received at the Porte that on Saturday last there was a severe engagement near the Dalmatian frontier, which was renewed the following day by a

body consisting, it is asserted, of 700 men, who passed from the Austrian territory accompanied by ample supplies of ammunition.

It will probably turn out that there has been much exaggeration of their numbers, but it is feared that an occurrence such as this will have a bad effect in Montenegro, and indispose the Prince to listen to the advice which had been sent to him from St. Petersburgh and Vienna.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 421.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March 21.*)

(No. 267.) *Constantinople, March 7, 1876.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of the instructions which have been issued by the Porte for the guidance of the Governors-General of the different Provinces of the Empire.

These instructions, if perfectly adhered to or enforced, appear calculated to remedy much of what is now complained of in the provincial administration, but till I see greater discrimination shewn in the selection of the Governors-General, and an abandonment of the system of changing them every two or three months, I shall not expect much benefit from them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 421.

Instructions relatives à l'Administration Générale des Vilayets.

Chapitre I.—*Devoirs des Valis.*

(Traduction.)

Article 1. L'Empire est divisé en provinces appelées Vilayets. L'administration de chaque vilayet est confiée à un Vali ou Gouverneur-Général.

Art. 2. Tous les sujets Ottomans, à quelque classe qu'ils appartiennent, sont, sans exception, égaux devant la loi. La sauvegarde des droits de chacun constituant l'unique but de l'institution des Etats, le premier et le plus impérieux devoir des valis est d'assurer et de garantir les droits de tous les sujets Ottomans collectivement ou individuellement, et de les mettre à l'abri de l'arbitraire et des vexations.

Art. 3. Les valis sont libres dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions, mais ils sont en même temps directement responsables vis-à-vis du Gouvernement de l'exécution de leur mandat.

Art. 4. Les devoirs des valis sont, en conformité des présentes instructions, divisés en deux catégories :

1. L'exécution des réformes ;
2. L'exercice de leurs fonctions dans les limites de leurs attributions.

Art. 5. Les devoirs incombant aux valis, en ce qui concerne l'exécution des réformes, consistent dans la mise en pratique pleine et entière des mesures arrêtées, en conformité du Ferman Impérial récemment promulgué. Leurs attributions, proprement dites, consistent à veiller au maintien et au développement régulier des réformes une fois qu'elles auront été appliquées, ainsi qu'à l'administration générale dans un sens conforme aux intérêts de l'Etat et du pays.

Chapitre II.—*Devoirs des Valis. Exécution des Réformes.*

Art. 6. Les devoirs relatifs à l'exécution des réformes comprennent :

(*a.*) Le nouveau mode d'élection de membres et de constitution des Tribunaux et des Conseils.

(*b.*) Le mode de classification et d'élection des agents de police, des percepteurs, des huissiers, du personnel de service des Conseils et des Tribunaux, ainsi que des gardiens ;

(*c.*) L'organisation et l'administration des prisons ;

(*d.*) L'amélioration des formalités relatives à la confection et à la délivrance des titres de propriété et la stricte observation de lois dans le transfert des propriétés foncières ;

(*e.*) La modification de la taxe d'exonération du service militaire et sa perception d'après un mode de répartition proportionnelle ;

(*f.*) L'application du système de prestations pour la construction des routes et autres, d'une manière équitable ;

(*g.*) Le progrès et le développement de l'agriculture ; la surveillance du bon emploi et de la régularité dans la comptabilité des fonds des Caisses Agricoles instituées dans ce but ;

(*h.*) La fixation de l'assiette de l'impôt ; la désignation des sources des contributions locales et l'adoption de moyens propres à en assurer la perception.

Art. 7. Le point le plus important de la formation des Conseils et des Tribunaux, cette partie essentielle des réformes, consiste dans le libre exercice de la faculté pour l'élection accordée à toutes les classes de la population, et qui doit s'exercer à l'abri de toute ingérence ; ainsi les Valis doivent :—

(*a.*) Veiller à ce que le choix tant des électeurs envoyés par les villages que des éligibles désignés par eux s'effectue en dehors de toute influence des fonctionnaires du Gouvernement ou des notables du pays ;

(*b.*) Traduire immédiatement en justice, pour être punis d'après la loi, tout individu, quel qu'il soit, qui, par un sentiment d'animosité personnelle contre un des éligibles aura cherché à intimider les électeurs, soit ouvertement soit en secret, afin d'empêcher l'élection ou d'annuler le vote ;

(*c.*) Choisir sur la liste des membres élus par la population en nombre double de celui qui serait nécessaire, suivant les instructions spéciales, les personnes qui jouissent le plus de la confiance publique.

Les Valis doivent veiller en personne à la rigoureuse application du mode d'élection ci-dessus indiqué, et tenir la main à ce que les Mutessarifs et les Caïmacams s'y conforment également.

Art. 8. Dans la composition des corps d'agents de police et de percepteurs, ainsi que dans le choix du personnel de service et des gardiens, on sera tenu de se conformer aux instructions spéciales dont il est fait mention dans l'Article relatif à l'exécution des réformes.

Les attributions de ces agents font en quelque sorte partie de celle des Valis, ces derniers personnifiant le Pouvoir Exécutif, et les agents en question étant des intermédiaires pour l'exécution. Les Valis sont donc tenus de veiller à ce que ces agents s'acquittent des obligations qui leur incombent dans les limites des instructions spéciales.

Art. 9. Dans le choix des agents de police ou autres, on devra écarter avec le plus grand soin les individus ayant une mauvaise conduite, et ne prendre que des personnes honorables et dignes de confiance appartenant à n'importe quelle classe de la population.

Les Valis doivent prescrire formellement à qui de droit d'apporter la plus grande attention à ce que le choix de ces agents se fasse exactement dans les conditions ci-dessus. Ils seront responsables, dans le cas où les personnes, ainsi choisies, venant à commettre des actes répréhensibles et contraires aux instructions spéciales, ils apportaient de la négligence à les envoyer devant les Tribunaux.

Art. 10. L'organisation et l'administration des prisons ont un double but. Le premier, c'est d'éviter que les personnes qui subissent un interrogatoire soient détenues avec celles condamnées à des peines édictées par la loi ; le second de faire en sorte, que personne ne soit retenu inutilement et sans jugement en prison.

La haute surveillance des prisons est confiée aux Valis dans les vilayets, aux Mutessarifs dans les sandjaks, et aux Caïmacams dans les cazas. Un greffier nommé par l'autorité et qui est en même temps directeur de la prison, sera chargé d'enregistrer les noms des détenus et de dresser des rapports.

Art. 11. Les Valis prendront, avant tout, les dispositions nécessaires pour constituer les Conseils dans la forme recommandée. Ils désigneront les directeurs et les gardiens des prisons. Ils établiront ensuite, dans le chef-lieu des vilayets et des sandjaks, un Comité d'enquête préliminaire composé d'un Président et de deux membres, Musulmans et non-Musulmans.

Art. 12. Ces Comités auront pour mandat de s'enquérir des causes qui ont motivé l'arrestation, par les zaptiés, des prévenus et d'ordonner qu'ils soient emprisonnés et interrogés, dans le cas où l'acte qui leur est attribué serait de nature à entraîner des pénalités édictées par la loi ; de faire mettre immédiatement en liberté, sous caution, ceux dont la conduite ne motiverait pas l'application de la loi ; de veiller à ce que personne ne soit retenu sans nécessité en prison.

Les Comités dresseront journellement, et remettront aux valis, des rapports indiquant ceux parmi les individus amenés à la police, qui ont été mis en liberté, et ceux qui ont été maintenus en état d'arrestation.

Art. 13. Tous les sujets Ottomans pourront indistinctement acquérir des terres appartenant aux particuliers, cédées par voie de transfert, ou à l'Etat comme "mahlul" (déshérence), vendues par voie d'adjudication, ou bien enfin des terres qui seraient libres.

Art. 14. Des instructions spéciales seront élaborées concernant le mode de confection et de délivrance des titres de propriété, le principe et la perception de la taxe d'exonération du service militaire, la construction des routes et autres travaux d'utilité publique, le progrès et le développement de l'agriculture, l'administration des caisses agricoles et enfin l'amélioration de l'assiette de l'impôt et des sources des contributions locales. Ces instructions seront des plus explicites touchant les attributions relatives à ces matières des valis qui seront tenus de s'y conformer strictement.

Les valis sont autorisés à exécuter toutes les mesures visées par des instructions spéciales et ils demeurent personnellement responsables tant de leur non-exécution que des abus qui pourraient se produire.

Chapitre III.—*Devoirs généraux des Valis ou leurs attributions proprement dites.*

Art. 15. Les devoirs des valis sont, ainsi qu'il a été spécifié dans le Chapitre I, d'assurer le maintien et le développement régulier des réformes qui auront reçu leur application.

Art. 16. Les devoirs indiqués dans le présent chapitre constituent la mission des Valis; ils sont tenus de veiller constamment à ce que les fonctionnaires, dans les diverses branches de l'administration du vilayet, remplissent, de leur côté, les obligations qui leur incombent. Ils sont par conséquent autorisés à relever de leurs fonctions ceux des employés placés directement sous leurs ordres qui négligeraient leurs devoirs ou commettraient des actes illégaux ou contraires aux instructions les concernant. Toutefois, cette destitution ne pourra avoir lieu qu'après une enquête préalable et un jugement qui serait conforme aux circonstances et aux règlements spéciaux. Pour les employés dont le renvoi n'exige pas l'autorisation de la Sublime Porte, les valis sont tenus de lui soumettre les causes ayant motivé la destitution. Quant à ceux qui ne peuvent être relevés de leurs fonctions que directement par la Sublime Porte, les valis devront faire connaître préalablement à Constantinople les circonstances qui motivent et justifient leur destitution. Dans le cas où des employés ne relèvant pas directement des Valis, mais d'un Ministère ou d'une Administration quelconque, commettraient des actes répréhensibles, les Valis en informeront le Ministère ou l'Administration dont dépendent ces employés.

Toute négligence de la part des Valis, dans la surveillance qu'ils doivent exercer sur les actes des employés subordonnés, entraînera leurs responsabilité. Les fonctionnaires placés directement sous les ordres des Valis et agissant d'après leurs instructions, sont également responsables dans les limites de leurs attributions spéciales.

Art. 17. Les Valis sont autorisés à prendre toutes les mesures de police qu'ils jugeront nécessaires. Toutefois, en cas d'incidents extraordinaires pouvant troubler l'ordre public, ils doivent, tout en procédant à ce que de droit, pour en découvrir les causes, en référer à la Sublime Porte. De même, en pareil cas, les Mutessarifs demanderont des instructions aux valis et tout en prenant les dispositions dictées par les circonstances, ils pourront porter les faits à la connaissance de la Sublime Porte, suivant les exigences de la localité et de l'affaire.

Art. 18. Il est expressément défendu aux valis d'employer pour leur service personnel les agents et les officiers de police, à quelque titre et sous quelque prétexte que ce soit. Cette défense s'étend également aux Mutessarifs, aux Caïmacams et aux autres fonctionnaires de l'Etat.

Art. 19. Toutes les fois que les agents de police, les percepteurs ou les huissiers se feraient donner dans les villages, gratuitement, des vivres et des fourrages, les habitants sont autorisés à adresser immédiatement leurs plaintes à l'autorité et les valis sont tenus de veiller toujours à ce que de pareils faits ne se produisent pas et à ce que les contrevenants soient punis d'après la loi.

Art. 20. Il est rigoureusement défendu de se procurer, au moyen d'abus ou de vexations, des bêtes de somme nécessaires au transport d'une localité à l'autre, des effets militaires et des munitions.

Art. 21. Les valis doivent inspecter continuellement les prisons, s'enquérir de la situation et de l'hygiène des prisonniers; veiller à ce qu'ils aient une occupation, à ce que ceux d'entr'eux qui ont purgé leur condamnation soient immédiatement mis en liberté, et enfin à ce que personne ne soit retenue longtemps en prison sans jugement. Si les procès des individus préventivement détenus traînent en longueur, devant les tribunaux qui en sont saisis, les valis devront faire accélérer l'instruction et mettre à exécution les jugements rendus.

Art. 22. Les Valis se serviront des Présidents des Tribunaux Civils pour la surveillance des prisons et pour la constatation de la situation des détenus.

Art. 23. Les Valis prendront en sérieuse considération les observations et communications des directeurs des prisons, concernant la situation générale des prisonniers et l'amélioration des prisons. Ils feront dresser à la fin de chaque trimestre, pour être transmis au Ministère de la Justice, un tableau général indiquant le nombre d'individus entrés en prison dans cet espace de temps, ceux d'entre eux qui ont été mis en liberté et ceux que l'on a dû maintenir en état d'arrestation. Les Mutessarifs et les Caïmacams devront se conformer également dans les Sandjaks et les Cazas aux prescriptions concernant les prisons.

Art. 24. Les valis n'interviendront en aucune façon dans le choix des membres connue dans les délibérations des tribunaux. Toutefois, si l'examen des affaires dont les tribunaux doivent connaître et des procès en matière pénale venaient à subir des retards, ou si des plaintes étaient formulées de la part des intéressés, les valis en informeront les Présidents des Tribunaux, et, au besoin, le Ministère de la Justice, et feront ainsi accélérer la marche des procès. En outre, ils sont tenus d'exécuter les jugements rendus et de ne pas ajourner, sans motif, une affaire déjà jugée.

Art. 25. Ainsi que le prescrit la loi, il est formellement défendu aux valis d'influencer tant soit peu les tribunaux et de laisser supposer, pendant le jugement, qu'ils protègent l'une des parties en litige.

Art. 26. Les jugements des Tribunaux Nizamié dans les affaires civiles et correctionnelles seront libellés en langue Turque; ils porteront au bas du texte et suivant les localités, la traduction en Arabe, en Grec, en Bulgare, en Bosniaque, ou en Albanien.

Art. 27. Les valis sont chargé de la surveillance, en général, dans les provinces, de la perception, de la conservation, de l'expédition et de l'emploi des revenus de l'Etat. Ils auront soin de se conformer aux dispositions des règlements et des instructions spéciales qui déterminent les limites des pouvoirs et de la responsabilité qui leur appartiennent de ce chef conjointement avec les Defterdars.

Art. 28. Les valis n'ont aucun pouvoir d'imposer à la population, sans un ordre supérieur, et sans la sanction d'un Iradé Impérial, aucune nouvelle taxe, ni de réduire au-dessous du chiffre fixé un des impôts existants. Leurs attributions consistent à administrer les affaires financières, à opérer à temps et convenablement les rentrés de revenus établis, à apporter de l'économie dans les dépenses, c'est-à-dire à sauvegarder les intérêts du Trésor dans les dépenses déterminées comme dans celles qui ne le sont pas, à préserver enfin de toute perte les revenus de l'Etat en général, à agir enfin avec équité dans la perception, tout en veillant à ce que des arriérés ne s'accumulent pas par la négligence des employés. Les valis peuvent, s'ils constatent quelques illégalités dans l'assiette ou dans le chiffre de l'impôt, en étudier la modification et l'amélioration et les soumettre à la Sublime Porte. Ils doivent, en outre, s'enquérir constamment si les Defterdars conforment leurs actes aux instructions concernant leurs fonctions.

Art. 29. De nouvelles et spéciales instructions régleront le mode de construction des routes et d'autres travaux d'utilité publique sur la base de l'abolition du système des corvées qui demeurent formellement défendues.

Art. 30. Les dispositions testamentaires relatives aux successions Chrétiennes sont maintenues.

Il ne sera pas touché aux biens des mineurs Musulmans et non-Musulmans ayant des tuteurs et l'on devra se conformer à cet égard aux lois et aux usages établis. En cas de plaintes contre la conduite des tuteurs envers les mineurs, l'autorité prendra ces derniers sous sa protection, tout en portant au sérieux examen sur l'objet des plaintes formulées.

Art. 31. Les valis sont autorisés à tenir la main à une prompte expédition, dans les localités placées sous leur juridiction, des affaires civiles, financières ou de police. Ils transmettront directement à cet égard, les ordres nécessaires aux Mutessarifs et aux Caïmacams et appliqueront les décisions prises par le Gouvernement. Les employés en sous ordres de l'administration devront toujours s'adresser aux valis. Pour les affaires judiciaires les Mutessarifs sont tenus de s'adresser au besoin au Ministère de la Justice, d'exécuter les ordres et décisions que leur seront communiqués et d'en donner avis aux valis.

Art. 32. Les valis devront faire en personne des tournées d'inspection dans l'intérieur des provinces et veiller à la marche régulière des affaires en général.

Chapitre IV.—*Devoirs des Mutessarifs et des Caïmacams.*

Art. 33. Les Mutessarifs sont, dans les Sandjaks, les représentants du vali. Leurs devoirs sont identiques à ceux des valis indiqués dans les présentes instructions. De même que la surveillance des valis s'étend sur les Sandjaks, les Mutessarifs surveillent, de même, à leur tour, les Cazas dépendant du Sandjaks à la tête duquel ils sont placés.

Art. 34. Les Mutessarifs communiquent et confient aux Caïmacams toute exécution

concernant les affaires rentrant dans la limite des pouvoirs à eux conférés. Pour les questions dépassant cette limite, ils en réfèrent préalablement aux valis et agissent en conséquence.

Art. 35. Dans les affaires de police d'une haute importance, les Mutessarifs, tout en demandant des instructions aux valis, sont autorisés à en informer au besoin la Sublime Porte. Dans les affaires judiciaires, ils pourront également correspondre avec le Ministère de la Justice.

Art. 36. Les Caïmacams sont dans les Cazas les représentants des Mutessarifs. Leurs devoirs consistent à exécuter les dispositions des présentes instructions relatives à l'Administration des Cazas et à veiller à l'expédition des affaires civiles, financières et judiciaires.

Chapitre V.—*Attributions des Conseils et des Tribunaux.*

Art. 37. Les membres des Tribunaux Nizamiés doivent se conformer aux lois établies et ne jamais s'écarter des principes de la justice et de l'équité.

En vertu de l'impartialité des tribunaux, leurs membres jouissent d'une entière liberté et indépendance dans leur opinion. Les membres des tribunaux sont placés en corps, sous la dépendance du Ministère de la Justice.

Art. 38. Les Conseils d'Administration présidés par les Valis dans les Vilayets, par les Mutessarifs dans les Sandjaks et par les Caïmacams dans les Cazas connissent des affaires administratives concernant l'Etat et le pays. Leur devoir consiste à donner librement leur avis sur les affaires qui sont soumises à leurs délibérations conformément à la loi et à l'usage.

Art. 39. Les membres des Conseils d'Administration ne sont pas responsables d'une exécution contraire à leurs décisions. Ils doivent toutefois s'abstenir de tout abus dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions. La responsabilité résultant des actes exécutés, contrairement aux décisions annulées ou ajournées sans motifs, retombera sur les fonctionnaires chargés du pouvoir exécutif.

Art. 40. Dans le cas où les membres des Conseils d'Administration reconnaîtraient des irrégularités ou des injustices dans le service administratif, ils pourront communiquer, par un rapport à la Sublime Porte, le résultat des constatations qu'ils auront effectuées en se tenant dans les limites de la stricte justice. Tout individu qui serait l'objet de vexations exercées contre sa personne ou d'injustices commises contre ses intérêts, de la part d'un fonctionnaire public ou d'un simple particulier, a le droit de s'en plaindre directement à la Sublime Porte. Toutefois, s'il est constaté que ces plaintes sont le résultat d'une animosité personnelle, le calomniateur sera passible des peines édictées par la loi.

Disposition Finale.

Le Comité d'Inspection du Conseil Exécutif est chargé de veiller à la stricte exécution des présentes instructions. Toute infraction à leurs dispositions entraînera la responsabilité devant la loi.

No. 422

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 271. Confidential.)
Constantinople, March 10, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a report from Mr. Sandison of a conversation with Rashid Pasha on the engagement between the Imperial troops and insurgents who had passed from Dalmatia, and upon complaints which appear to have been made by Count Andrassy at St. Petersburgh, at the want of diligence shown by the Porte in preparing for the return of the refugees.

Count Zichy has judged the action of the Porte differently from the Austro-Hungarian Prime Minister, for he has frequently spoken to me in praise of the good-will with which the necessary measures were being prepared.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 422.

Mr. Sandison to Sir H. Elliot.

(Confidential.)
Pera, March 8, 1876.

Sir,

INTELLIGENCE reached the Porte from the Herzegovina yesterday, announcing a fresh engagement between the Imperial troops and the insurgents at a place called Iposhka, near the Dalmatian frontier. The fighting commenced on the Saturday and was renewed the next day, when the insurgents received reinforcements from Dalmatia consisting of a body of 700 men, accompanied by twenty horse loads of ammunition. In communicating the news for your Excellency's information, Rashid Pasha said he could not possibly reconcile it with the assurances received from Austria in regard to the maintenance of a strict neutrality on her frontier after the adoption of Count Andrassy's note, and that there could be little doubt of such proceedings being at this moment calculated to influence considerably the policy and intentions of the Prince of Montenegro with reference to the pacification of the insurrection, which, under similar circumstances, would naturally become impossible; but what seems to have caused greater surprise to Rashid Pasha is a despatch from Count Andrassy to Prince Gortchakow, the substance of which was telegraphed by Caboull Pasha, complaining of want of diligence and good will on the part of the Porte in making the necessary arrangements for the return of the refugees into the Herzegovina. Now the Porte has acted in this instance in strict conformity with the suggestions of the Austrian Government, which thought it desirable that the work of the pacification, and more particularly of the return of the refugees, should not really begin until after the arrival of the Imperial Commissioners in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Porte, nevertheless, made various arrangements against the return of the refugees, and now that almost everything is in readiness Rashid Pasha thinks it really strange that Count Andrassy should find any cause for dissatisfaction or complaint on this score.

Should the neutrality of the Dalmatian frontier be not strictly maintained there is no saying, his Excellency went on to say, what turn things might take for Turkey, particularly in the event of any necessity to enter Montenegro. He hopes, however, that after all the concessions which have been made, Europe would have no reason to lay the blame on Turkey for the continuation of the insurrection.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. SANDISON.

No. 423.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 272.)
Constantinople, March 10, 1876.

My Lord,

DURING Mr. Consul Holmes' stay at Constantinople I asked him to draw up a Memorandum respecting the immediate causes of the insurrection in the Herzegovina and the present position of affairs there and in Bosnia.

I have the honour now to inclose a copy of it, which your Lordship will find interesting.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 423.

Memorandum by Consul Holmes regarding the Affairs of the Herzegovina.

TO persons acquainted with the course of affairs during the last few years in Bosnia and the Herzegovina there can be no doubt that the insurrection was first brought about, and afterwards supported by, foreign influence.

There was no particular reason, or any excess of oppression, to justify or occasion a rising of the people in 1875 beyond what has existed any time since 1860, but it was seen that the moment was propitious, inasmuch as the troops had been, during the few last years, gradually withdrawn from the Herzegovina until there were scarcely more than seven or eight battalions in the Province.

A few individuals from Nevessine, the richest and most prosperous district of the Herzegovina, and which might naturally have been considered the least likely to revolt,

and which did not result during the former insurrection, were induced to avail themselves of some excuse to leave their homes and take refuge at Orahovo.

Fair pretexts were unfortunately not wanting in the circumstances of their mutual condition, and they were used to give an appearance of spontaneity to the movement. The first evident indication of foreign action was given by the intercourse between the refugees and the Omladina of Servia, which of once sent agents to confer with them and money to supply their wants. At this time the Priest of Montenegro complained that Servia was plotting to create some kind of disturbance, and that instead of summoning the Herzegovinians to Belgrade she was endeavouring to fix the responsibility on Montenegro by selecting Orahovo as the head-quarters of the conspiracy. After having arranged their plans and received their instructions the natives of Nevessine asked to be allowed to return to their homes. This was opposed by Dervish Pasha, who had suspicions of what had been going on, but the Porte was persuaded to give the permission demanded. Immediately after their return the people of Nevessine began the insurrectionary movement by refusing to receive zapticks and to pay certain taxes, and put forth every grievance they could allege to justify their conduct.

The Turks promised redress and every possible satisfaction, but without success, and the promoters of the insurrection divided into bands and spread over the country, raising the villages in every direction, destroying the houses of the inhabitants, and forcing them to take up arms. The Turks were quite unable to prevent this, as the small force they could command was barely sufficient to protect the towns, and they could not send a single battalion against the insurgent bands, who were thus quite free to dictate to the unprotected and unarmed Christian population, the greater part of whom rose in arms simply because they had no alternative.

As the insurrection spread the Dalmatians began to show the most enthusiastic sympathy with the insurgents by joining them in bands, and furnishing them with arms, ammunition, and provisions. No such sympathy was manifested during the insurrection in 1860-61. The Montenegrins also began to join them; and then the districts of Piva, Drobniak, Baniani, and Zupci, which have enjoyed perfect liberty and, in consequence of arrangements with the Porte, have been annually receiving certain sums of money from the Government ever since 1862, also rose in arms and joined the revolt. This is supposed to have been partly at the instigation of Montenegro and partly from a turbulent nature in sympathy with their fellow-Christians. Since that moment, though the Prince Nicolas on the one side, and the Austrian Government on the other, have loudly asserted their neutrality and their friendship for the Porte, both the Montenegrins and the Dalmatians have openly given every possible aid to the insurgents, and have, in fact, done everything that declared enemies to Turkey could have effected short of sending their regular troops to take part in the insurrection.

In spite also of all the declarations of the Russian Government the Russian Consulate at Ragusa appeared to be the head-quarters of the revolt. It was the rendezvous of all the leaders when they came to Ragusa. Messages, despatches, and telegrams were incessantly received and transmitted, as if the direction of the whole matter were in the hands of the Russian Consul-General.

Under these extraordinary circumstances it became evident as early as the end of September that as long as Austria and Montenegro, apparently supported and guided by Russia, continued to allow their frontiers to be opened to the armed insurgents and closed against the Turks, and that the former were openly supplied with everything which enabled them to to keep the field, while the latter could never bring to bay or pursue them across the frontier, it was totally impossible for Turkey to suppress the revolt, even if she had had double the number of troops in the Herzegovina, and Server Pasha, the Imperial Commissioner, would have done better service and have saved both time, money, and men, if he had frankly stated this fact instead of reporting victories which never occurred, and repeatedly asserting that the insurgents were returning to their homes and that the insurrection was virtually at an end.

The so-called insurrection in Bosnia might be better termed an invasion by bands openly formed in Austrian Croatia and Servia.

It has never extended beyond the range of their operations, and cannot be called a popular movement.

I may here remark that the conduct of Austria throughout seems to have been evidently the result of embarrassment caused by her extremely difficult position with regard to her Slave and Hungarian subjects, and not to have been intentionally hostile to Turkey. The conduct of Russian officials, on the other hand, is without this excuse, and seems difficult to reconcile with her protestations of friendship for the Porte.

The promise of an entire change of the policy which has hitherto been pursued by

Austria and Montenegro (or Russia) will, I hope, if seriously carried out, speedily effect a pacification, which, however, might have been obtained in the same manner any time during the last four months.

And now the situation assumes another phase. The first result of pacification will be that the Austrian and Montenegrin Governments will insist on the return of all the poverty-stricken refugees—men, women and children—who have hitherto found asylum in Dalmatia and Montenegro, and the Turkish Government will have to immediately repair their ruined homesteads, furnish them with seed for this year's crops, provide for their support until next harvest, and afford them protection against the very natural feelings of vengeance which exist among the Turkish landholders, who have seen their property destroyed, and often their families murdered by the very people with whom they will be required to live on better terms than formerly.

The first difficulties can only be met by a liberal expenditure, the last by the most unflinching severity towards those who seek to revenge themselves. I can hardly believe it possible to avoid some cases of murder in retaliation at first, but I think that a few exemplary punishments will have the effect of speedily preventing them from becoming very frequent. As to the assistance to be given to support the people till the next harvest, I would strongly recommend it to be given in the form of payment for public works, and not as simple charity, the effect of which would be to encourage idleness and create a violent outcry when it was withdrawn. The distribution of all assistance in money and seed should, for obvious reasons, lie under the control, and on the responsibility, of a single individual of known probity.

With regard to the administrative reforms promised by the Government, there is one which has not been alluded to, and without which all others will be impossible, and that is the stability of the Governors-General in their offices. It is utterly absurd to imagine that, while these functionaries are changed every few months, any reforms can be carried out. No one can be expected even to learn the requirements of the Province entrusted to his care in less than six months, and unless he is assured of being allowed sufficient time to carry out his projects he has no inducement to inaugurate them, and can have no ambition beyond his own personal interests. It is, therefore, evident that the system which has so long obtained, is suicidal to all good government, and must certainly be changed if any amelioration is sincerely intended.

The division of Herzegovina and Bosnia into two separate Pashalics is, I consider, impracticable, as the former is a small and comparatively unproductive Province intimately connected with the latter in all its interests, and dependent on it for its requirements. A single Governor-General could contrive his arrangements so as to satisfy the exigencies of both together, while two separate Administrations would inevitably induce antagonism and confusion. Bosnia and the Herzegovina should, therefore, form one Vilayet, under a Governor-General selected for his courage, energy, probity, and intelligence. He should be vested with full power to act as he judges for the best on his own responsibility, and should be assured of, at least, six years' tenure of office, unless he proved clearly incompetent to fulfil his duties. He should also be allowed to choose his own subordinates.

The equality of the Christian and Mussulman population has been proclaimed, but this can never be a matter of fact until the former are permitted the privilege of serving their country as soldiers, or as long as the permission of carrying arms is accorded to the one and denied to the other; while these distinctive marks of inferiority are imposed on the Christians they will always feel in the position of a conquered race, and no real feeling of equality can possibly exist.

I cannot conclude this Memorandum without a few words on the subject of the condition of the Imperial troops in the Herzegovina during the last few months. I have myself seen battalions arrive from a long march, of which a large proportion were barefooted and almost in rags. Even at Mostar, where there was no reason for any difficulty in the nourishment of the troops, the soldiers constantly crept into the private houses and begged for bread. They often sold the powder of the cartridges given them to the shopkeepers in the bazaars for a few apples or a little tobacco. The only gunpowder which my French colleague could obtain for sporting purposes was from this source. I have often myself seen soldiers in the streets following an officer with expostulations about the lightness and bad quality of their rations, whose entreaties were received with curses and a rapid retreat into the nearest coffee-shop. At Gatzko for some months the troops during the most inclement weather, and on harrassing duty, were fed solely on dry biscuits and a handful of mouldy flour; there were no ovens to make it into bread. The men were without proper covering, and were crowded together in tents deep in mud and surrounded with snow, half of their number being ill. The doctors and apothecaries declared that

there was no proper supply of medicines or any food fit for the sick, and the soldiers themselves have told me that their sufferings could not be expressed in language.

In the meantime all the officers I have seen at Mostar were clad in expensive furs, new boots, and comfortable clothes, and were in the habit of spending without hesitation 50 and 60 piastres a-night in the cafés, when their salaries hardly, perhaps, amounted to 300 or 400 piastres per month.

All this is only to be explained by the fact that the officers appointed as superintendents of the bakeries, butcheries, forage departments, &c., were in league with the bakers, butchers, and others to defraud the Government at the expense of the soldiers. The contractors for provisions are also said to have been understood with the officers that for a certain consideration their supplies would be passed without examination, and they, therefore, bought at Trieste damaged provisions at the lowest possible price, and soldiers have told me that often large stones were found in the sacks to make weight. These facts eloquently testify to the excellence of the common soldier, who never refused to do his duty under circumstances which no troops in Europe would have submitted to for a day; but at the same time they cover the officers with infamy. There is another curious fact to which I would call attention, and that is that scarcely a single superior officer has been killed or even wounded throughout the campaign, except, I think, one binbashi at the defeat of Shefket Pasha at Muratovizza.

At least 2,000 baggage-horses perished during December and January from sheer starvation, while I have no doubt that full rations were regularly charged to the Government. I need scarcely allude to the reports of victories where hundreds of insurgents were said to have been destroyed, while only seven or eight of the troops were killed, under circumstances which rendered these accounts absolutely impossible. This is a grievous tale of incapacity, cowardice, and venality on the part of the officers of the Turkish army, but I can most conscientiously state that it is not exaggerated. There may have been, of course, some officers who have seen these things with regret, but have been incapable of remedying them, though I am sorry to say I cannot point them out.

(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Pera, February 29, 1876.

No. 424.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 277.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, March* 13, 1876.

I FOUND Rashid Pasha to-day much gratified by a communication made to him by Count Zichy of the measures which are being taken by the Austro-Hungarian Government to guard their frontiers.

Ljubibratich, and several of his companions of secondary importance who had been arrested, would be "internés," while some Italian sympathizers and the Dutch lady Mdlle. Merkus, who has been an active agent in the distribution of assistance to the insurgents, who had likewise been taken, would be, or had already been, put on board a steamer to be conveyed out of the country.

Rashid Pasha gratefully acknowledged the good will which the Austrian Government are now showing.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 425.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 279.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, March* 13, 1876.

RASCHID PASHA has been informed from Belgrade that the Prince of Servia had ordered the militia to be held ready to march to the frontier at the shortest notice to repel a probable attack by Turkey.

His Excellency observed that he had very recently reminded the Servian Agent that the Porte was prohibited by international engagements with the Great Powers from invading the Principality as long as it kept the peace, and that it was therefore impossible for him to admit that Prince Milan could seriously apprehend attack.

I said that, as the last accounts I had received from Belgrade were of a more satisfactory character, and had announced a discontinuance of the armaments, I greatly doubted the accuracy of the information he had received.

I have, however, telegraphed to Mr. White to ascertain the truth of it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 426.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 281.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, March* 13, 1876.

THE accounts which have reached Constantinople from the seat of the insurrection during the last few days have been more than usually contradictory; for, while rumours have been current of a severe check suffered by the Imperial troops, the accounts received by the Porte represent them as having been entirely successful.

I inclose copies of the information communicated by the Porte.

Raschid Pasha, whom I questioned to-day on the subject, assured me that the telegrams from Mostar and Ragusa made no mention of a loss of guns, though he stated that, after accomplishing the revictualling of Piva, the troops had found themselves in such deep snow, that they lost most of their horses.

It appears extremely probable that, under those circumstances, they may have been unable to extricate the whole of their guns.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 426.

Extract from the "Turquie" of March 13, 1876.

Sublime Porte, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.

Direction de la Presse.

(Communiqué.)

DES bruits erronés ayant circulé sur un engagement qui a eu lieu entre les troupes Impériales et les insurgés, la Direction de la Presse invite les journaux à publier les nouvelles officielles parvenues à la Sublime Porte, et qui se résument ainsi qu'il suit :

Sélim Pacha a ravitaillé Gransko pour trois mois ; ayant rencontré les insurgés sur la route de Gatchko, il les a défaits et mis en déroute ; puis, nos troupes ont rejoint sans difficulté le Muchir à Gatchko.

Le Directeur de la Presse,
(Signé) O. HAMDY.

Télégramme adressé par le Consul-Général de Turquie à Raguse à son Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, en date du 10 *Mars.*

Sélim Pacha, après avoir remis 20,000 sacs de farine à Piva, a été, à son retour près Muratovitza, entouré par les insurgés surgissant de tous côtés ; il les a repoussés en leur causant des pertes sensibles ; celles de l'armée sont relativement minimes. Au milieu des neiges d'une hauteur de plus de trois pics, nos troupes se sont frayé un passage et sont revenues à Gasco, après avoir accompli leur périlleuse mission. Le Maréchal est allé de son côté et arrivé à Gasco. Cris de victoire des rebelles infondés.

Télégramme adressé à la Sublime Porte par son Excellence Ahmed Mouhhtar Pacha, Commandant-en-chef des Troupes Impériales en Bosnie et en Herzégovine, en date du
25 février
9 Mars.

Le férik Sélim Pacha parti de Gatchko, pour ravitailler Piva, a repoussé les insurgés réunis sur les hauteurs. Après avoir ravitaillé cette place, il a défait complètement, à son

retour à Monsedovitza, une bande d'insurgés qu'il a rencontrés sur sa route. Il a fait ensuite son entrée à Gatchko.

No. 427.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 282.)
My Lord,

Constantinople, March 13, 1876.

FROM the more detailed information which has now reached the Austro-Hungarian Embassy it appears that the number of refugees still in Austria greatly exceeds what was supposed a week ago.

They amount, it seems, to not less than 65,000, who have hitherto been supported at the expense of the Austro-Hungarian Government.

It has been intimated that further assistance will not be given to these as there is nothing to prevent them from returning to their own country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 428.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 283. Confidential.)
My Lord,

Constantinople, March 13, 1876.

I ASKED Raschid Pasha to-day whether there was any truth in a report that had reached me, of an intention on the part of the Porte to send Hobart Pasha to take the command of a Turkish squadron in the Adriatic.

He replied that no decision to that effect had been come to, although it was thought that an officer of Admiral Hobart's activity might maintain a more effectual control in preventing supplies from reaching the insurgents by sea.

I said that I thought it would be extremely injudicious to dispatch Admiral Hobart upon any such mission at the present moment.

The whole of the seaboard to be guarded was Austria, and all that the Admiral could do would be to watch the Austrian cruizers to ascertain whether they effectually performed their duty.

We had every reason to suppose the Austro-Hungarian Government to be at present thoroughly in earnest in desiring to prevent assistance reaching the insurgents, and I could not think it desirable to do anything which would be taken as implying a want of confidence in their sincerity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 429.

Mr. Vivian to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 21.)
My Lord,

Bucharest, March 13, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that an officer of the Servian Artillery, named Stevan Panlovitch, with two other Servian officers, came to Bucharest, a few days ago, with a commission to purchase trained cavalry horses.

From what I can learn the object of their stay here was not so much the purchase of the horses as the arrangements for their transport. They only offered a very low price—not quite 20*l.* a horse; but they said they had reason to believe they could get them in Russian Bessarabia where, I believe, the officers have gone.

They are said to be authorized to buy 2,000 horses.

While they were here, I hear, they endeavoured to negotiate the purchase of some Krupp cannon from the Roumanian Government, but I do not think they succeeded in coming to any arrangement.

All their purchases were to be delivered as quickly as possible.

I have arranged with my Austrian and French colleagues to endeavour to ascertain

what these officers do in Bessarabia, and whether they get any horses from the Russians, but, unfortunately, none of us have any Consular Agents there.

Mr. White, to whom I telegraphed upon the subject, confirms the fact of the mission of these officers for the purpose of purchasing horses.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. VIVIAN.

No. 430.

Mr. Vivian to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 25. Political.)
My Lord,

Bucharest, March 15, 1876.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 21, of the 13th instant, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to whom I have since spoken upon the subject, confirms the arrival of three Servian officers to purchase cavalry horses and to arrange for their transport.

He professed to know nothing of their overtures to purchase the Krupp cannon, and upon my telling him that I believed they had seen the Minister of War, he said he was unaware of it and that the Minister ought to have reported it to his colleagues.

He further informed me that his answer to the Servian officers had been that so long as Servia was at peace with Turkey the Roumanian Government had no objection to offer to their purchase or transport of horses through these Principalities, but in the event of a declaration of war the transmit of all contraband of war would be strictly and immediately prohibited.

I do not think the Servians have succeeded in buying the cannon, and I shall hear what they do about the horses.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. VIVIAN.

No. 431.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 140. Confidential.)
My Lord,

Vienna, March 17, 1876.

WITH reference to Mr. Consul Taylor's report No. 1 of the 10th instant, of which he states a copy was sent direct to your Lordship, I have the honour to inform you, that no information has been received at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Christian families having recently sought refuge in Dalmatia, and that the Austrian subject, who is said by Mr. Taylor to have been wilfully murdered on Austrian territory by Turkish soldiers, was accidently killed in a skirmish near the frontier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 432.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 141. Confidential.)
My Lord,

Vienna, March 17, 1876.

HAVING met Count Andrassy yesterday when riding, I spoke to him of the difficulties reported in Mr. Monson's despatches Nos. 18 and 19, which threaten to impede if not prevent, the pacification of the insurgent provinces of Turkey. His Excellency said he was aware of the existence of these difficulties, and that the current of official and popular feeling at Ragusa is opposed to the success of the reforms, which the Porte has promised, and to the acceptance of the amnesty offered by the Sultan. He was accustomed, however, he said to swim against the stream, and the event would prove that he could do so successfully, and that notwithstanding the difficulties to which I had referred, the pacification of the provinces and their improved administration would be accomplished.

As I also mentioned the confidential and intimate terms on which Mr. Culbertson, the correspondent of the "Times," is said to live with the members of the Russian Consulate,

ved with Russians at Ragusa, who profess to have had no other object in coming there than to relieve the wants and sufferings of the refugees, his Excellency said he was aware of Mr. Stillman's connection with the Russian abettors of the insurrection, "qu'il navigait dans les eaux Russes," but he did not believe that his proceedings were encouraged by the representatives of Russian "Governmental views."

His Excellency also said that he considered the insurgent reports of the losses of the Turks at Maratovizza to be grossly exaggerated, and I have since learnt from an official source that the Austrian Consul at Trebigné, whose reports have been generally found trustworthy, represents the conflict to have been unimportant, and that therefore the Turkish account of it may be accepted as tolerably correct.

I have, &c,
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 433.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 142.)
My Lord, *Vienna, March* 18, 1876.

AS Count Andrassy stated to me some days ago that he had not yet heard of the Servian Government having received arms by the Russian frontier, I addressed a letter to him yesterday, of which I inclose a copy, containing the substance of Mr. Vivian's telegram to your Lordship of the 15th instant, reporting the arrival of three Servian officers at Bucharest to arrange for the transport of cavalry horses, which they were instructed to purchase in Roumania and in Bessarabia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 433.

Sir A. Buchanan to Count Andrassy.

Dear Count Andrássy, *Vienna, March* 17, 1876.

WITH reference to what you have recently said to me respecting Servian armaments, I may mention that Her Majesty's Government are informed that three Servian officers have been sent to Bucharest to arrange for the purchase of cavalry horses in Roumania, and for the transport of those they may buy in Russian Bessarabia, where they went, after having ascertained that no difficulty would be offered to their proceedings until Servia was actually at war.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 434.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 143. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, March* 18, 1876.

ALTHOUGH Count Andrassy speaks confidently of the certain success of the measures which are about to be taken by the Turkish authorities, in concert with those of Austria-Hungary in Croatia and Dalmatia, for the pacification of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, I learn from an official source here that the Government are fully aware of the present very unpromising aspect of the question.

When Hafiz Efendi arrived at Brod, on his way to Bosnia, he had a conference with the principal refugees in that neighbourhood, who surprised him as if the subject had never been seriously considered at Constantinople by stating the nature of the material and pecuniary assistance which the authorities must be prepared to afford to returning refugees, and the military measures which would be necessary to protect them from the armed and excited Turkish population, to whom the Government had confided in a great measure the defence of the country since the outbreak of the insurrection. I have been told that Hafiz Efendi, who went on to Serajevo, intended to ascertain from the Governor there whether the requirements of the emigrants could be complied with and how far military means could be employed for escorting them from the frontier, and subsequently protecting them in their villages.

My informant said that a considerable force would be necessary for the former object, and that, unless detachments of eight or ten men could be left at each village the refugees, many of whom are most anxious to return, would be afraid to do so.

Similar measures would, of course, be equally required to induce the refugees in Dalmatia to venture across the frontier; and the Turkish force in the provinces which cannot now, my informant said, exceed 12,000 men, would be inadequate for this duty, even if the insurrection were at an end, and its services were not required in the field. He is therefore of opinion that, without a great addition to the Turkish troops, there is little probability of peace and security being re-established in the districts which have been disturbed.

Another essential element for effecting that object is, he added, also wanting, as the Commissioners have arrived at their respective destinations empty-handed, and without having sufficient means to enable them to re-establish the peasantry in their homesteads, and to provide them with the necessaries of life until the harvest.

This view of the present state of affairs being entirely confirmed by Mr. Holmes' telegram to your Lordship of the 15th instant, it would appear that, unless the Porte can furnish without delay the troops and the money, which are evidently indispensable for repeopling the country, and re-establishing power and the authority of the Sultan, there is much reason to fear that the insurrection, which Count Andrassy flatters himself is already under his control, may continue indefinitely to be a serious drain on the resources of the Porte, if it does not lead to the more disastrous eventualities desired by the enemies of the Ottoman Empire.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 435.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 144.)
My Lord, *Vienna, March* 18, 1876.

DURING a conversation which I had yesterday with Baron Orczy, his Excellency said that, though Prince Milan is in some danger from the revolutionary party in Servia, he believed that the Servian Government will not venture on a war which they cannot hope to carry on successfully with a badly equipped regular army of about 9,000 men.

An article to this same in the "Presse" of the 16th instant probably also represents the opinion of the Austrian Government on the subject, and I therefore inclose a translation of it, taken from yesterday's "Correspondance Autrichienne."

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 435.

Extract from the "Presse" of March 16, 1876.

LA "Presse" ne peut croire, malgré les nouvelles alarmantes arrivées de Belgrade, à la sérieuse intention de la Serbie de provoquer un conflit:—"Le Prince Milan," dit-elle, "n'est pas couché, il est vrai, sur un lit de roses: il voit l'ordre menacé dans le pays par le parti du bouleversement et son trône convoité par le jeune Pierre Karageorgiewitch. Les passions du peuple sont surexcitées, le désordre règne dans l'administration, et la confusion dans les finances du pays, par suite des dépenses considérables occasionnées par l'entretien d'armements. Et cependant il n'est pas à craindre que la Serbie se précipite, avec ou sans armements, dans une guerre insensée. Le Prince et ses conseillers ne savent que trop quelles seraient les conséquences d'une pareille folie quand la Serbie se verrait isolée et désavouée par les Puissances, en présence des forces supérieures de la Turquie. D'ailleurs en dépit de toutes les plus belles déclamations, on ne se fait plus d'illusion à cet égard ni dans le peuple, ni dans l'armée. La Serbie avec ses routes bien entretenues, avec ses grands et beaux villages, avec ses villes, sinon nombreuses, du moins florissantes, ne peut plus hasarder aujourd'hui, ce qu'elle aurait pu tenter il y a un demi-siècle—alors que ses forêts n'étaient

pas encore éclaircies, qu'au lieu de routes il n'y avait que des sentiers impraticables et que la population Chrétienne était disséminée dans le pays—elle ne peut plus faire dépendre son avenir de l'issue plus ou moins douteuse d'une guerre de guérillas. Encore une fois aucun Serbe doué de quelque bon sens ne se fait illusion à cet égard, et c'est pourquoi l'on aurait tort de prendre au sérieux les nouvelles agitations belliqueuses qui se manifestent dans la principauté. Ces agitations ne sont qu'un moyen de retarder la pacification de la Bosnie et de l'Herzégovine, où le parti révolutionnaire, où en première ligne les émissaires de Garibaldi jouent un rôle bien plus important aujourd'hui que les propres chefs des insurgés."

No. 436.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 145.)
My Lord,

Vienna, March 16, 1876.

THE "Pester Lloyd," a journal alleged to have relations with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and which certainly has the advantage of receiving early intelligence from official sources, contained an article two days ago, of which I inclose a French translation, taken from the "Correspondance Autrichienne," arguing that the adoption by the other Powers of Count Andrassy's note of the 30th December having rendered its proposals European, it is now necessary that their execution should be secured by a common agreement, and that if a guarantee by a common agreement for the safety of the refugees on their return to their homes, which might involve an intervention, be considered objectionable, the expenses, at all events, caused by any protection afforded to the refugees, from a humane and political point of view, should be borne in common, as it would be unjust to impose upon Austria-Hungary alone the material burden and the moral responsibility of dealing with them; and it would also be singular if the common action of the Great Powers should merely end in a programme, and not in a practical solution of the question.

If this article comes from an official source it can hardly be supposed to foreshadow an intention of the Government to ask the other Powers to contribute, after the end of March, to the maintenance of the refugees, if they cannot be induced to return to their homes; but it may be intended to show that, as the refugees have the same claims on the other Powers as on Austria-Hungary, those Powers will be equally responsible with her for the sufferings of the refugees (if they do not accept the amnesty offered to them by the Sultan), should the assistance they now receive from the Government be withheld after the 1st of April.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 436.

Extract from the "Correspondance Autrichienne" of March 15, 1876.

DANS un article consacré aux événements d'Orient, le "Lloyd de Pesth" déclare que la question de la pacification des provinces insurgées est devenue, depuis l'adoption de la note du Comte Andrassy relative aux réformes, une question Européenne: "Les Puissances, dit la feuille citée, dont l'entente s'est établie sur la base de la note de Décembre, doivent nécessairement sentir le besoin d'assurer d'un commun accord, la mise en pratique des mesures proposées, c'est-à-dire le succès de leur action, s'il en était autrement, il n'y aurait plus d'action, il n'y aurait qu'une fiction Européenne, éventualité tout à fait impossible vu la gravité de la question. Or, la question du rapatriement des insurgés Bosnio-Herzégoviniens ne peut-être séparée de la question de la pacification, vu la connexion intime existant entre l'une et l'autre. Par conséquent il n'y a pas à hésiter, nous semble-t-il, sur le mode à choisir pour arriver à la solution désirée: il faut que la solidarité des Puissances se manifeste aussi par rapport aux mesures à prendre vis-à-vis des réfugiés. De deux choses l'une: ou l'on ajoute une grande importance à ce que les Bosniens et les Herzégoviniens dispersés à l'étranger rentrent dans leur patrie, dans ce cas il s'agit de se procurer, par des mesures prises de commun accord, des garanties pour la sécurité des réfugiés, ou bien l'on recule devant une démarche de ce genre qui impliquerait une véritable intervention, telle que les circonstances l'exigeraient d'ailleurs—alors il s'agit de supporter communément les frais résultant des égards à observer vis-à-vis des réfugiés au point de vue humanitaire et politique. En aucun cas il ne serait juste et équitable

d'imposer à l'Autriche-Hongrie seule le fardeau matériel et la responsabilité morale qui se rattachent à la question des réfugiés. C'est là une première épreuve pratique que doit subir l'œuvre de la pacification et ce serait pourtant chose quelque peu singulière, si l'action commune des Puissances n'aboutissait qu'à l'établissement d'un programme et non à une solution de fait."

No. 437.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 146.)
My Lord,

Vienna, March 18, 1876.

I AM told that the armistice for ten days referred to in my telegram of the 15th instant, as having been proposed by the Prince of Montenegro, has not taken place, and that its object was probably to cause delay in the adoption of measures for the return of the refugees.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 438.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 109.)
My Lord,

St. Petersburgh, March 16, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship herewith, in French translation from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg," an article which has appeared in the "Russki Mir," giving an interesting account of an interview which General Rodich had with the Prince of Montenegro and certain Insurgent Chiefs at Ragusa.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 438.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of March $\frac{14}{2}$, 1876.

TURQUIE.—Le "Monde Russe" publie la correspondance suivante de Ragose, Dimanche, 5 Mars, que nous reproduisons sous toutes réserves:—

"Le Général de Rodich est arrivé ici hier, revenant du Monténégro.

"Le Gouverneur de la Dalmatie a informé le Prince Nicolas que les Grandes Puissances ayant chargé l'Autriche d'apaiser le soulèvement des Chrétiens, il le priait instamment de fermer la frontière, de ne pas permettre le passage de convois de munitions de guerre et de vivres destinés aux insurgés, de persuader aux réfugiés de retourner dans leurs foyers, &c.

"Il faut faire cela, a dit le Général de Rodich. Cela ne sera pas abandonner les insurgés et les réfugiés à l'arbitraire des Turcs, car les Grandes Puissances sont convaincues des bonnes intentions de la Porte et ne doutent pas que les réformes promises ne soient mises à exécution sans retard.

"Au cas où la frontière Monténégrine ne serait pas fermée, l'Autriche se verrait obligée d'interdire complètement le transport des munitions de guerre au Monténégro (par Cattaro).

"Le Prince Nicolas a répondu à peu près ce qui suit:—

"'Mon Gouvernement n'a jamais encouragé l'insurrection et il ne l'a jamais aidée. La présence de quelques Monténégrins parmi les insurgés est complètement indépendante de notre volonté et mon Gouvernement n'a pas eu la possibilité d'empêcher leur départ. Vous savez par la difficulté, je dirai même l'impossibilité d'un respect absolu de la frontière de Dalmatie, que ce que vous me demandez est impossible. Puis-je faire ce qu'un Etat aussi puissant que l'Autriche n'a pas lui-même les moyens de faire? Quand vous serez chez vous, parvenez vous-mêmes à ce que vous me demandez maintenant et alors seulement vous serait en droit de considérer mes actes comme n'étant pas conformes aux vôtres.'

"Le Général de Rodich a eu à Castelnuovo une entrevue avec plusieurs insurgé

de l'Herzégovine (aucun Chef ne se trouvait dans leur nombre). L'entretien a duré très longtemps (deux heures avec l'un d'eux), et n'abouti, paraît-il, à aucun résultat.

"M. de Rodich est arrivé à Ragusa hier à 5 heures du soir. La veille, par ordre de M. Reschetar, Gouverneur de Ragusa, dix-huit personnes avaient été choisies parmi les réfugiés de l'Herzégovine en Dalmatie pour être présentées au Gouverneur-Général. L'Archimandrite Mélentie, du Couvent de Duje, Luka Petkovich et Joseph Kovatchéviteh se sont joints à ces réfugiés, qui se sont rendus chez le Baron de Rodich à 6 heures et ont été reçus séparément. Mgr. Melentie a été introduit le premier.

"Voici la reproduction à peu près littérale de la conversation qui a eu lieu entre le Gouverneur de la Dalmatie et l'Archimandrite :

"*M. de Rodich.*—'Il y a trois ans je vous ai vu à Duje. J'étais loin de penser alors que nous nous reverrions dans d'aussi tristes circonstances. Je dois vous dire que les Grandes Puissances ont reçu de la Porte l'assurance que les réformes promises par celle-ci seront mises à exécution ; les Grandes Puissances sont convaincues que ces promesses seront tenues.'

"Après avoir énuméré brièvement les réformes annoncées, M. de Rodich a ajouté : 'Par conséquent, vous devez retourner dans vos foyers.'

"*Mgr. Mélentie.*—Si les Grandes Puissances jugent que nous devons rentrer dans nos foyers, qu'elles nous donnent la possibilité et les moyens de le faire et assurent notre sécurité. Nous n'avons plus rien ; tout a été brûlé, pillé, détruit. Nous savons par des exemples sans nombre ce que signifie pour les nôtres rentrer en Turquie. Malgré les assurances et les promesses les plus formelles, les Musulmans ont tiré vengeance des nôtres ; ils les ont pillés et tués et ont fait subir aux femmes les derniers outrages. Donnez-nous la sécurité, donnez-nous la possibilité d'exister . . . alors . . .

"*M. de Rodich.*—Cela nous ne pouvons le faire ; la Turquie le fera.

"*Mgr. Mélentie.*—Nous n'avons pas de confiance dans la Turquie et jamais, à aucun prix, nous ne rentrerons dans nos foyers si les Grandes Puissances ne se chargent de l'exécution des réformes promises.

"*M. de Rodich.*—Les Turcs le feront eux-mêmes, et nous avons nos Consuls pour veiller sévèrement à l'exécution de ce qui a été promis.

"*Mgr. Mélentie.*—Nous n'avons plus où aller en rentrant en Turquie et nous n'osons pas rentrer. Nous n'avons pas confiance dans les Turcs. Vous dites que vous aurez vos Consuls ; mais maintenant aussi il y a des Consuls et qu'en est-il résulté ? Il y a sept mois que les représentants des Grandes Puissances siégent à Mostar, et cela a-t-il empêché les Turcs de faire avec nous ce que vous savez ? Je vous le répète, nous n'avons aucune foi dans les Turcs. Que les troupes sortent d'abord de la Bosnie et de l'Herzégovine.

"*M. de Rodich.*—On ne peut pas faire sortir les troupes, les troupes vous sont nécessaires ; elles vous protégeront si les Musulmans irrités de la Bosnie et de l'Herzégovine veulent vous opprimer. . . . . Vous devez rentrer dans vos foyers ; vous pouvez maintenant le faire avec sécurité, en vous reposant sur la protection des Grandes Puissances. Pour la fin de ce mois personne ne restera sur le territoire Autrichien et il vous faudra partir. A l'expiration de ce terme vos familles ne recevront plus de vivres. Nous fermerons complètement la frontière et nous ne laisserons pas passer les convois de poudre, de vivres et de munitions de guerre.

"*Mgr. Mélentie.*—Vous agirez selon votre conscience. Nous vous remercions dans tous les cas de ce que vous avez fait pour nous jusqu'à présent. Nos familles sont là ; faites-en ce que vous voudrez. Il vaudrait mieux que vous, Chrétiens, les jetiez dans la mer que de les voir déshonorées par les Turcs ; quant à nous, nous irons dans les montagnes, nous combattrons, nous lutterons jusqu'à l'épuisement de nos forces, jusqu'à notre dernière goutte de sang, tant qu'un de nous survivra ; nous nous nourrirons comme Dieu voudra, nous prendrons ce que nous pourrons aux Turcs ; si la poudre nous manque, nous combattrons avec les dents et nous mourrons plutôt tous que de nous livrer aux Turcs.

"*M. de Rodich.*—Comme Archimandrite, comme pasteur, comme homme populaire, vous devriez engager vos compatriotes à se soumettre, au lieu de les exciter et de les envoyer au-devant des souffrances. . . . .

"*Mgr. Mélentie.*—Je n'ai pas à les exciter ; voyez vous-mêmes ce qu'ils pensent. Comme pasteur je dois conserver mon troupeau, et non le livrer.

"*M. de Rodich.*—Vous êtes maintenant exaspérés. . . . Réfléchissez, rendez-vous compte de votre position. Je crois, Monseigneur, que vous accueillerez mon conseil et le conseil des Grandes Puissances. Calmez-vous, réfléchissez et revenez me voir demain matin.

"Luka Petkovitch et Joseph Kovatchéviteh ont été reçus après Mgr. Mélentie. Le fond et le résultat de l'entretien ont été les mêmes. Luka Petkovitch a dit entre autres à M. de Rodich :

"'On nous promet des réformes? Où sont-elles? Montrez-nous une preuve quelconque que les Turcs ne nous tromperont pas de nouveau, car ce qu'on nous promet, nous l'avons déjà entendu promettre cent fois. Tout cela nous a déjà été donné en 1856. Nous avons confiance en vous ; marchez en avant, introduisez les réformes et nous rentrerons dans nos foyers. Autrement, non. . . . Vous savez vous-mêmes comment les Turcs tiennent leur parole ; vous avez été il y a quelques années témoin d'un fait qui vous l'a prouvé. Vous en souvenez-vous! Quant à la surveillance des Consuls, les Turcs n'en tiennent aucun compte ; voyez comment ils ont agi pendant que les six Consuls étaient à Mostar!'

"Les autres réfugiés ont tenu à peu près le même langage et ne sont rendus à aucune persuasion.

"Ce matin, Mgr. Mélentie s'est rendue de nouveau chez M. de Rodich. L'entretien a été la répétition de celui de la veille et n'a abouti à aucun résultat. Mgr. Mélentie retournera ce soir dans les montagnes.

"J'ai été à même d'apprendre de source parfaitement sûre la véritable opinion de M. de Rodich sur sa mission. Le Gouverneur de la Dalmatie n'a pas une grande confiance dans le succès de cette mission, car il ne répond rien à la plupart des arguments des insurgés, tant ces arguments sont justes et modérés.

"Ce qui est très-important c'est que, de l'avis de M. de Rodich, la Turquie n'a évidemment rien fait jusqu'à présent pour donner un commencement d'exécution à ses promesses. 'De notre côté tout est prêt, aurait-il dit, et nous sommes prêts à faire tout, mais je constate que du côté des Turcs il n'a encore été absolument rien fait.'"

No. 439.

*Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received March* 21.)

(Telegraphic.) *Mostar, March* 20, 1876.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL says condition of army is not so bad as I mentioned. He does not despair of pacification. He will soon have an interview with Rodich. The money question is a tremendous difficulty. One million of piastres is expected daily, but if pacification was effected, it is supposed that there will be 300,000 refugees and destitute inhabitants to support for fourteen months, and 2,000,000*l.* will scarcely suffice.

I go to Bosnia to-morrow. Governor-General also wishes I should, and will telegraph if I am required. He tells me nothing can be done for the next fifteen days.

No. 440.

Mr. Vivian to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 22.)

(Telegraphic.) *Bucharest, March* 21, 1876.

THE Bulgarian Committees here are beginning to stir, the agitation being promoted by a Servian officer.

The Roumanian Government address a very proper circular to all their prefects strictly desiring them to prohibit and prevent by force, if necessary, any violation of neutrality, and they have begged the Servian Agent here to discourage such proceedings.

I hear that the Servian officers have failed in buying horses here or in Bessarabia for the low price they are authorized to offer.

No. 441.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 22.)

(Telegraphic.) *Pera, March* 22, 1876.

I HAVE sent following figures to Consul-General White :—

"I am told, in the strictest confidence, that the Prince of Servia has requested the Greek Consul-General at Belgrade to invite his Government to make common cause against

* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Vienna, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

Turkey in order to secure the independence of the Principalities, and to obtain Thessaly and Epirus for Greece.

"Consul-General returned a discouraging answer, for which he has been fully approved by his Government."

No. 442.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.[a]—*(Received March 22.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Pera, March 22, 1876.*

RASCHID PASHA informs me confidentially that the Emperor of Austria is making great efforts to obtain the removal of General Ignatiew.

He expects that this will be effected, but fears that the General may be replaced by Novikoff, who is known for his hostility to Turkey.

No. 443.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 22.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, March 22, 1876.*

THE Commander-in-chief in the Herzegovina reports that he has passed the dangerous part of the defile between Piva and Niksich without meeting insurgents, and he hopes to reach the fortress with supplies without molestation. A telegram from Ragusa states that an encounter had taken place near Dalmatian frontier with a band of insurgents, which has been destroyed with the exception of about eighty men, who escaped across the frontier, when they were immediately disarmed by the Austrian authorities.

No. 444.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.†—*(Received March 22, at night.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, March 22, 1876.*

THE insurgents agree to provisioning of Niksich during proposed armistice if escort were limited to one battalion, but this condition being inadmissable by the Turks, Count Andrassy proposed yesterday by telegraph that, whilst the road to Niksich should be left open to Turks, the insurgents should be permitted to receive Montenegrin supplies.

F. O. is hopeful of conference leading to restoration of peace.

News confirmed officially of band of Mussics being captured on the Austrian territory, though he has not been identified; and the report states no insurrection now exists on the west side of Mikowich.

Russian Ambassador here having never spoken of expediency of territorial concessions to Montenegro, General Ignatiew is presumed to have acted without instructions in recommending it to the Porte.

No. 445.

Acting Consul Summa to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 23.)

(No. 6. Consular.)

My Lord, *Scutari, le 7 Mars, 1876.*

J'AI l'honneur de transmettre à votre Seigneurie, ci-joint, copies de deux dépêches que j'ai adressées en date d'aujourd'hui à son Excellence l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté près de la Sublime Porte.

La première concerne la lecture du Firman Impérial de Réformes qui a eu lieu à Scutari, dans la semaine écoulée; l'autre concerne l'attitude inactive gardée actuellement par le Monténégro; ce qui laisse lieu d'espérer que cette Principauté cessera enfin d'encourager l'insurrection de l'Herzégovine.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) F. SUMMA.

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[a] Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Vienna, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

† Repeated to Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.

Inclosure 1 in No. 445.

Acting Consul Summa to Sir H. Elliot.

Excellence, *Scutari, le 7 Mars, 1876.*

J'AI l'honneur de rapporter à votre Excellence qu'un Envoyé spécial de la Sublime Porte, le Colonel Mehmed Bey, est arrivé récemment à Scutari apporter le Firman Impérial de Réformes dont la lecture a eu lieu dans la dernière semaine avec une pompe inusitée et en présence d'une foule immense laquelle stationnait dans la Cour du Conak. Pendant la cérémonie vingt-un coups de canon ont été tirés par la fortresse et j'apprends que d'autres fonctionnaires ont été envoyés par le Gouverneur de Scutari avec une copie du Firman Impérial dans les autres villes et villages du Vilayet.

Je dois soumettre très-respectueusement à votre Excellence que si d'un côté la lecture du Firman des Réformes a produite une très-bonne impression sur la population Catholique de Scutari, d'autre part est presque nulle la confiance que l'on a sur leur mise en exécution; car vûs les précédents est générale l'appréhension, chez les Chrétiens, que ces réformes resteront lettre morte.

En attendant, il y a lieu à croire que son Excellence Ahmed Hamdi Pacha rassurera les esprits, faisant mettre fidèlement en exécution les réformes, selon les intentions bienveillantes de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, tâche d'ailleurs pour lui facile existant dans toute la Province une parfaite tranquillité.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) F. SUMMA.

Inclosure 2 in No. 445.

Acting Consul Summa to Sir H. Elliot.

Excellence, *Scutari, le 7 Mars, 1876.*

FAISANT suite à ma dépêche datée du 11 Janvier dernier, j'ai l'honneur de rapporter à votre Excellence que depuis le ravitaillement de la ville de Niksitch il y a eu une espèce de suspension tacite d'hostilités entre les Turcs et les insurgés; toutefois les communications avec cette place ne sont pas rétablies et Niksitch se trouve encore bloquée par les insurgés; d'ailleurs la place pourra tenir longtemps encore, ayant des approvisionnements suffisants pendant quelque mois.

En ce qui concerne le Monténégro, je dois soumettre à la haute appréciation de votre Excellence, que cette Principauté garde pour le moment une attitude inactive. En outre, j'apprends, d'une source certaine, que les renforts que le Gouvernement Princier envoyait aux insurgés de l'Herzégovine ont aussi diminué sensiblement, et il y a lieu à croire qu'enfin le Monténégro n'encouragera plus l'insurrection, laquelle depuis longtemps serait étouffée si le Monténégro ne l'avait pas soutenue et attisée; toutefois, sur ce sujet, on peut rien savoir de positif qu'après la réponse des insurgés aux réformes proposées par le Comte Andrassy, et il y a lieu d'espérer que la paix sera enfin rétablie dans ces malheureuses contrées.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) F. SUMMA.

No. 446.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 23.)

(No. 7. Political.)

My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, March 10, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that, notwithstanding the peaceable dispositions said to have been manifested by the Christian population of Ljubushki, on the occasion of the late tour of his Excellency Ali Pasha, as reported in my despatch No. 6, Political, of the 2nd instant, disturbances have again broken out in that district. About 300 Bashi-Bozouks and a few companies of regular troops were sent thither in haste from Mostar, and on Sunday the 5th instant there appears to have been a sharp conflict; the insurgents are said to have been repulsed and to have retired towards the Dalmatian frontier.

News received here from the rebel districts of the Herzegovina would also seem to

indicate a renewed activity on the part of the insurgents. In the immediate vicinity of Bileïich, and in the very face as it were of the Turkish garrison, the chief Sochitza is reported to have attacked and plundered three Turkish villages and driven off more than 1,000 head of sheep and cattle. Near Poljitza, where some kind of fortified works are in the course of construction for the better protection of the communications with Trebigné, at Grab, near Ljubinje, and in the neighbourhood of Metkovich, there have also been encounters between the troops and insurgents. I am not able to give any details of these several affairs, but I report them to your Lordship to show that as yet there are no signs of any diminution of the insurrection.

Neither in the north of Bosnia nor in the Sandjak of Novi-Bazar do there appear to have been any important movements or conflicts of late, but vague rumours are afloat regarding the arrival of arms and ammunition by the Save and preparations along the frontiers of Servia, which are, doubtless, not entirely without foundation.

The local Government pretends that many of the refugees from these provinces are willing and anxious to return but are afraid to do so at present, as the military authorities cannot detach troops for their protection, failing which it is supposed the insurgent bands would not allow them to quietly settle down. There is no doubt much truth in this supposition, but I am sure that the refugees would be quite as unwilling to put themselves under the protection of a brutal and ill-disciplined soldiery as to incur the risk of being driven from their homes by the insurgents; and until the insurrection be finally quelled and all troops withdrawn from the rural districts, there is little chance of many of them returning to their country. Although the Austrian Government may refuse to afford them further assistance, they will probably be kept from absolute starvation by private charity, whereas were they to return, I really do not know how they would subsist, for the local authorities have neither the means nor the necessary organisation at their command to carry out the promise of the Porte to supply them with the food, seed, and building materials of which they would stand in need.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. FREEMAN.

No. 447.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, March 23.)

(No. 22.)
Ragusa, March 14, 1876.

Sir,

AT 10.55 yesterday morning I had the honour to address to your Excellency the following telegram, "en clair":—

"IN spite of very conflicting accounts the combat on the 6th seems to have been rently disastrous to Turks. *Per contra*, Austrian authorities at Imoschi have arrested Ljubibratics and several important associates. An assured from Turkish sources that every effort to carry out amnesty and provide for returning refugees will be made without delay."

General Jovanovic tells me this morning that no official confirmation of the arrest of Ljubibratics has yet reached him, but he entertains little doubt of the truth of the report. It is stated that among those arrested at the same time are Mdlle. Mercus, the Dutch enthusiast, who has placed her fortune at the service of the insurgents; two Garibaldians, Count Faillt and Cerrari; and a retired Austrian officer, Chevalier Petrovich. This party, according to Turkish accounts, had been endeavouring to raise the district of Liabusce, which has hitherto been quiet.

General Jovanovic remarked that he hoped that this action on the part of the Austrian authorities would be accepted as a proof of their energy and their determination thoroughly to carry out the orders from Vienna. He said that every soldier under his command who was fit for the service was now absent on detachment and frontier duty; and the Colonel of one of the regiments here informed me two days ago that out of twelve companies nine were absent on this special service—in fact, that the only soldiers in the garrison were those lately drafted and who have not passed their drill.

The General repeated to-day that all efforts to persuade the refugees to return are useless; and, "as it would be inhuman to allow them to starve," he presumed that the Government would have to support the cost of their maintenance until better times. According to him it is absolutely impossible to induce them to put any faith in the benevolent intentions of the Ottoman Government with regard to them, or to admit that,

devastated as the country is, it would be of any use to attempt to recommence its cultivation.

Danitsch Effendi, the Turkish Consul-General, showed me the day before yesterday a communication from Ali Pasha to the effect that his Excellency was only waiting the arrival at Mostar of the President of the Reform Commission to promulgate the amnesty Proclamation, and inaugurate the rebuilding of the houses, the systematized relief of the refugees, and the supplying them with grain for sowing, &c. He assured me also that some few refugees had already returned.

Koutsek Effendi, Ali Pasha's Secretary and Agent, leaves Ragusa to-day for Constantinople.

Baron Rodich is again expected here.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 448.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 23.)

(No. 149.)
Vienna, March 20, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship the accompanying despatch, which has been addressed to me by Mr. Monson, on the subject of the arrest of the insurgent chief Ljubibratics, and reporting a conversation that he has held with General Ivanovics, on the repatriation of the refugees.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 449.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 23.)

(No. 26. Consular.)
Vienna, March 20, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of a despatch from Mr. Consul Brock, for transmission to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 449.

Acting Consul Brock to Sir A. Buchanan.

Trieste, March 18, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that the insurgent chief, Ljubibratics, accompanied by his wife, the young Dutch woman, Merkus, who is attired in a Herzegovinian male costume, and the members of his staff, Petrovic, Count Fuchs, and Cesare, arrived at about noon to-day, on board the Austrian Lloyd's boat from Zara.

When off the port the vessel was boarded by a commissary of police in a small steamboat, into which the party was removed and conveyed to the railway station. The chief, with his wife and Mdlle. Merkus, were then placed in a railway carriage attached to a goods train, which immediately left for Nabresina.

An immense concourse of sympathisers awaited the arrival of the steamer, and loudly expressed their feelings of annoyance and disappointment on the removal of the party by the police; but a large number succeeded in reaching the railway station before the departure of the train, and, notwithstanding the presence of a numerous police force, made an enthusiastic demonstration of sympathy, with cries of "Zivio" and "Viva Italia."

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. W. BROCK.

No. 450.

Rashid Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(*Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha March* 24, 1876.)

Le 15 *Mars*, 1876.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

VOTRE Excellence sait que c'est Mr. Holmes, Consul de Sa Majesté Britannique à Sérajévo, qui a été le délégué Anglais envoyé à Mostar au commencement de l'insurrection.

Les dispositions amicales témoignées par Mr. Holmes en cette circonstance pour notre pays et le tact parfait avec lequel il s'est acquitté de ses fonctions délicates nous font un devoir d'en exprimer au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine tous les remercîments de la Sublime Porte, et de recommander, d'une manière toute particulière, Mr. Holmes à sa bienveillance.

Je prie votre Excellence de vouloir bien être l'interprète de ces sentiments auprès du Foreign Office et d'agréer, &c.

(Signé) RACHID.

P.S.—Je ne saurais assez vous recommander Mr. Holmes. C'est un digne fonctionnaire qui nous a rendu d'immenses services, et qui a droit à toute notre reconnaissance.

R.

No. 451.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 24.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.)

Pera, March 24, 1876.

GENERAL IGNATIEW has allowed me to see the last message sent by the Emperor of Russia to the Princes of Servia and Montenegro.

Its terms are stringent.

His Majesty expresses surprise that after the pacific assurances he had received from them for the last five months, they should be now concerting with a view to contingencies which the Great Powers do not intend to take place.

He once more calls upon them to abstain from such a course, and concludes by warning them in distinct language that their future relations with him will depend on their answer to this message.

According to General Ignatiew, the arrangement between the two Princes was on point of being concluded, but was stopped by the receipt of the message.

No. 452.

*Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received March* 24, *at night.*)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.)

Vienna, March 24, 1876.

COUNT BEUST leaves to-night for London; and Count Andrassy tells me that he is to suggest to your Lordship, confidentially, the expediency of Her Majesty's Government assisting the Turkish Government in some way to raise the money necessary for supporting the refugees.

I said Her Majesty's Government would probably decline, as a similar scheme to assist Morocco to pay off war indemnity to Spain was abandoned, in consequence of the improbability of Parliament assenting to it.

No. 453.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 174.)

Foreign Office, March 25, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 283 of the 13th instant, reporting that in a conversation with Rashid Pasha on the subject of an intention which it was

* Repeated to Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.

believed the Porte entertained to send Hobart Pasha to take command of a Turkish squadron in the Adriatic, you had pointed out how injudicious it would be to dispatch Admiral Hobart upon any such mission at the present moment; and I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve the advice given by your Excellency on that occasion.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 454.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 27.)

(No. 154. Confidential.)

Vienna, March 23, 1876.

My Lord,

A STATEMENT in Mr. Monson's despatch No. 23 of the 18th instant* relative to the monthly expenditure which the Porte would incur in supporting the refugees until the harvest, if they returned to their homes, has been doubtless founded on representations made to him on the subject at Ragusa.

I am assured, however, at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, that the estimate of 80,000*l.* sterling per month, even making a large allowance for the expense of rebuilding the houses which have been destroyed, must be greatly exaggerated, as the monthly expenditure of the Austro-Hungarian Government for supporting the refugees has not exceeded from 100,000 to 120,000 florins.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 455.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 27.)

No. 156. Confidential.)

Vienna, March 23, 1876.

My Lord,

COUNT ANDRASSY, to whom I have spoken of the wish of Russia to procure an extension of territory for Montenegro, said he was surprised to learn that Mr. Consul Holmes was a supporter of the scheme, which appeared to him inopportune.

He believes that there is no probability of Prince Nicolas agreeing to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Sultan, nor does he see any advantage which Turkey would derive from his doing so, if there were no objections to the arrangement advocated by General Ignatiew.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 456.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 27.)

(No. 159. Confidential.)

Vienna, March 24, 1876.

My Lord,

WITH reference to Sir Henry Elliot's telegram of the 22nd instant, relative to an alleged wish of Count Andrassy for General Ignatiew's removal from Constantinople, I have asked at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, whether anything is known here of a rumour that the General is not likely to remain long at his post.

Both the Under Secretaries of State, in replying to my inquiries, professed to be entirely without any information on the subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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* See No. 453.

No. 457.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27.)

(No. 160. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, March 24, 1876.*

I HAD an interview with Count Andrassy on the 20th instant, when his Excellency spoke hopefully of a successful issue of his efforts for the pacification of the Turkish insurgent provinces, though he admitted the difficulties arising from the inability of the Porte to provide sufficient funds for the purpose. He said that the Prince of Montenegro has already given assurances that he will abstain from encouraging or taking part in the insurrection; and that, though the Prince of Servia has asked for a few days for consideration before giving a categorical answer to a demand recently made to him by the Austrian agent at Belgrade for similar assurances, there can be little doubt that his answer will be satisfactory.

The negotiations for a suspension of hostilities were, he said, still pending, and General Rodich had also stated that he would be unable to meet Muktar Pasha and the insurgent chiefs until after the 28th instant, but the Porte having agreed to an armistice of twelve days, on the condition that during its duration Niksich might be provisioned, orders had been sent to General Rodich, in the Emperor's name, to communicate immediately with the insurgent chiefs, and to arrange without delay for a suspension of hostilities, and a conference in which he should take part between them and the Turkish Commander-in-chief.

On my calling, however, two days later at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to ascertain the result of these orders, I was told that the insurgents had agreed to the suspension of hostilities and the Conference, but had stipulated that the escort of the convoy of provisions to be sent to Niksich should be limited to one battalion, and; as such a condition would be deemed inadmissible by Muktar Pasha, Count Andrassy had proposed that the road to Niksich should be left open for provisioning the fort during the armistice, and that the insurgents, on the other hand, should also be permitted to receive supplies at the same time, from the Montenegrin frontier.

It might be expected, therefore, the negotiations for the restoration of peace would be opened in the course of a few days, and, notwithstanding the warlike language held by the insurgents, there is reason to believe that the more moderate among them are disposed to accept favourable terms, which will be offered to them.

The Porte had proposed to accompany the promulgation of the amnesty with a declaration that the property of those who did not avail themselves of it would be confiscated and given to the refugees or insurgents returning to their allegiance, but Count Andrassy having represented that such a declaration would be impolitic, and render those willing to return open to the reproach of having done so in order to enrich themselves at the expense of their former friends and neighbours, the declaration will be amended to the effect that the property of those not accepting the amnesty will be sold, and the proceeds applied to relieve the distress of the sufferers from the insurrection.

With respect to General Ignatiew's representations to the Sultan, reported in a recent telegram of Sir H. Elliot, in favour of an extension of territory and a port being granted to Montenegro, I was told at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs that, as the Russian Ambassador here has never once suggested the expediency of such a measure, General Ignatiew must be supposed to have acted on his own responsibility and without instructions in making a personal appeal to the Sultan in support of it. It may be, however, that M. de Novakow has not raised the question here, as he must be aware that Count Andrassy would consider any concession by the Porte, under present circumstances, to the ambitious views of Servia and Montenegro as extremley impolitic, and as an encouragement to their creating new embarrassments to the Government of the Sultan.

It is satisfactory, however, to know that, whatever may have been the conduct of his Ambassador at Constantinople, the Emperor Alexander has held very earnest language to the Prince of Montenegro, my French colleague having received a letter from a French agent at Cettigné stating that Prince Nikita had spoken to him of a letter, in which the Emperor has recently reproached him for his conduct in very severe terms, and though his Highness declined communicating it to me, M. de Vogüé's correspondent reports that he had subsequently seen the letter, which, after remonstrating against the indifference which had been shown to the advice and wishes of Russia, expresses the surprise of His Imperial Majesty at meeting with such ingratitude from Prince Nikita and the Principality.

While such language proves the sincerity of the Emperor's desire for the maintenance

of peace, it may be hoped that the pensioner of Russia, to whom it has been addressed, will not dare to disregard it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 458.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27.)

(No. 163.)
My Lord, *Vienna, March 24, 1876.*

I AM informed by Mr. Monson that Mr. Stillman, the correspondent of the "Times" newspaper, has been recalled from Dalmatia, as he says, at his own request; but, however this may be, the intelligence of his intended departure has been received here with great satisfaction.

I learn from a private correspondent on the Bosnian frontier that Mr. Lewis Farley has caused to be published in all the Slav newspapers the translation into Slav of a letter urging the insurgents not to lay down their arms, and assuring them of English sympathy.

Such mischievous proceedings on the part of a gentleman, who may succeed in encouraging the credulous peasantry to refuse the amnesty offered to them, but who can do nothing to protect them against the vengeance of the Turkish Government, are surely unjustifiable.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN

No. 459.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27.)

(No. 165. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, March 24, 1876.*

I ASKED Count Andrassy this afternoon, whether he had heard a report that General Ignatiew was likely to be removed from Constantinople. He said he did not think such an eventuality likely to occur, and that he was himself indifferent on the subject, as General Ignatiew was now so well known at the Porte, that any successor he might have would, if so disposed, prove more mischievous than he can be.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 460.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27.)

(No. 164. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, March 24, 1876.*

COUNT ANDRASSY, whom I met accidently this afternoon, tells me that Count Beust will leave to-night for England, and is instructed to ask your Lordship confidentially whether Her Majesty's Government could not in some way assist the Turkish Government to raise the money indispensably necessary for accomplishing the pacification of the insurgent provinces, and re-establishing the refugees in their homes under the new system of administration promised by the Porte. On my inquiring whether he meant that Her Majesty's Government should join the other Powers in some transaction of the kind, he said there was no probability of the others listening to such a proposal, as Russia would do nothing, Prussia would say she had no interest in the question, and Italy is herself in difficulties for money.

He said the insurrection had already caused very considerable expense to Austro-Hungary, and would, he feared, cause more, but that he could not ask the Delegation, considering the deficits in both sections of the monarchy, and the disasters occasioned by the recent inundations, to enter into any arrangements for assistance to Turkey, and all he could do, therefore, for promoting the pacification of the provinces, would be to appropriate some secret service money to the rebuilding of the church at Dusc, as, if the Abbot would

return to the convent there, he would be able to exercise a very favourable influence on the refugees.

I said to his Excellency that, as far as I could judge, his suggestion would not be accepted by Her Majesty's Government, as a scheme of the same kind, thought of by Lord Russell when I was Minister at Madrid, for assisting the Government of Morocco to accelerate the withdrawal of the Spanish army of occupation, by paying off the war indemnity due to Spain, was abandoned, as it was found that the necessary sanction of Parliament could not be obtained.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 461.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27.)

(No. 166. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, March* 24, 1876.

COUNT ANDRASSY had not received this afternoon the declaration which he has required from the Prince of Servia; and from his language I doubt whether his demand has been followed up by equally energetic language from St. Petersburgh, as he says Prince Gortchakow considered the question of Servian intervention closed when the Prince re-called his Agent from Cettigné.

His Excellency said he still felt confident that the Servians would only bluster, though General Molinari, who does not altogether share this opinion, has just reported that they have placed pontoon bridges at three points on the Drina to be ready for the passage of a large force.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 463.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27.)

(No. 8. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, March* 14, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that according to information received from Mostar, the Turkish troops have experienced another serious reverse in the Herzegovina. The Ferik Selim Pasha was proceeding from Gatzko with seven battalions of infantry, and several pieces of artillery to revictual Piva; and either for want of baggage-animals, or on account of the state of the roads rendering their passage difficult, it does not seem to be very clear which, every soldier carried on his back about twenty-five pounds of flour. At Gorausko they were attacked by the insurgents, and completely routed, losing all their baggage, and the provisions they were carrying or convoying. Two pieces of artillery also remained in the hands of the insurgents; and Selim Pasha was obliged to abandon his horse, and escape on foot to Gatzko. The Turkish official reports acknowledge the loss of sixty men, and a proportionate number of wounded; but this is probably very far below the real number of casualties.

The Klek road is also intercepted by a considerable force of insurgents under a certain Jombetin, a native of Nevessin, and one of the first who raised the standard of revolt. They are said to have dug trenches, and erected stone barricades across the road to obstruct the passage of troops, which are shortly expected to arrive at Klek.

Near Gabelin the position of Goritza, where there is a considerable depôt of provisions, is also invested by the insurgents.

As regards the rising in the district of Ljubushki, reported in my despatch, Political, No. 7 of the 10th instant, I beg to furnish your Lordship with the following particulars:—
A band of between 300 and 400 insurgents, under the leaders Ljubibratics and Don Musich, appeared in that neighbourhood, and were soon joined by numbers of the peasants to whom arms had been previously distributed. The total force now collected there is not less than 800 men; and they have intrenched themselves in a strong position at a place called Jabuka, on the Vergoratz mountains. Some few of the peasants who had been provided with arms, delivered them up to the Turkish authorities, instead of joining the insurrection; but all such have since had their houses fired by the insurgents.

I have been informed to-day that Ljubibratics and three other Chiefs who, relying on the immunity from all molestation which they had hitherto enjoyed, had crossed the Dalmatian frontier, have been arrested by the Austrian authorities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 464.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27.)

(No. 49. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Athens, March* 15, 1876.

M. CONTASTAVLOS had the kindness to call upon me this afternoon with a confidential letter, which had been received at the Ministry of the Interior, from one of the principal authorities in Acarnania, reporting that Colonel Grivas, who is still in that province, had been holding loose and contradictory language to different people; saying to some, that sooner than go to Athens for his trial, he would escape to Italy; and to others, that he intended to go to Athens, and that he would again be Minister of War before the end of March, and that his friends must hold themselves in readiness, &c.

I should not have thought it necessary to trouble your Lordship with a repetition of such idle gossip, had not M. Contostavlos taken the pains to translate it verbally to me, as a further proof that Colonel Grivas could not be engaged at the present moment in any dangerous enterprize against the Ottoman Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

No. 465.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27.)

(No. 18. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, March* 18, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, on the subject of a new audience of Prince Wrede with the Prince of Servia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 465.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Belgrade, March 18, 1876.

Sir,

THE mission which has been assigned to Austria in these parts may be a highly honourable one, but it is a very ungrateful task, and one which is likely to produce much irritation amongst her own Slav subjects, as also in Servia.

Prince Wrede had an audience yesterday of the Prince of Servia, and demanded, on behalf of his Government, a declaration similar to the one obtained by General Baron Roditch from the Prince of Montenegro. He has been promised a reply in the course of a few days; but from what has transpired it would appear that Prince Milan felt both surprised and hurt at threats which were either expressed or implied in this communication.

His Highness appears to have taken particular objection to the mixing up of the Emperor of Russia's name with this demand, of which, he said, he had received no information from the Russian Agent accredited to him.

It certainly appears strange that the Russian Consul should have taken an active part in the recent proceedings at Cettigne, and that M. Kartzoff should have co-operated on several occasions lately in urging a pacific policy on the Prince of Servia, whilst he does not appear to have been either asked or instructed to use his undeniable personal influence with Prince Milan for obtaining from him those assurances to which Count Andrassy naturally attaches so much value.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 466.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27.)

(No. 19. Political.)

Belgrade, March 20, 1876.

My Lord,

I CAN assure your Lordship that nothing can be more perplexing and confusing than the state at which Servian politics have arrived at the moment when I am writing these lines.

A great blow has been struck at the war party by the defection of the Prince of Montenegro from the insurgent cause. It is strongly suspected here that he has made terms, if not with the Porte, at least with Austria, and that the latter Power has made him some promise, to be carried out when the pacification has been completely effected, and at the expense of some small portion of Turkish territory in that locality. Time will show how far there is any truth in these suspicions.

Since the visit of General Baron Roditch to Cettigné, the presence of the Servian special Agent there, Colonel Olympitch, had become rather unwelcome to the Prince of Montenegro, and the Prince of Servia has had to recall him, and he is, I believe, actually on his way back here.

The rivalship between these two petty sovereigns is a constant cause of disturbances in the adjoining provinces, as each of them speculates on accessions of territory, growth of influence, or increased popularity among the Southern Slavs.

During the last two years it was the Prince of Montenegro who was the popular favourite and also the constant "protégé" of the Emperor of Russia. The present insurrection had raised him very high in Slavonic estimation; and there is no doubt that having done much to keep it going, he has withdrawn from it in time, and will bide for another more favourable opportunity.

Servia has neither contracted a loan, nor purchased any guns or muskets up to the present moment, nor has she sent any armed volunteers since October last. She has, however, assumed a warlike tone during the last few weeks; and the Prince evidently anticipates that he may recover the position of a Slavonic leader and restore a waning popularity, which would give him a commanding position in a future crisis, if he can only succeed in becoming the prominent figure in the closing scene of the present one.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 467.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27.)

(No. 21. Political.)

Belgrade, March 20, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship the substance of a conversation I had yesterday with my Austro-Hungarian Colleague, Prince Wrede, on the subject of his interview with the Prince of Servia, on the 17th instant, and which I reported to Sir Henry Elliot in my despatch No. 26 (copy inclosed in No. 18, Political), of the 18th instant, to your Lordship.

Having called on Prince Wrede, our conversation not unnaturally included the present condition of affairs in this Principality.

Prince Wrede having read to me, confidentially, portions of the last instructions he received from Count Andrassy on the subject, told me that he had insisted with the Prince of Servia on receiving a positive engagement, within the next few days, similar to the one from the Prince of Montenegro, and by which Servia would pledge itself to discontinue the military preparations begun, and to adopt a course respectful to the Emperors of Austria and Russia, these two Sovereigns having determined to pacify the disturbed Turkish districts.

His instructions were that he must insist on a reply by "Yes or No" ("Oui ou Non"), but he said that he had not employed that exact form of words, nor had he determined any number of days in which he requires an answer, merely saying that there must be no delay in giving one, and it must be a precise one, and leaving no room for ambiguity.

He further added that his Government had no intention to throw any obstacles in the way of the Prince of Servia re-organizing his army, or even completing his armaments later, provided it was not done now, at a moment when it might impede and endanger the work of pacification undertaken by the Sovereigns of Russia and Austria, and which they had so much at heart.

I suggested the remark that as the two Imperial Cabinets attached naturally so great a value to the success of his, Prince Wrede's, representations here, it was perhaps to be regretted that some mode had not been devised in making this last communication to the Prince of Servia, by which the Russian Representative here might have actively taken a part in the common task.

Prince Wrede told me that Prince Milan had admitted entirely that he had constantly received most pacific councils from our Russian Colleague M. Kartsoff, and though I did not like to be too inquisitive I gathered enough from Prince Wrede to confirm me in the impression that the Prince of Servia considers (and it may be with some show of reason) that these last remonstrances of the Austrian Representative here go deeper and differ somewhat in character from those previously made to his Highness, and it was probably on that account that the Prince declined to accept the language of Prince Wrede, as exactly expressing the views of the Emperor of Russia, as well as those of the Emperor of Austria, until he receives some direct confirmation to that effect from St. Petersburgh through the Russian Diplomatic Agent accredited here.

In fact the Prince told Prince Wrede that he would ask M. Kartzoff to telegraph at once what had passed to Prince Gortchakoff.

I ventured to express my regret that occasion should have been given at so important a juncture to any misconception of this kind, when it might have, I imagined, been avoided by previous communications between the Agents of the two Imperial Courts acting in concert.

Prince Wrede said that there was nothing in his instructions which could throw any light why it should have been considered superfluous to employ M. Kortzoff as well as himself, in holding that language to the Prince of this country, but though he had no information on the subject, he thought it was known that the alliance and cordial agreement of the two powerful Monarchs was firmly established and rested on a firm basis, though the Servians had on several occasions been so bold as to doubt this, it may possibly have been thought below the dignity of the two Courts to pay to much attention to the ridiculous and exaggerated pretentions of these people.

Prince Wrede said further that, moreover, the step he had been instructed to take was merely an earnest and friendly warning—"Un avertissement amical et sérieux,"—as to what should happen to Servia in case of non-compliance with these demands, as recommended by the two Emperors.

I then asked Prince Wrede whether I had been correctly informed that he had

hinted at the possibility of an Austrian military occupation of Servia, as I had heard that Prince Milan had drawn such an inference from his language.

He admitted this entirely, and said that if the assurances required by Austria were not given promptly by Servia, these warnings would be followed by a "Sommation," a sort of Ultimatum of the Six Guaranteeing Powers, which was he thought even now agreed upon, and which would delegate to Austria the necessary powers to carry out further measures against Servia, if required, implying eventually an Austrian occupation.

I acknowledge that I was hardly prepared for such an announcement and for the tone of assurance with which it was made, or the omission of all reference to the Porte in it. In the absence of instructions I therefore avoided every observation, or any expression of opinion, or even of surprise.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 468.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27.)

(No. 290.)
Constantinople, March 17, 1876.

My Lord,

I AM informed by Count Zichy that the Turkish Commander-in-chief in the Herzegovina has received authority to arrange with General Rodich and the insurgent Chiefs for a suspension of hostilities for ten days, provided that an understanding can be come to about the re-victualling of Niksich.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 469.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27.)

(No. 291.)
Constantinople, March 18, 1876.

My Lord,

WHILE I was with Raschid Pasha this afternoon, he received a telegram from Belgrade stating that the warlike feeling in Servia had been greatly moderated by the urgency of the injunctions laid upon the Prince not to embark in any rash enterprise.

The same despatch stated that six Servian officers had been dispatched to inspect the fortresses and the militia, upon the pretext of an apprehension that, if the pacification of the Herzegovina were now to take place, the Porte would take advantage of it to attack the Principality, in order to secure some material guarantee for its future neutrality.

Raschid Pasha looks upon this apprehension as merely simulated with the view to satisfy the war party, and he attaches no importance to the inspection in question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 470.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27.)

(No. 292. Confidential.)
Constantinople, March 18, 1876.

My Lord,

LORD A. LOFTUS, by his despatch No. 51 of the 15th ultimo, reported to your Lordship information which he had received of negotiations commenced by the Porte with the Prince of Montenegro, the object of which was to withdraw His Highness from giving further assistance to the insurgents upon receiving an accession of territory on the frontier, the Port of Spitz, and the recognition of the independence of the Principality.

The report, which originated in some of the European newspapers, is, however, wholly incorrect, and I am satisfied that no overtures of the nature pretended have ever been made by the Porte, although General Ignatiew has been very assiduous in urging the expediency of at least holding out hopes to the Prince that, after tranquillity is restored, the question of allowing him some territorial concessions, including that of Spitz, would be favourably considered.

The Turkish Ministers state that they have avoided giving him the slightest expectation that they would entertain the proposal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 471.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27.)

(No. 294. Confidential.)
Constantinople, March 19, 1876.

My Lord,

GENERAL IGNATIEW, who some time ago received letters from the Emperor of Russia announcing various events in the Imperial Family, had an audience of the Sultan yesterday for the purpose of delivering them to His Majesty.

The first Dragoman of the Divan acted as interpreter.

It appears that, after the exchange of the customary compliments, the Ambassador took the opportunity of representing to the Sultan the expediency of making territorial concessions to the Prince of Montenegro, but His Majesty, having been prepared for the suggestion by the Grand Vizier, at once replied that it could not be entertained.

I am assured that the General showed much persistence in urging upon the Sultan the point which he has so much at heart, but that His Majesty was extremely firm in declaring that he could not consent to it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 472.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27.)

(No. 296.)
Pera, March 19, 1876.

My Lord,

MUCH anxiety has been caused at the Porte by information that the insurgents had collected in a large body, stated to number 6,000 men to interrupt the convoy of provisions about to be sent from Piva to Niekaich.

As it is indispensable that the fortress should be revictualled, a serious encounter is considered imminent unless the Chiefs consent to suspend aggressive action.

The insurgents are said to be very advantageously posted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 473.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27.)

(No. 297. Confidential.)

Pera, March 20, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a Report from Mr. Sandison, giving some further account of General Ignatiew's audience of the Sultan.

From what His Majesty said respecting Hussein Avni Pasha, it may be assumed that he has at least no immediate intention of replacing him at the head of affairs, which would certainly not be desirable, but the Sultan's expressions of satisfaction with his present Grand Vizier must be received with reserve.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 473.

Mr. Sandison to Sir H. Elliot.

Pera, March 20, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report what is considered to be the general substance of the conversation which took place on the occasion of General Ignatiew's audience of the Sultan on Saturday last. The first topic being Montenegro and the insurrection, his Excellency begged to give His Majesty the assurance that Russia was most anxious to see the pacification of the insurgent provinces, and that orders with that view had already been conveyed from the Emperor to the Prince of Montenegro.

His Excellency then spoke of the financial situation, which, it was generally hoped, had actually received the earnest consideration of His Majesty's Government as one of the most important questions of the day. His Majesty replied that this was one of the matters which occupied fully the attention of his Grand Vizier, who, acting on wiser principles than his predecessor, Hussein Avni Pasha, was conducting the affairs of the State to his imperial satisfaction, adding that he appreciated at the same time the exertions made by his Highness in connection with the Firman of Reforms, which he was glad to see was being properly carried out. The General said he felt gratified, in his turn, to be able to state that Mahmoud Pasha's administration had met with general satisfaction in Europe.

The conversation was once more brought to bear on Montenegro, which the General said would present an element of security to Turkey, provided it was possible to satisfy the wishes of Prince Nicholas and of his people. His Majesty replied by saying that he had already given his instructions on the subject to the Grand Vizier, but that he found him strongly opposed to territorial concessions. The General having apparently wished to press the subject further, received a more categorical answer from the Sultan, to the effect that his Government would try to satisfy Montenegro in other ways, but not by anything like territorial concessions.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. SANDISON.

No. 474.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, March 27.)

(No. 23.)

Ragusa, March 18, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation of an extract from the "Avvenire," of Spalato, of the 16th instant, giving an account of the reception by the populace at that town of Ljubibratics and his companions when brought under arrest at the district head-quarters by the Austrian authorities on the 14th instant.

The "Avvenire" is not a Slav journal, and has been recently confiscated for an attack on Baron Rodich. Its tone on this occasion is therefore remarkable.

The irritation of the Slav population of Dalmatia at the attitude of the Government towards the Herzegovine insurgents, is incontestable, but I cannot think that it is as strong as some people here would have me believe; nor that there is any danger of disturbances of a serious character. These demonstrations partake much of the nature of

"swagger," but I have yet been gravely assured by Philo-Slavs that there is no small peril of a rising against Austria, or at least of a renewal of the Sutovina troubles if too much severity is practised against the insurgents.

Four battalions of Turkish troops were landed at Klek the day before yesterday; nine more battalions are to follow.

Wassa Effendi arrived here on the 14th, and started next day for Mostar. Mr. Consul Holmes also arrived by the same steamer, and expects to reach Mostar to-day.

I have had much conversation with M. Durando, the Italian Representative in the Consular Commission at Mostar. He is urgent in recommending a further intervention of the Powers; but is not prepared to specify exactly the nature of such intervention, except that it should be collective. I fear that he is quite right in thinking a pacification at present impossible, and the return of the refugees equally out of the question. The Ottoman Government will have, in the event of a pacification, to support 300,000 souls for a period of from fifteen to eighteen months; and the lowest calculation puts the cost of this at 80,000*l.* a month. It is true that this would be cheaper than the continuance of hostilities, but the friends of the insurgents declare that no pacification is possible unless the Turkish troops are withdrawn, while, on the other hand, Ali Pasha has sent Koetsch Effendi to Constantinople to explain that at least 10,000 more troops must be sent. The condition of those at present in the Herzegovina is deplorable; so starved are they that they have been bartering cartridges for food. The losses by sickness and famine, as well as by skirmishes, are carefully concealed from Constantinople; but M. Durando assures me that he saw a Trebigné last week 800 newly-made graves.

Mr. Holmes confessed to me that he was unprepared to find that during his absence affairs had assumed so much more desperate an appearance. But he agreed with me that pacification is further off then ever; and that no language is strong enough to describe the utter impossibility of any change for the better unless the Porte can make an effort with men and money which it seems hopeless to expect from her; or some means be found by conciliation of inducing Montenegro to co-operate in the interests of peace.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure in No. 474.

Extract from the "Avvenire" of Spalato, of March 16, 1876.

(Translation.)

ON Tuesday afternoon, on the news being circulated in this town that the members of Ljubibratics' band who had been arrested would arrive that evening at Spalato from Sign, many of our citizens repaired on foot and in carriages to meet the prisoners on the road from Salona. Those who went belonged to every shade of party. At 7.40 the cortége arrived at Clissa. The Dutch lady, Mdlle. Jeanne Merkus, the voïvode Ljubibratics, Count Enella of Imola, Cesare Cesare of Bologna, the Chevalier Petrovich, and four others were in three closed carriages, surrounded by about 50 soldiers of the line, who, with excess of prudence, had mounted on the box and the imperial. This display of armed force naturally disgusted the spectators, who broke out into enthusiastic cheering. At Salona there were about 400 people assembled. The cortége continued slowly to make progress, followed by this impromptu escort, which repeatedly cheered in both vernaculars. The soldiers were constantly obliged to clear the way with the butt-ends of their muskets, or with kicks.

Meantime from the town itself issued a crowd of certainly 3,000 people. A display of Roman candles and Bengal lights saluted at 9 o'clock the appearance of the cortége, and at this moment the demonstration, spontaneous as it was, and devoid of all party character, reached its apogée.

The procession stopped in front of the district headquarters. As she alighted from the carriage, Mdlle. Merkus was presented with a bouquet, her companions were overwhelmed with applause, in the midst of which were heard a few hisses, which probably proceeded from the lips of some over-zealous Turk. After putting in an appearance at headquarters Mdlle. Merkus and Ljubibratics were transferred to the lodgings occupied by the wife of the latter in the "Piazza dei Signori," the others to a house in the "Via dell' Ospitale." These houses were guarded by a peloton of soldiers, while the streets were patrolled to a late hour by infantry and gendarmerie.

The reception given by the people of Spalato to the victims of Baron Rodich is a homage to the principle of the freedom of the oppressed, and a protest against the exten-

pursued severities of the Government, which may, however, after all, be only a clever stroke of diplomacy.

This morning the prisoners will start for Zara.

No. 475.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March 27.*)

Belgrade, March 27, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

THE Austrian representative here has obtained at last from the Government of Servia explanations and also assurances which I hear have been considered as satisfactory by the Austrian Government.

No. 476.

*Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received March 27, at night.*)

Constantinople, March 27, 1876, 5·45 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

I SENT following telegram to Mr. White:

"The satisfactory assurances given by the Prince of Servia are in contradiction to the reports received by the Porte of incursions of numerous small bands between Novi-Bazar and Vischegrad, by which many Turkish villagers have been killed."

No. 477.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.†—(*Received March 27, at night.*)

Vienna, March 27, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

DECLARATION of Servian Minister for Foreign Affairs received here yesterday that Servia will neither (attack Turkey?) nor compromise the efforts of the Powers for the pacification of the insurgent provinces, and that her armaments were for no aggressive object. Instructions sent to Russian Agent at Belgrade for entire agreement of Russia with Austria, but above answer apparently given before it arrived. No certain information from the Herzegovina on contents of Monson's telegram.

Count Andrassy gone to his estate in Hungary.

No. 478.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 177.)

Foreign Office, March 28, 1876.

Sir,

I TRANSMIT to you a copy of a letter addressed by Rashid Pasha to Musurus Pasha,‡ instructing him to convey to Her Majesty's Government their appreciation of the able manner in which Mr. Consul Holmes has carried out his duties at Mostar, and I have to request that your Excellency will communicate the contents of this letter to Mr. Holmes, and express to the Porte the satisfaction with which Her Majesty's Government have received this testimony to Mr. Holmes' abilities.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 479.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March 28.*)

St. Petersburgh, March 28, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

PRINCE GORTCHAKOW read to me to-day a telegram from Vienna dated this morning, containing intelligence from Ragusa dated yesterday that Governor General of

* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

† Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.

‡ No. 450.

Herzegovina, the Turkish Commander-in-Chief, and the President of the Reform Commission, had, through mediation of General Rodich with insurgent Chiefs, agreed on suspension of hostilities during period of the conferences.

No. 480.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March 28.*)

Athens, March 28, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

I AM informed that propositions such as those mentioned in your Lordship's telegram of the 23rd instant were made to the Greek Government by the Prince of Servia about three months ago, and again about a fortnight ago, and were declined on both occasions.

(Secret.)

A Servian related to some Servian ex-Minister arrived here within the last three or four days and saw the Prime Minister, but was told that Greece was not prepared to take part in any movement. He brought no credentials, and did not visit the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

No. 481.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March 29.*)

Vienna, March 29, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

(Confidential.)

I UNDERSTAND Prince Gortchakow's telegram supporting Count Andrassy's recent communication to the Prince of Servia stated that "any policy of annoyance calculated on a misunderstanding between Russia and Austria (would be?) ill-advised and dangerous."

No. 482.

*Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received March 29.*)

Vienna, March 29, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

A TELEGRAM from General Rodich received to-day, reports Turkish Commander-in-Chief to have authorized him to conclude a suspension of hostilities from 1st to 12th of April, and arrange for Niksic receiving limited supplies through Montenegro, for which objects, and to treat for pacification, the Prince of Montenegro will arrange a meeting of General Rodich with insurgents.

No. 483.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.†—(*Received March 29.*)

Constantinople, March 28, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

THE Turkish Commander-in-chief has come to an arrangement with General Rodich at Ragusa for a suspension of hostilities for a period of, it is believed, twelve days.

No. 484.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 186.)

Foreign Office, March 30, 1876.

Sir,

HER Majesty's Government have read with interest the Memorandum drawn up by Mr. Consul Holmes, a copy of which was inclosed in your Excellency's despatch No. 272 of the 10th instant, respecting the immediate causes of the insurrection in the Herzegovina and the present position of affairs there and in Bosnia.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

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* Repeated to Rome, Berlin, Constantinople, and St. Petersburgh.

† Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

No. 485.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 30.)

Ragusa, March 30, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)
TEN days' armistice arranged to facilitate Rodich's communication with insurgents, operations for provisioning allowed.

No. 486.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 31.)

(No. 9. Political.)
Bosna-Serai, March 17, 1876.

My Lord,

IN my despatch Political No. 7 of the 10th instant, I expressed to your Lordship my conviction that, under existing circumstances, the refugees from these provinces could not be expected to return, and I have since received information from Novi and Kostainitza, confirming my opinion. The refugees in that direction unanimously declare that if the Austrian Government withholds all further assistance, they will sooner drown themselves in the Unna than again subject themselves to Turkish oppression. This is hardly to be wondered at, considering the acts of violence and oppression that are of almost daily occurrence along the north-western frontier of this province. In as few words as possible, I will mention a few that have occurred quite lately.

On the 8th instant, at the village of Bushevitza, two girls of about twelve years old, daughters of a peasant named Nikola Stojanovitch, of the village of Zalina, were seized by a party of Turks and violated, death at last supervening.

On the 9th, ten soldiers seized a Christian woman in an advanced state of pregnancy, and carried her off to a "kuloh," or guard-house near Novi, where she died under successive acts of violation.

On the 10th, a certain Rado Buyich was impaled near Novi, and exposed to view for four days. Four other peasants have also been lately killed near Novi, and their heads exposed on stakes.

About a week ago, the master of the Orthodox School at Prisdar was killed, and his head was paraded about the streets of the town on a pole to the sound of drums and other music.

At the village of Ruitcha the Turks carried off about 250 cwt. of grain belonging to one Stojan Jovovich, and then burnt his house, and also the Orthodox Church.

The town of Krupa has likewise been partially burnt, and a certain Mussulman resident named Fahim Effendi was beaten by his co-religionists for endeavouring to protect the Christians.

So great is the panic at Prisdar, that on the 11th instant twenty-seven of the chief Christian merchants fled with their families to Austria. Some five months ago, six respectable merchants of Prisdar were arrested and taken to Bihach, being accused of complicity with the insurgents. The authorities endeavoured to extort money from them, but without success; and, in the hope of frightening the others into compliance with their demands, one of their number was subjected to a violent death in prison. The remaining five were then sent here, where they have been retained ever since. I urged on Ibrahim Pasha the advisability of releasing them, but he said he had referred the matter to Server Pasha, and that this latter had refused to interfere, and had told him to ask instructions from Constantinople.

Pending an answer from the capital, Ibrahim Pasha consented, at the instigation of myself and my Russian colleague, to let these men out of prison, but not to allow them to quit Serajevo. Haidar Effendi has now granted them complete freedom, but they hardly dare return to Prisdar, and are probably ruined men as regards their commercial affairs.

As long as such acts of violence as the above are perpetrated with impunity by the soldiery and native Mussulmans, and such arbitrary conduct permitted on the part of the authorities, it is hopeless to expect a pacification of these provinces; and I much fear that Haidar Effendi, with the best intentions, will find himself utterly powerless to strive, almost single-handed, against such a state of corrupt administration and unbridled licentiousness and crime.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 487.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received March* 31.)

(No. 10. Consular.)
Bosna Serai, March 16, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that the Imperial Commissioner, Haidar Effendi, arrived here on the 13th instant. On the 14th my colleagues and myself called on his Excellency, and he returned our visits the following day. His Excellency manifests the intention of maintaining the most amicable relations with the Consular Corps; and for my part I have not failed to assure him that he may rely on any assistance I may be able to afford him in the execution of the difficult mission with which he has been entrusted.

His Excellency, to-day, assembled a few of the leading Mussulmans of this town, and announced to them the firm resolve of his Government and himself to carry out the promised reforms with impartiality, and expressed his hope that all classes would do their best to facilitate his task. He also made them clearly understand that all opposition would be put down with a strong hand; and that His Majesty the Sultan did not intend to pander to the evil passions of a few fanatical persons, at the risk of losing two of the Provinces of his Empire.

Already there are symptoms of great opposition and discontent on the part of the Mussulmans; and it is said they have gone so far as to demand the recall of Haidar Effendi; unfortunately his Excellency cannot even rely on the co-operation of the Governor-General, and other local functionaries. I believe that he has already reproached Ibrahim Pasha with having, up to the present moment, taken no steps to execute the will of the Sultan; and it may be safely predicted that before very long two men of such opposite characters and sentiments as Haidar Effendi and Ibrahim Pasha will be in open antagonism. It is to be hoped, however, that the Porte will honestly support Haidar Effendi in his endeavours to effect an amelioration in matters both administrative and judicial; but one of the first conditions to ensure a successful issue to his mission is, that the Governor-General Ibrahim Pasha be replaced by some more enlightened and liberal person, likely to act in harmony with his Excellency. I would even venture to suggest the advisability of naming Haidar Effendi Governor-General and Imperial Commissioner at the same time, placing a person of capacity as Mutessarif of the Sandjak of Serajevo under his orders, that his own time may not be too much occupied by the trivialities of local administration.

Should the native Mussulmans succeed in procuring the recall of Haidar Effendi, the worst consequences may be anticipated; and such an act of encouragement to the fanatical and conservative spirit of the Bosniac Beys would render futile any further attempt to introduce the promised reforms.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 488.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.—(*Received at the Foreign Office, March* 31.)

(No. 25.)
Sir,
Ragusa, March 21, 1876.

I HAD a conversation yesterday with M. Vassilitsky, whom your Excellency has seen at Vienna, and who has been employed for some months here as the principal agent for the distribution of clothes, food, and money sent from Russia for the use of the refugees of the Herzegovina.

M. Vassilitsky's family is of Herzegovinian origin, and he claims an intimate acquaintance with the country and its people. He also appears to have a good deal of influence with the refugees, and on these accounts his opinion on the question of their repatriation, if it is honestly given, ought to be valuable. He thinks a pacification, and the re-entry of the refugees quite feasible if, firstly, a part of the Turkish troops were withdrawn from the province, and the remainder concentrated in three or four garrisons; and, secondly, if the Great Powers would guarantee the supply of provisions and other material aid, and would ensure the proper and regular distribution of the same by the official nomination of European Commissioners, with full powers to examine into the action of the local authorities. He thinks that although this would saddle the

Commissioners with a troublesome piece of work, the members of the Consular Commission at Mostar would, with the addition of a Secretary or an adjunct to such Consul, be sufficient for the business. Moreover, the Commissioners would be charged with the task of assuring themselves that the reforms accorded by the Porte were being duly and impartially carried out; and M. Vassilitsky is of opinion that these reforms, if honestly executed, would entirely suffice for the future tranquilization of the Herzegovina. But he insists that the amnesty must be thorough, as it will be essential that the insurgent leaders should be enabled to co-operate in the local administration, and that they should be regarded as the necessary and valuable coadjutors of the authorities.

It is impossible for me to say how far M. Vassilitsky is to be trusted; for there are not wanting persons who say that he is thinking only of his own aggrandizement, and his aiming at the Governorship of the Herzegovina. He is even nicknamed the "King of Trebigné," and accused of allowing large sums of money, ostensibly sent from Russia for the succour of the refugees, to have been employed for the benefit of the insurgents. He declares to me that he has done his best to prevent anything of the kind; but admits that he has strong suspicions that his confidence in some of his sub-agents may have been misplaced.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 489.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office March 31.)

(No. 26.)
Sir, *Ragusa, March 21, 1876.*

THE rumours as to an armistice having been proposed by one or other of the contending parties in the Herzegovina are as yet so vague here that I only advert to them by this steamer in order to mention that the Turkish Consulate maintains that the insurgents want an armistice to enable them to communicate freely with Baron Rodich, as soon as he arrives; and the Russians declare that the Turks have demanded it for strategic and provisioning purposes. The telegraph will have informed your Excellency of the truth before this despatch reaches Vienna.

The Turkish Consul-General tells me that he has again written to Constantinople, in the sense of Mr. Holmes' suggestion, that it might be the best policy to make great concessions to Montenegro. The recognition of the complete independence of the principality, and the natural consequence of such a recognition, namely, the appointment of Foreign Diplomatic Agents accredited to the Prince, the grant of such an extension of territory as would give the Montenegrins an eligible seaport, and attract them to the coast, where, indeed, the capital would almost certainly be fixed, would undoubtedly alter very materially the complexion of the relations between the Principality and the Porte, especially if the change could be effected in such a manner as to avoid its having the appearance of a triumph of Russian diplomacy.

It is difficult to estimate with any accuracy the number of Montenegrins now in the ranks of the insurgents. The Russians say 120, but I should imagine the more correct figure to be between 700 and 800. The father-in-law of Prince Nikita continues to direct from Grahovo the operations of the insurgent bands; and it is pretty clear that Ljubobratics has fallen a victim (if, indeed, his own fears did not induce him to connive at his own arrest) to the animosity of the Montenegrins, and to his never having accepted the offers of Russian money made him by the Prince. At the same time the Austrian authorities were only too glad to capture a band which contained Italians, whose influence and intrigue might be a source of danger in the state of excitement now prevailing among the Dalmatians.

It is asserted that over eighty members of the band under Moussies have landed on the Island of Curzola, but that their leader has altogether disappeared.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 490.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 31.)

(No. 174.)
My Lord, *Vienna, March 28, 1876.*

WITH reference to Mr. Monson's despatch from Ragusa, No. 25 of the 21st instant, reporting the views of M. Vassilitsky, as to the measures which may be expedient for accomplishing the repatriation of the refugees, I find that they are in some degree shared by the Austrian Government, with respect to those devastated districts in the Herzegovina, which have been principally inhabited by Christians.

On my referring to the subject in a conversation with Baron Hofmann, his Excellency said that it would be only reasonable to withdraw the Turkish troops from the rural districts, and to confine them to garrison towns, while the refugees were employed in rebuilding their villages, and repairing the damage done to their fields and homesteads.

As this view of what may be expedient in the Herzegovina is at variance with what Baron Orczy represented to me lately to be necessary in Bosnia, the circumstances of the two Provinces are doubtless different, and there are probably in the latter Province no districts which are without a considerable Mussulman population.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 491.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 6.)
My Lord, *Mostar, March 20, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch, marked "Affairs of the Herzegovina" No. 6, of the 20th March, addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, regarding the present position of affairs here.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure in No. 491.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Mostar, March 20, 1876.*

I HAD had the honour to inform your Excellency from Ragusa that the present state of affairs in the Herzegovina appeared even worse than when I left for Constantinople. The very serious defeat of the Turks at Muratovizza, which occurred on the 6th instant, has had the effect of encouraging the insurgents to refuse submission. On that occasion some 2,000 Turkish troops proceeded to revictual the blockhouses in Piva, each man carrying from eight to ten okes of grain. This was represented at Ragusa as arising from a total want of baggage animals; but Ali Pashi informs me that it was only occasioned by the deep snow, which rendered the roads impassable for horses. The insurgents had assembled in the Donga Pass, expecting that the object of the expedition was to revictual Nikshich, and so missed the convoy, which arrived safely in Piva. The officers having met no rebels, took no precautions on their return march, and the soldiers straggled through the passes without any order, when they found they were surrounded by insurgents, who occupied as usual the rocks on each side of the road. Scarcely any resistance was made, except by one Bosniac battalion, which fought heroically, and brought off the General, Selim Pasha. The mass of the troops, throwing away their arms, fled towards a small stream, usually fordable, but they found it impassable from the melting of the snow. There they were huddled together and were absolutely butchered by the insurgent. It is said that 800 noses were cut off, and many soldiers were carried away and drowned in seeking to ford the stream. Two guns were also taken, which had not even been discharged. The Turks only admit some sixty killed and fifty wounded, but I think that, allowing for some exaggeration, the other account is nearer the truth. Ali Pasha does not believe the official report of the Turkish General. Your Excellency can imagine what an unfortunate effect this disaster has had at the present crisis.

Ali Pasha tells me that Baron Rodich seems to be making efforts in favour of pacification, but as yet without apparent success. The insurgents declare they will not lay down

their arms. The Austrian Government has not yet closed the Bocche di Cattaro; nor have they done anything to prevent armed insurgents from passing freely into Dalmatia. The day I was in Ragusa some twenty of them came down to the town, fully armed, bought provisions, and departed without any hindrance to the insurgent camp at Grebzi. Still Ali Pasha says he does not despair, and that he does not think it possible for Baron Rodich to alter in a moment a state of affairs which has become habitual. Baron Rodich was not at Ragusa when I was there. He has since gone to Cattaro, and is afterwards to have an interview with Ali Pasha. The Slav press is more active than ever in endeavouring to prevent pacification or submission, and I was told by my Italian colleague at Ragusa, that a certain Wessilitzki Bozidorovich, a Russian Agent, told Baron Gondola, one of the heads of the Committee at Ragusa for succouring the destitute, that he was charged with instructions from St. Petersburgh, and furnished with any amount of money to push on the revolution. This Agent seems to be taking the lead in affairs now, which Consul Jonine, who was informed by General Ignatiew of what I had said regarding his proceedings, seems to have given up; at all events, I was told that his action was much less evident than before.

Prince Nicolas promised Ali Pasha that he would withdraw all the Montenegrins who were with the insurgents, but he has not done so. Last night Danetsch Effendi telegraphed that two Senators had, however, arrived at Ragusa to counsel the insurgents to submit. Another, Matanovich, has gone to Vienna on some mission.

The account I gave from Ragusa of the state of the Turkish army is perhaps too unfavourable. I hear from Ali Pasha that they are much better provisioned than formerly, and that they have some 2,400 transport animals, which number, though not sufficient, still enables them to bring up supplies. The military force in the Herzegovina has, however, suffered terribly from famine and sickness, and some 10,000 fresh troops are urgently required.

Ali Pasha has great difficulty with Mouktar Pasha, the military Commander, who pays little attention to his requests. It is impossible that matters can go on smoothly unless the Chief of the army is subordinate to the civil Governor-General. The division of Bosnia and the Herzegovina also is a fatal difficulty.

The most insurmountable difficulty is the question of money. Instead of finding 2,000,000 piastres here Wassa Effendi found nothing, as I told your Excellency would probably be the case. However, 1,000,000 is expected here in a day or two, and another at a rather indefinite period. But even supposing the 2,000,000 to have been on the spot, it is nothing to what is required, and Wassa Effendi is terrified at the prospect before him. Suppose that in a month or six weeks pacification is effected, and the refugees begin to pour into Bosnia and the Herzegovina, their numbers—men, women, and children, according to a calculation made by the Ottoman Consul-General at Ragusa, on the best information is as follows:

Herzegovinians in Dalmatia	26,000
" Montenegro	16,000
Bosnians in Croatia	32,000
" Montenegro	10,000
" Servia	17,000
" Dalmatia	6,000
" Various other places	18,000
	155,000
Add to these Mussulmans and Christians who have not emigrated, but are destitute, and will have to be supported	150,000
Total	305,000

Say 300,000 per day, or 9,000,000 per month, to be supported for fourteen months —for now it is too late to calculate only up to next harvest—will give 126,000,000, which at only 2 piastres per day will require 2,000,000*l.* sterling! At the lowest computation it will be necessary that at least 500,000*l.* be ready in Bosnia and the Herzegovina as soon as the refugees begin to come back, as, if they are fed for a month or so, and then left destitute, the consequences will be awful, and the Turkish Government will be accused of the wilful infraction of its engagements. I have said nothing about the expenses of repairing houses and furnishing them with seed for cultivation next year. Where is this money to be found? I believe it could only be obtained from the Treasury of the Sultan, and I do not believe there is a single Turkish Minister who dares to inform His Majesty of the real facts of the case.

Insurgent bands formed in Dalmatia under the command of Ljubibratics and Yassich have lately attacked Liubushky on the right side of the Narenta. They were repulsed and

and Ljubibratics and one or two others arrested by the Austrian authorities, which gave rise to violent demonstrations of resentment on the part of the Slavs in Dalmatia. The damage to property at Liubushky is stated at nearly 20,000 ducats, but this is perhaps exaggerated.

Ali Pasha thinks well of my intention of immediately proceeding to Serajevo, and says nothing of importance can be done here for the next fifteen days. In case of need he will telegraph to me. I therefore leave this early to-morrow morning.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 492.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 1. Political.)
My Lord, *Ragusa, March 25, 1876.*

IF I am to believe what I hear from those who are professedly in the confidence of M. Jonin, the Russian Consul-General here, that gentleman is at this moment very much embarrassed by the action of his Government with reference to the further progress of the insurrection in the Herzegovina. I have already reported to Sir Andrew Buchanan what was, however, doubtless well known both to his Excellency and to your Lordship, that the position enjoyed by M. Jonin, as Russian Agent to the Prince of Montenegro during the past seven years, has been most ably used by him, not only for the purpose of obtaining influence over His Highness himself, but for making the personal acquaintance of every Montenegrin of authority or consideration. To such an extent has this been carried, that the Secretary of the Russian Consulate (an Attaché of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at St. Petersburgh) has told me that he has repeatedly seen M. Jonin shed tears on receiving news of the death, during the insurrection, of insurgents personally well known to him. Since the beginning of the insurrection there has been a constant influx of Russians, nearly all of them military men, who, after putting themselves in communication with M. Jonin, have either remained at Ragusa or Cettinje as agents of the insurgent cause, or have openly joined the rebels, and assumed the organization and direction of their operations.

It would be hardly possible for any one not on the spot to believe in the freedom with which the insurgent Chiefs visit Ragusa to confer with their friends, and in the worse than indifference with which these visits are regarded by the authorities.

There are, however, two parties among the Russians in these regions—that which acts in the sense of M. Jonin's policy, and that which represents the Panslavist propaganda, and which is now very likely to thwart M. Jonin's action. That gentleman appears to have become convinced that his Government is at this moment sincere in desiring to check Montenegro; but he is beginning also to see clearly that the change of policy will prejudice —indeed, already has prejudiced—his influence, and consequently that of Russia in and over the Principality. He knows that the Montenegrins are saying that Russia is, as usual, using them for her own selfish ends, and without any real concern for their interests; that they understand that it suits the Government at St. Petersburgh to maintain them as a source of constant irritation to Turkey, and of depletion of her resources, but not to help them one step on the way towards the attainment of such a national development as would enable them to organize their finances, inaugurate trade and commerce, and thus make the country self-supporting and independent of Russian pecuniary aid.

I think it is my duty to submit to your Lordship all such information as appears to me to have a probable foundation in fact; and therefore venture to report that I am assured by a gentleman who had lately visited Cettinje that both the Prince and his *entourage* desire nothing better than that they should be relieved, by a concerted arrangement between the other Great Powers, from the tutelage of Russia and from the necessity of receiving a subsidy from her. The Turkish Consul-General here, whose experience of the country and acquaintance with the population I may, in default of the same opportunities on my own part, be permitted to cite, gives me to understand that he has submitted to the Porte the expediency of an eventual satisfaction of Montenegrin ambition by the recognition of the absolute independence of the Principality, and the cession of a port and some additional territory, which would attract the population to the coast, fix the seat of Government upon the seashore, create some little commerce, and stimulate industry. Such a policy would, he thinks, in all probability, secure tranquillity in the Herzegovina, and could have no ill effect, provided that the transaction were so managed

as not to have the appearance of a triumph of Russian diplomacy, and a reward for past misconduct on the part of Montenegro.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 493.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 2. Political.)
Ragusa, March 25, 1876.

My Lord,

THE sudden appearance of a more decided intention on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government to fulfil more honestly the duties of an impartial neighbour in respect of the struggle in the Herzegovina is undoubtedly producing bitter resentment among the Dalmatians. The newspapers recently published at Zara and Spalato contain articles couched in the most violent language respecting the arrest of Ljubobratics, and the capture of Moussich's band; and go so far as to accuse Austria of having originally given moral encouragement and material aid to the insurgents, and of now basely betraying them. In denouncing the attitude newly assumed at Vienna, and imposed on Baron Rodich and his subordinates, they demand that the interests of the Slavs should not be sacrificed to the egotism and arrogance of a handful of Magyars, an insignificant element in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. To me, who during my residence in Hungary have become accustomed to hear the Slavs referred to in terms of contemptuous dislike, it appears curious to hear similar language retorted upon the Magyars; but whatever progress in conciliating the Croats and Slavonians may have been achieved by the later policy of the Government at Buda-Pesth, and by the compromise negotiated in 1873-4, I feel pretty sure that in Dalmatia, at any rate, the old antipathy is as great as ever, and does not require the stimulus which Russian agents are quite willing to lend to it.

General Ivanovich, who is Baron Rodich's brother-in-law, and commands the troops in Southern Dalmatia, is at no pains to conceal his sympathies with the insurgent cause. His enemies say that he is bitterly disappointed at the waning of the prospect of an occupation of the Herzegovina by Austrian troops. But his language is only that of the great majority of his co-nationalists, whose discontent is creating another and serious aggravation of existing complications. I allude to the General because I have daily opportunities of listening to him; but any Slav officer in his position would doubtless speak as strongly; and as for subordinate officials, they do not in most cases limit their sympathy to words.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 494.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 3. Political.)
Ragusa, March 25, 1876.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch to Sir Andrew Buchanan, No. 17 of the 11th instant, respecting the proceedings of Mr. Stillman, the "Times" correspondent here, I have the honour to report that that gentleman has received permission from the management of the "Times" to return to England, and that he purposes to start on the 28th instant.

I have seen the letter received by Mr. Stillman, in which he is thanked and approved, and is informed that at present no one will be sent to take his place.

Mr. Stillman told me yesterday that he had been begged "by those behind the scenes" here not to go, as there is no doubt but that the "outlook" is more ominous than ever; and that, by leaving the country, he would miss events more interesting than any that had yet occurred. But he declared that he had made up his mind to go, even if it was only for a couple of months, as his health is suffering.

A banquet is to be given to-day to Mr. Stillman by the sympathisers in the "cause." As the steamer sails at an early hour this afternoon, I shall have no opportunity of reporting what may be said on the occasion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 495

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

My Lord,
Ragusa, March 25, 1876.

ALI PASHA and Vassa Effendi will arrive in Ragusa to-morrow morning from Mostar to confer with Baron Rodich.

Mr. Holmes writes to me that at Mostar the expense of maintaining for fourteen months the returned refugees and the rest of the inhabitants of the Herzegovina is calculated at 2,000,000*l.* Turkish. But Danetsch Effendi, the Turkish Consul-General here, says that this is an excessive estimate, and that the calculation he made here with Vassa Effendi is as follows:—300,000 souls at 1 piastre a day, equal to 300,000 piastres—that is, by month, equal to 9,000,000 piastres, and for fourteen months, equal to 122,000,000 piastres, or (the Turkish pound at 110 piastres), 1,100,000*l.*; deduct children in arms, and mortality 101,000, leaving total expense 1,000,000*l.*

In this calculation each adult would receive 40 paras a day (1 piastre), while the Austrian Government allows them 60 paras; but it is presumed that the refugees would easily procure themselves vegetables, fruit, milk, and cheese, which would more than compensate the difference.

The allowance at the rate of 40 paras would supply bread for each adult equal to a soldier's ration, and for each child half a ration.

If the Mostar estimate be excessive, I can't help thinking that that of Danetsch Effendi errs in the other direction.

The Envoys sent recently from Montenegro to Grahovo in the interests of peace do not appear to have effected much, but such a result was of course foreseen at Cettigné.

Mouhtar Pasha's attempt to send provisions to the garrison at Niksitch has been unsuccessful, the troops having been compelled to retire before the insurgents, when they reached the Duga Pass. Their loss is said to have been 160 men. The garrison at Niksitch is reported to be in great straits.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 496.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(Telegraphic.)
Serajevo, March 31, 1876.

NOTWITHSTANDING the predictions to the contrary, I have reason to believe that the Christians will not rise in Bosnia unless forced by armed bands from Austria or Servia. There are indications on the Austrian frontier of more decisive action against the insurgents and their abettors.

My calculation of the sum necessary to maintain refugees and indigent inhabitants is received here as correct. I will write by this post, and leave to-morrow for Mostar.

No. 497.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 2, 6·30 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)
Constantinople, April 2, 1876, 3·15 P.M.

I HAVE sent the following to Her Majesty's Consul at Mostar:

"Is there truth in a report that at a village near Bilatz, which had taken no part in the insurrection, the Turks have massacred some of the inhabitants and exposed their heads on pikes?"

No. 498.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.[a]—*(Received April 2, at night.)*

(Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 2, 1876.*

TURKISH Commander-in-chief reports that, when he met General Rodich at Ragusa, he found him evidently disposed to make the Conference lead to no result.

The Pasha adds that, perceiving this disposition, he gave way to the General on all points which could endanger an understanding being come to.

As it is the General who is to confer with the Chiefs in order to obtain their submission, if his disposition has been fairly reported, prospect of a settlement will be greatly diminished.

No. 499.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 3.)

(No. 115.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, March 28, 1876.*

PRINCE GORTCHAKOW informed me to-day, in reply to my inquiry as to the progress of the negotiations of General Rodich, that the proposed armistice had not been agreed to, owing to the rejection by the Porte of the conditions required by the insurgents in regard to the provisioning of Nicksich.

Mukhtar Pasha had, consequently, marched to the relief of that fortress, and having been attacked by the insurgents in a defile, had been repulsed.

The Prince appeared less sanguine than heretofore of a successful issue to these negotiations, not from any want of energy or goodwill on the part of those charged with them, but from the utter prostration of Turkey. The Porte had no money, no means for re-establishing the refugees in their homes, and no means of affording them sufficient military protection to induce them to return. There were, besides, no Administrators, civil or military, competent for the duties which they were called upon to perform.

"I can say sincerely," said the Prince, "that we wish to maintain the Turkish Empire. It is our object and interest to do so, but we cannot struggle against destiny, and although we have used all our diplomatic efforts for the pacification of the insurgent provinces, we have no means of remedying the internal decay of the Empire."

His Highness said that Austria had done, and was doing, all that was humanly possible in the sense of conciliation and pacification. In conjunction with Russia, Austria had restrained both Servia and Montenegro, and they had received satisfactory assurances from the Princes of both States of their conforming to the wishes and policy of the European Powers.

In regard to Servia, Prince Gortchakow stated that their interest was to support Prince Milan against the "Omladina" and the violent revolutionary party who were plotting his overthrow.

He had lately drawn the attention of the Austrian Cabinet to the secret workings of this party, not only in Servia, but in the adjoining Austrian Provinces, as also to the intrigues of Kara Georgewitch and his followers. His Highness had recommended that these revolutionary proceedings and elements should be carefully watched, and that they should be put down with a strong hand.

In observing to his Highness that the want of financial means appeared to be of some moment in regard to the return of the refugees to their homes, I inquired whether any communication had taken place with the Austrian Cabinet on this subject. The Prince replied that no proposal relating to the financial part of the question had been made by Count Andrassy; but he said, very decidedly, that no financial assistance to Turkey would be granted by Russia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

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[a] Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

No. 500.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 3.)

(No. 117.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, March 28, 1876.*

AFTER leaving Prince Gortchakow this morning, he called me back to communicate to me a telegram he had just received from Vienna, dated this morning, with intelligence from Ragusa, dated yesterday, which stated that Ali Pasha, Mouktar Pasha, and Vagou Effendi, through the mediation of General Rodich with the insurgent Chiefs, had come to an agreement that there should be a suspension of hostilities during the period of their conferences.

Prince Gortchakow appeared to be satisfied with this information, and to hope that it may lead to a further understanding between the conflicting parties.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 501.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 3.)

(No. 123.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, March 29, 1876.*

AT a dinner at the Winter Palace on the 25th instant, to which I had the honour of being invited, the Emperor mentioned to me that he had just received the unwelcome intelligence that the proposed armistice had been refused by the Porte.

I replied to His Majesty that I had received information that a condition made by the insurgents in regard to the provisioning of Nicksich had not been accepted by the Porte, but that Count Andrassy had instructed General Rodich to make a fresh proposal which I hoped would be agreeable to both parties (I refer to the proposal contained in Sir A. Buchanan's telegram to your Lordship of the 25rd instant).

I further observed to His Majesty that a suspension of hostilities, for even the short period of twelve days, would be of great importance. It would open a door to conciliation; it would give time for the passions to cool; it would put an end momentarily to the sacrifice of life; and, further, a renewal of it might be hopefully looked to.

His Majesty said that his anxious wish was to maintain peace; indeed, said His Majesty, it has been my constant aim for twenty years, and His Majesty added with some emphasis that it would be "honteux, car c'est le terme" (these were His Majesty's words) if the Christian Powers were not enabled to bring their pacific efforts to a successful issue.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 502.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.[a]—*(Received April 3.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Pera, April 3, 1876.*

PORTE has received information of invasion of the north-west of Bosnia by bands from Dalmatia and Croatia, said to be accompanied by two guns.

No. 503.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.[a]—*(Received April 3.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Pera, April 3, 1876, 11·40 A.M.*

ARISTARCHI BEY is to be recalled from Berlin, and Edhem Pasha, formerly Minister of Public Works, is proposed as his successor.

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[a] Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

No. 504.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April 3, 6·20 P.M.*)

Pera, April 3, 1876, noon.

(Telegraphic.)

INFORMATION has been received that Niesich has been revictualled.

No. 505.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.[a]—(*Received April 3, at night.*)

Constantinople, April 3, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

RASCHID PASHA says that he has undoubted proof that the Russians are doing their utmost to thwart the endeavours of Austria to bring about a pacification of the Herzegovina.

His Excellency is convinced that unless the Porte consents to a territorial concession to Montenegro no real co-operation is to be expected from Russia.

No. 506.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby[a].—(*Received April 4.*)

Constantinople, April 3, 1876, 11 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

I HAVE sent the following to Consul-General White:—

"The hostile preparations on the Servian frontier are stated to be carried on more openly than ever. The Militia is armed, and depôts of arms are prepared for distribution to the Turkish Christians whom Servian emissaries are stimulating to rise about Easter."

No. 507.

Mr. Vivian to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April 3.*)

(No. 29. Political. Confidential.)

Bucharest, March 24, 1876.

My Lord,

GENERAL BERDAN, an American officer, who is negotiating a contract for the supply of arms and ammunition to the Roumanian army, and who has been taken up by the Prince, has lately, by His Highness' desire, made a Report upon the state of the armament of the troops, of which I have obtained a copy.

I need not trouble your Lordship with the Report in extenso. It states that the present armament is very incomplete, that the muskets are not uniform, and that there is a deficiency both of them and of ammunition.

He recommends the immediate purchase of 100,000 muskets of uniform pattern, with 500 cartridges per musket, and he offers to supply this number of chassepots, converted according to his invention (which he describes as the best and cheapest arm for the troops), and a corresponding supply of ammunition, to be paid for in guaranteed annual instalments, spread over several years, so as not to disturb the equilibrium of the budget.

The Prince being very anxious that his proposals should be adopted, and desiring to recommend them on political grounds to his Council of Ministers, dictated to General Berdan the conclusion of his Report, of which I send your Lordship a copy.

The views therein put forward confirm the language of the late Circular, of which I have no doubt the Prince was the author, and His Highness language to me, and indicate the line of action he would wish to take in the event of war breaking out in the East.

The Roumanians could probably put an army of between 20,000 and 30,000 men in the field at a very short notice. They would be ill equipped and ill disciplined, wretchedly officered, and, as yet, imperfectly armed. The troops have no self-reliance or confidence in each other or in their officers, and I much doubt their stomach for fighting without the support of a strong ally; but, backed up by an European force, I believe they would stand

[a] Telegram to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

their ground so long as no disaster occurred. This is the general opinion held by the Roumanians of their army.

Judging from the encouragement given by Russia to the organization of the Roumanian army, and from the great civility shown to Roumanian officers at St. Petersburgh, I gather that she sees her way to making use of this force, in case of need, either by fair promises or by compulsion.

General Berdan is now at Belgrade, whence he has telegraphed to offer to buy for the Servian army all the Peabody rifles, which he advises the Roumanians to exchange for his converted Chassepots.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. VIVIAN.

Inclosure in No. 507.

Extract from Report by General Berdan upon the State of the Armament of the Roumanian Troops.

Monseigneur,

S'IL était permis au soussigné de signaler ici l'utilité politique d'un armement de cette nature il ferait remarquer qu'une nation vivace comme la Roumanie ne saurait s'isoler sans de graves inconvénients d'un mouvement guerrier qui peut avoir lieu d'un moment à l'autre soit qu'elle veuille se défendre contre des agressions extérieures ou qu'elle croit de son intérêt de co-opérer à une campagne entreprise par quelque Grande Puissance, la Roumanie retirera plus d'honneur et d'avantages d'une attitude armée comme celle que lui assurerait un armement proportionné à des exigences de guerre.

D'ailleurs par sa position géographique, par ses aspirations naturelles, la Roumanie ne saurait sans de grands dangers pour elle demeurer inactive au milieu d'une campagne qui se ferait autour de ses frontières et qui essaierait probablement de s'étendre sur son territoire.

J'ose affirmer qu'il faut qu'elle se montre au contraire à la hauteur de ses destinées en prenant une part active et vaillante au combat pour qu'elle ait à faire valoir ses droits au jour du règlement des conditions de la paix. Autrement et bien périlleux serait le sort de la nation Roumaine si au lieu d'entrer résolue et armée en lice, elle attendrait oublieuse de sa force et de ses droits que ses destinées soient réglées par les seuls hasards de la guerre.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) H. BERDAN.

No. 508.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.[a]—(*Received April 4.*)

Constantinople, April 4, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

RASCHID PASHA has read to me a telegram from the Governor-General of Bosnia, giving a very alarming account of the state of things in that province.

There are symptoms of insurrection along the Rivers Save and Unna, and bands pass freely from the Austrian side.

It has been impossible to re-establish telegraph lines along the Save from the workmen being fired upon from the Austrian side, and the remonstrances addressed to the authorities have had no effect.

Large reinforcements are urgently called for, and will be sent as speedily as possible.

No. 509.

Acting Consul Summa to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April 5.*)

(No. 7. Consulaire.)

Scutari, le 21 Mars, 1876.

My Lord,

J'AI l'honneur de transmettre à votre Seigneurie ci-joint, copie d'une dépêche adressée par moi en date d'aujourd'hui à son Excellence l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté

près de la Sublime Porte, par rapport aux renforts envoyés de nouveau par le Monténégro aux insurgés de l'Herzégovine et sur la présence actuelle à Cettigné du Consul de France de Scutari, lequel s'y est rendu autorisé par son Gouvernement. On ignore toutefois les instructions qu'il a reçues; d'ailleurs nous ne tarderons pas à connaître la vérité sur ce sujet.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) F. SUMMA.

Inclosure in No. 509.

Acting Consul Summa to Sir H. Elliot.

Excellence, *Scutari, le 21 Mars*, 1876.

A LA suite de la diminution sensible de renforts envoyés par le Monténégro aux insurgés de l'Herzégovine et que j'ai eu l'honneur de rapporter à votre Excellence par ma dépêche en date du 7 de ce mois, on avait droit d'espérer que le Monténégro aurait enfin cessé de garder une attitude presque ouvertement hostile envers le Gouvernement Turc et qu'en réalité il aurait gardé la neutralité d'une façon plus honnête et plus efficace.

Toutefois, d'informations récueillies aux meilleures sources, il résulte que loin de cesser de la double politique suivie jusqu'à présent et de s'immiscer davantage dans les affaires de l'Herzégovine, le Monténégro continue toujours à aider l'insurrection et même en ces derniers jours les renforts y envoyés par le Gouvernement Princier ont augmenté grandement. D'après renseignements reçus dernièrement du théâtre de l'insurrection, il résulte que, malgré l'amnistie leur accordée, les insurgés veulent continuer les hostilités et dans le combat de Mouratovitza les troupes impériales ont été surprises et battues par les insurgés dont la plupart était composée de Monténégrins.

En outre j'apprends d'une source authentique qu'un grand nombre de Monténégrins réunis aux insurgés, dans les défilés de Daga, ont pour but d'empêcher le ravitaillement de la place de Niksitch, car il semble que les troupes Turques marcheront de nouveau pour l'approvisionner et si la place n'a pas de vivres pendant aussi longtemps qu'on le croyait, nous sommes malheureusement à la veille de sanglants combats qui devront sans nul doute se livrer dans ces parages; car pour les Turcs c'est une question capitale que d'empêcher la reddition de Niksitch; tandis que les insurgés, sans un siége fixe de Gouvernement, tiennent beaucoup à s'emparer de cette place forte dont l'importance pour les insurgés ne pourrait être contestée, d'autant plus que les renforts et les approvisionnements ne leur feraient pas défaut de la part du Monténégro dont les frontières leur seraient ouvertes et où dans tous les cas ils trouveraient un réfuge.

En attendant, je dois soumettre à votre Excellence que M. Ceraldi, Consul de France à Scutari, qui était en congé, est arrivé dernièrement dans ce poste, et autorisé par son Gouvernement il est parti pour le Montenégro, où il se trouve depuis plusieurs jours, et l'on ignore les instructions qu'il aura reçus; toutefois le jour sur ce sujet ne tardera pas à se faire.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) F. SUMMA.

No. 510.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 6.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April 5*, 1876, 5·35 P.M.

INFORMATION in your telegrams of yesterday as to the Servian invasion of Bosnia agree with account received here.

Monson reports that insurgents will probably submit on the following terms:—Concentration of troops at selected points, supplies of food and seed corn, material for rebuilding houses and churches, permission for Christians to carry arms, and superintendence of reforms by the Consular Commission. The last stipulation will require, it is considered here, modification.

He also telegraphs that Vassillitsky had reported to St. Petersburgh Prince of Montenegro's readiness to further pacification on condition of recognition of his independence

* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.

and territorial concessions. No proposal of this kind has yet been made to the Austrian Government, whose objections to it are unchanged.

All the insurgents chiefs were last night at Suttorina, and result of the Conference will probably be known here to-night or to-morrow.

No. 511.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 6.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April 5*, 1876, 11 P.M.

SINCE despatching my telegram of this morning, I have seen Count Andrassy, who said that the information as to the invasion and movements in Bosnia had only reached him from Constantinople, and that he had not received an answer to his inquiries on the subject.

It had greatly surprised him, and he believed it to be exaggerated, as General Mollinary considered himself quite able to prevent such incidents; and a Russian agitator has been arrested by that officer on the Bosnian frontier, and has been placed at the disposal of the Russian Ambassador.

As to the return of the refugees, he said he did not trust to Generals Rodich and Mollinary, but he knew through secret agents of his own that they would return if the Turkish authorities are able to fulfil the promises of their Government. The whole question is therefore under [consideration?].

As to the cession of territory to Montenegro, though he considered it impolitic, if the Porte choose to grant it he had no right to object.

No. 512.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 6.)

(No. 22. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, March 26*, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed on the 23rd instant to Sir Henry Elliot, reporting advice given to the Servian Minister not to delay answering the Austrian demands.

I have, &c
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 512.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Belgrade, March 23*, 1876.

ONE week elapses to-day since Prince Wrede had his last audience with the Prince of Servia, to remonstrate with His Highness on the ambiguity of the attitude of his Government, and also to warn him earnestly that he was expected to give assurances within a short delay, which might facilitate the pacific mission undertaken by the Austro-Hungarian Government.

Circumstances, to which I need not refer here, had rendered the mission of Prince Wrede extremely delicate and difficult, and even its success uncertain; and it was very much to be feared, on the other hand, that the Cabinet of Vienna might, whilst the Servians thought themselves particularly ill-used by Austria, take offence at the way in which the Servian Government had met its representations, and at the delay which it had allowed to interpose without giving any reply.

Having called this morning on the Servian Foreign Minister here, Mr. Pavlovitch, I took that opportunity to impress upon him that, in my opinion, it was highly desirable that the Servian Government should put an end to this most unsatisfactory state of things, and should at once give the Austro-Hungarian Representative a reply removing the suspicions which might attach to their silence.

* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.

Mr. Pavlovitch led me to expect that the Government would send in a satisfactory answer very shortly, but did not explain the cause of the delay.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 513.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 6.)

(No. 25. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, March 30, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed to Sir Henry Elliot on the 27th instant, reporting the observations made to the Servian Foreign Minister by me, with respect to the intended convocation of the Servian militia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 513.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Belgrade, March 27, 1876.*

I CALLED this afternoon on the Servian Foreign Minister, Mr. Pavlovitch, and when talking to him of the answer he had given to Prince Wrede, I said that it was to be regretted if his Government should still adhere to their plan of calling out the militia for exercise just at this time; I told him that the assembling of large bodies of armed men in various parts of the country would be sure to give rise to misinterpretation, cause alarm, and besides the political arguments which suggested themselves to my mind, I pointed out to him that Servia might suffer grievously for every false or ill-considered step she took at this juncture, in her economical situation.

The Trading profits of the community of Belgrade, and of the other small towns of Servia, are derived almost exclusively from goods obtained on credit from Austria, Germany, or England, and resold into the interior or to Turkey; but the rumours of war have put a stop to credit, and there is no capital available, financial disasters might follow in the track of that prolonged state of uncertainty. Surely it was the interest of the Government to remove all apprehension on that score.

Moreover, the country population might be alarmed to such an extent as to cause a diminution in the quantities of the acres sown by the farmers in spring, and thus affect unfavourably the production as next harvest.

The Minister promises to take a note of my friendly remarks, and to submit them to the Prince and to his colleagues.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 514.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 57. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Athens, March 30, 1876.*

IN consequence of the information contained in your Lordship's telegram of the 23rd instant, I inquired of M. Contostavlos, when I saw him on Monday last, whether it was true that the Prince of Servia had lately proposed to the Hellenic Government to enter into an offensive alliance against Turkey, in order to obtain independence for himself, and the Provinces of Thessaly and Epirus for Greece.

Without entering into details with respect to the exact terms, M. Contostavlos admitted that some such proposal had been made to Greece about three months ago, and that it had been renewed within the last fortnight. He assured me, however, that the Hellenic Government had never had any intention of entertaining any such proposal, and

had given the Prince of Servia to understand that they had neither the means nor the inclination to take part in any hostile movement against Turkey for the present.

I did not like to press M. Contostavlos further, having no reason to doubt that the Prince of Servia's proposal had been declined, and supposing that feelings of delicacy might make him unwilling to betray the exact terms of overtures which had probably been made to the Hellenic Government in strict confidence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

No. 515.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 300. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, March 22, 1876.*

I HAVE been informed in strict confidence that at a recent interview with the Greek Consul-General at Belgrade, Prince Milan requested him to invite his Government to join with him in making common cause against Turkey.

By uniting against their common enemy, Servia might expect to secure her independence and the insurgent provinces, and Greece the annexation of Thessaly and Epirus.

The Consul-General gave no encouragement to this overture, and having informed his Government of what had passed, received, I am told, a full approval of his reserve.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 516.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 303. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, March 22, 1876.*

I AM informed by Rüschid Pasha that the Emperor of Austria is using every endeavour to obtain the removal of General Ignatiew from Constantinople.

Rüschid Pasha expects that His Majesty will effect his object, but he feels some apprehension lest the General should be replaced by M. Novikow, whom he knows personally, having been his colleague at Vienna, and considers extremely hostile to Turkey, as well as being of a rather overbearing character.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 517.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 305. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, March 24, 1876.*

GENERAL IGNATIEW received this morning a copy of the last message sent by the Emperor of Russia to the Princes of Servia and Montenegro, which he considered to be drawn up in terms much more harsh than was at all called for, at least as regards Prince Nicholas.

He observed, however, with exultation, that the pacification of the Herzegovina would after all be due to Russia, as this message of the Emperor had only arrived at Cettinje just in time to prevent the signature of an arrangement by which the two Princes were on the point of engaging themselves in a joint action.

He read the communication to me, and its terms were certainly stringent, or, as he called them, harsh.

The Emperor expressed the surprise and regret with which, after the assurances he had been receiving from the two Princes for the last five months of their determination to observe a pacific and neutral attitude, he had learnt that they were now concerting

together with a view to contingencies which the great Powers had resolved should not take place.

He therefore again called upon them to desist from the course upon which they appeared to be entering, and he concluded by warning them in very distinct language that their future relations with him would depend upon the answer that he received to his present message.

The mortification felt by General Ignatiew at this evidence of the energy with which his Government is seconding the efforts of Count Andrassy to bring about a pacification, was very evident.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 518.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 309.)
Constantinople, March 27, 1876.

My Lord,

I LEARN that the proposal made by Sir Philip Rose, Mr. Staniforth and M. Dumonceau, the French Delegate, for the unification of the Turkish debt, has been favourably received by the Porte, although no decision has as yet been come to upon it.

These gentlemen seem to have come to an understanding with Mr. Palmer, who is here as the Representative of the bondholders of the Tribute Loans.

Other projects have been submitted to the Government, the most serious of them being one brought from Vienna by M. Schenk, and understood to be supported by Count Andrassy.

Before, however, explaining his proposal to the Porte, he has required its acquiescence in preliminary conditions, which are regarded as entirely unacceptable.

These conditions are, that the whole of the revenues to be devoted to the payment of the interest should be farmed by the Company which it is proposed to form, and that the arrangements between the Porte and the Company should have some guarantee from the Governments of the Six Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 519.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 310. Confidential.)
Constantinople, March 27, 1876.

My Lord,

RASCHID PASHA shows much surprise that a project, such as the one I have mentioned in my preceding despatch, should receive any countenance from Count Andrassy.

That so shortly after being formally required to abandon the system of farming the taxes, the Porte should be invited again to inaugurate it upon a far more extended scale than before, was an inconsistency for which he could not account.

I am not aware of the grounds which may exist for believing the proposal to be supported by the Austro-Hungarian Government, but Count Zichy is certainly prepossessed in its favour, and, I understand, allowed M. Schenk to be accompanied by one of his Dragomans on his first visit to the Porte.

As far as I can judge from Raschid Pasha's language there does not appear to be a chance of the basis being accepted by the Porte, which, independently of its unwillingness to re-establish in favour of a foreign Company the farming system just abolished, would have an invincible repugnance to give an international character to any arrangement to be come to.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 517[b].

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 307.)
Constantinople, March 27, 1876.

My Lord,

MR. WHITE, by his telegram of this morning, reported the satisfactory assurances and explanations given by Prince Milan to the Austro-Hungarian Consul-General.

Count Zichy yesterday communicated to the Porte the substance of the language by which his Highness had assured Prince Wrede that he had no hostile designs against Turkey, and that the pretended military preparations of the Principality were no more than what was necessary for the maintenance of the War Department in its ordinary state of efficiency.

The transparent inaccuracy of this explanation in the face of the efforts which have been made to purchase arms and horses requires no comment, and the Prince's assurances of his pacific intentions are equally open to doubt.

At the very moment when they were being made known to Raschid Pasha from the Austrian Embassy a telegram was received at the Porte stating that there had been a complete organisation of small bands of Servians on the frontier between Novi Bazaar and Vischegrad which had passed into Bosnia at different points, killing many villagers and pillaging the country.

These accounts will probably be found as usual to be exaggerated, but Raschid Pasha says that there cannot be any doubt that what is going on on the frontier is greatly at variance with the assurances given by the Prince.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT

No. 520.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 312.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, March* 28, 1876.

AN arrangement has been come to at Ragusa between the Turkish Commissioner-in-chief and General Rodich, by which hostilities will be suspended for a period, it is believed, of twelve days.

General Ignatiew asserts that this armistice is due to the intervention of the Prince of Montenegro.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 521.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 316.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, March* 28, 1876.

I COMMUNICATED to Raschid Pasha the remarks contained in Mr. Acting Consul Freeman's despatch No. 31 of the 2nd instant, respecting the minaret about to be added to the chief Mosque of Bosnia-Seraï.

His Excellency states that the Mussulman population of Bosna-Seraï had long complained that the steeple of the Christian Church standing near their Mosque was higher than the minaret.

Before granting the permission to put up bells in the Churches, which is now about to be granted, and which may create some soreness on the part of a portion of the Mussulmans, the Government considered it prudent to authorize the erection of a minaret, which should be higher than the steeple.

The Porte is not, I think to be blamed for endeavouring to diminish the irritation which the ringing of the bells may cause in certain localities, and especially in those, where, from their vicinity to a Mosque, they are likely to drown the voice of the Muezzin calling the Mussulmans to prayers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 522.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 317.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, March* 28, 1876.

I ASKED Raschid Pasha what he thought of the statement of M. Tchernaïff, published in "Russki-Mir," a translation of which was inclosed in Lord Augustus Loftus' despatch No. 76, that the Turkish Ambassador at St. Petersburgh had declared that the only means of terminating the insurrection in the Herzegovina would be by exterminating the insurgents.

He said he had heard nothing about it, except from General Ignatiew, but he was convinced that it was impossible that the Turkish Ambassador could have held the language ascribed to him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 523.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 319.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, March* 28, 1876.

AMONG the various reforms needed in this country, none has been so universally called for as that relating to the administration of justice, and your Lordship has been made acquainted with the assurances of the Grand Vizier of his determination to carry it out.

One of the chief causes of the prevailing corruption has been the insufficiency of the salaries assigned to the judges, many of whom do not receive as much as I give to my coachman, and even those insufficient salaries are not paid with regularity, but are allowed to run many months into arrear.

Men of integrity and character will not accept the posts, which consequently fall into the hands of those who know that it will be easy for them to cover the insufficiency of their salaries by illicit gains.

That this is a common practice is so notorious that it is with regret that I have to inform your Lordship that while the professions of the Government have been of a determination to raise the administration of justice, its measures seem calculated to further debase it.

The already paltry salaries have been reduced to a scale which honest and competent men can hardly be expected to accept.

The financial embarrassments cannot be fairly alleged in attenuation of this unfortunate resolution, for I am assured that sufficient salaries for the judges and officers of the courts could be provided out of the legitimate fees; but if upon investigation it were found that these are insufficient for the purpose, I am satisfied that no difficulty would be made, on behalf at least of foreign subjects, to their being raised, upon the condition that the proceeds were to be devoted to the payment of the judges and other officers of the courts.

Such fees cannot be regarded as a legitimate source of general revenue, but they have latterly been made over to the Minister of Finance, who has allowed the judges to remain without pay.

Raschid Pasha, to whom I have represented this matter strongly, has promised to bring it under the consideration of the Grand Vizier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 524.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 5. Political.)
My Lord, *Ragusa, March 28, 1876.*

AT an interview which I had with Ali Pasha this morning his Excellency told me that, in his discussion yesterday with Baron Rodich, he had insisted upon the fact that Austria was pledged to use every means, coercive if necessary, to make the Herzegovinian refugees return to their homes; and further, to co-operate with the Porte in every way compatible with her position as a friendly Power, in the suppression of the insurrection.

Baron Rodich seems to have argued that, as far as the refugees were concerned, they showed no disposition to return without something more positive in the way of guarantees for the future than had yet been offered to them; and that he did not see how they could be allowed to starve if they persisted in their present disposition. With regard to the insurgents, Baron Rodich said that the authorities had done and would continue to do all that is incumbent upon them to prevent aid being furnished through or from Austrian territory.

Ali Pasha asked Baron Rodich if he were aware that at Stagno 500 families had signed a declaration of their willingness to return, and had handed the document to the Government Commissary. Baron Rodich professed his ignorance of the fact, and his pleasure at hearing of it.

The Conference between the Austrian and the Turkish Governors does not seem thus far to have been productive of any good result, nor does Ali Pasha appear to think that it will lead to any.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 525.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 6. Political. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Ragusa, March 28, 1876.*

WITH reference to my preceding despatch No. 5 of this date, reporting the interview of yesterday between Ali Pasha and Baron Rodich, I have the honour to state that the Pasha told me that he feared, from the General's manner, that the latter was far too much of a Slav sympathiser to co-operate honestly in the measures desired by the Vienna Government for bringing about a pacification.

His Excellency said that he had no idea, before his arrival here, of the extent to which Slav sympathies prevailed at Ragusa, nor of the amount of connivance on the part of the Austrian authorities at the violations of the neutrality of Austrian territory.

He said, and repeated several times, something to this effect: "From all that I have learned since I came to Ragusa, I am convinced that Baron Rodich is in a position to put down the insurrection by letting the Chiefs understand that no more countenance will be given them from Dalmatia; and equally in a position to persuade the refugees to return by the use of firm and energetic language."

Perhaps his Excellency is wrong in considering Baron Rodich so much master of the situation, but the latter might undoubtedly do a good deal more in both directions than he has yet done.

Ali Pasha complained in strong terms of M. Yonine and the Russian Agents, and said that, after the display of the flag at half-mast at the Russian Consulate on the occasion of the funeral of an insurgent, M. Yonine ought to have been removed by his Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 526.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 7. Political.)
My Lord, *Ragusa, March 28, 1876.*

MOUKTAR PASHA, Commander-in-chief in the Herzegovina, is holding daily conferences with Baron Rodich, on the means of arranging with the insurgents a suspension of hostilities.

The Austrians seem to think that the Turks are treating the question from quite an erroneous point of view, and that, instead of talking as if they had won a succession of victories, they should be as moderate in their language as befits their want of success in recent military operations.

The difficulty seems to consist chiefly in the pretension of the Turks to have the right of sending provisions into Niksich during the truce, to which the insurgents will not consent. It would appear that Niksich is now receiving small occasional supplies of provisions from Montenegro, where it is not desired that such a catastrophe should be allowed to happen as the fall of a frontier town from starvation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 527.

Mr. Harriss-Gastrell to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, April 7.)

(No. 29.)
Sir, *Buda-Pesth, March 31, 1876.*

I UNDERSTAND that General Mollinary has been as unsuccessful as General Rodich in inducing the refugees to return into Turkey, and that the few who have been induced or driven to cross into Bosnia, have, instead of repairing to their villages, fled to the woods with the object of remaining there until, as they think, hostilities on a larger scale shall begin with the return of spring.

The number of the refugees on the Hungarian frontier is stated at 40,000 to 50,000,

for the relief of whom, and those in Dalmatia, it is considered that in addition to the million of guldens mentioned by M. Tisza, another million will have been expended.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. P. HARRISS-GASTRELL.

No. 528.

Mr. Harriss-Gastrell to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, April 7.)

(No. 31. Confidential.)
Sir, *Buda-Pesth, March 31, 1876.*

WITH reference to Count Andrassy's Note for the pacification of the Herzegovine, I am informed that at the approaching meeting of the Delegations there will probably be much opposition to his Excellency's policy on the ground that it has placed Austria-Hungary in an undesirable position, and that Hungary has no liking for the measures which may become necessary in support of the Note.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. P. HARRISS-GASTRELL.

No. 529.

Mr. Harriss-Gastrell to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, April 7.)

(No. 35.)
Sir, *Buda-Pesth, March 31, 1876.*

IN the House of Deputies, on the 29th, M. Tisza, replying to an interpellation respecting a forced return of the refugees, referred to his previous answer on the 12th instant, and added that "the circumstance that refugees were at the time received hospitably when fleeing from a menacing danger cannot oblige a State to continue the great sacrifices of such hospitality, when the refugees can return to their homes."

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. P. HARRISS-GASTRELL.

No. 530.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 7.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April 7, 1876.*

TWENTY insurgents chiefs will accept mediation of General Rodich and the reforms already promised if placed under moral guarantee of great Powers. As they ask, however, a day for consultation among themselves they may possibly make other proposals. Suspension of hostilities tacitly accepted and already begun. Polowitz, the Montenegrin, only chief not at Conference. From want of communication, time will be required for acquainting all the bands in arms with the wishes of the chiefs.

General Mollinary telegraphs to-day that no traces exist of the bands reported from Constantinople as having invaded northern Bosnia.

No. 531.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.†—(Received April 7.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 7, 1876.*

ACCORDING to the accounts which reached the Porte to-day, well-armed bands entered Bosnia from Austria from three different quarters.

They have been joined by Christian populations; and whole of Turkish Croatia may be regarded as in insurrection.

From the Herzegovine the news is satisfactory.

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* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.
† Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

No. 532.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 7.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Mostar, April 7, 1876.*

REPORT mentioned in telegram of 2nd is probably a misrepresentation of something of a different nature near "Binkia (?)" Government General has received telegrams on this subject, and we have hitherto waited for authentic information, which, when received, I will telegraph. The north-west of Bosnia, along the frontier, has been forced to rise. Governor-General of Bosnia was warned of preparations six weeks ago but took no precautions. The affair, it appears, is serious. Ali Pasha does not seem particularly contented with the result of his interview with Baron Rodich; he tells me that it was not quite in conformity with the understanding between the Austrian and Turkish Governments.

The moment is critical, and nothing can be predicted with certainty until expiration of armistice.

No. 533.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.†—(Received April 8, night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April 8, 1876, 5·26 P.M.*

A TELEGRAM from General Mollinary denies positively invasion of Bosnia from Austria, but admits that stragglers may have crossed the frontier; and that bands near to frontier may have crossed into Austria during the night and returned to Bosnia.

The Emperor, however, sent urgent orders to the General to-day making him responsible for closing the frontier, and offering more troops if necessary.

There is no doubt that a serious rising has taken place in Turkish Croatia, in which the Catholics have joined.

The insurgents in the Herzegovina ask for third (?) of land, and make other equally inadmissible demands; however, it is thought by some persons, and it is said by the Russian Ambassador, that their claim for land may be satisfied by grants from State domain.

As yet the armistice does not appear to have been prolonged.

General Ebers being here, and in communication with the Government, the "Times" will probably contain authentic and full information on this point.

No. 534.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.†—(Received April 8, night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April 8, 1876, 9·30 P.M.*

Since sending off my previous telegram of this day, I have spoken with Count Andrassy of the demands of the insurgents, and I said it seemed to me that General Rodich could not have carried out orders of Government in listening to them. His Excellency answered that he will be told so to-morrow.

He told the Chiefs, however, that the demands would not be accepted, on which they referred to Montenegro for advice; but without waiting for instructions he has returned to Ragusa with (?), which he should not have brought away.

With regard to Bosnia, Count Andrassy said that orders were given to prevent refugees or sympathizers from coming within three geographical miles of the frontier.

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* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.
† Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.

No. 534.

*Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received April 8, night.*)

Vienna, April 8, 1876, 11·15 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

Monson reports by telegraph that General Rodich found insurgents confident of being able to continue resistance, and that his interview with them has given no reason to hope for peace.

No. 536.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.†—(Received April 8.)

Mostar, April 8, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

LAST night Governor-General received information that insurgents now in conference with Baron Rodich proposed conditions of submission. First, Christians not to be disarmed; second, guarantees of reform under Consular Commission; third, precise information as to the meaning of supporting and installing refugees; fourth, troops to be withdrawn into fortified places.

No. 537.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.‡—(Received April 9.)

Constantinople, April 8, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

THIS morning the Austrian Ambassador communicated to the Porte a despatch from Count Andrassy, complaining that Turkish troops had fired upon an Austrian detachment on the Austrian territory.

Some hours later the Porte received a telegram from their Commander-in-Chief, that Turkish troops, when passing some insurgents who were driving off cattle towards the frontier, had been fired upon by the Austrians, and had been obliged to return the fire.

There appears to be much exaggeration on both sides.

A few battalions of regular troops, and 4,000 irregulars are being hurried to the scene of the new insurrection, but it must, I think, be some time before any considerable reinforcement can reach.

No. 538.

Mr. White to the Earl of Derby.‡—(Received April 9.)

Belgrade, April 8, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

AN opinion gaining here that Servia, insincere in her assurances, means to seize an early opportunity of siding openly with the insurgents' cause; and though the militia has not been actually called out, there are reasons to apprehend some hostile movement if General Rodich fails in his negotiations.

No. 539.

Mr. Holmes to the Earl of Derby.†—(Received April 9, night.)

Mostar, April 9, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

GOVERNOR-GENERAL has received intelligence, in reply to his inquiries about reported massacre, that some rebels having attempted to drive off the flocks belonging to the village of Mirousha Bilekia, a fight ensued, in which the Turkish inhabitants killed forty insurgents, one Turk being wounded.

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* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.

† Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.

‡ Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

No. 540.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 9, night.)*

St. Petersburgh, April 9, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

RUSSIAN Government had received up to yesterday no confirmation of the private intelligence published by "Russian World" from Castelnuovo, dated 7th instant, reporting a speech of General Rodich, in which he said that they were not to trust promises of Russia, who had been once beaten by the Turks, and would not help them; or of further private telegram to the same journal, reporting the violation of the armistice by the Turks, disembarkation of fresh troops at Klek, and concentration of twenty-five battalions at Trebigne. Same newspaper contains this morning violent leading articles against Austria, founded on these telegrams.

No. 541.

Consul Taylor to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 10.)

(No. 5.)

My Lord,

Ragusa, March 28, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to forward two copies of a prospectus that has been issued by the Slav party here for an Agricultural Association to cultivate the Herzegovina, and to employ the refugees from Turkey who are now in destitution here.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. G. TAYLOR.

Inclosure in No. 541.

Prospectus.

DERRIERE la langue de terre qui forme le territoire de Raguse, situé sur le versant oriental de la Mer Adriatique, s'étend l'Herzégovine Ottomane. Ce pays renferme des plaines très fertiles, des vallées, de beaux cours d'eau, des fôrets et probablement de riches mines qui n'ont, jusqu'à présent, jamais été explorées, le tout représentant une superficie de 220 milles carrés.

Les mauvaises conditions dans lesquelles, par le passé, était soumis ce pays, le peu de sécurité qui y régnait, le dépouplèrent peu à peu et le rendirent en conséquence complétement mort à toute espèce d'industrie.

Une ère nouvelle semble se préparer, vu l'interet que prend en ce moment l'Europe entière en sa faveur, et tout fait présager un avenir meilleur et plus normal.

L'excessive irrégularité dans les relations entre les Musulmans propriétaires et les Chrétiens travailleurs des terres a été une des plus grandes plaies et un des malheurs les plus sensibles de cette partie de la Péninsule des Balkans; et ce fut la principale cause du soulèvement actuel.

Si donc la propriété foncière passait en des mains plus intelligentes, il y a toute probabilité que ce serait trancher beaucoup de difficultés qui, pour le moment, s'opposent à l'aplanissement des questions pendantes. Du reste le nouvel acquéreur ainsi que le pays y trouveraient bénéfices et avantages.

Ce ne serait pas le premier exemple que la spéculation, tout en trouvant son profit ainsi que le pays, serait venue à l'aide de la civilisation.

Le moment serait certainement propice pour se faire céder par les anciens propriétaires leurs droits à de bonnes conditions, vu que les terres sont en chaumage, par l'abandon des paysans qui ont pris les armes, afin d'arriver à un changement dans leur position respective.

Il semble donc naturel que l'esprit d'association qui a obtenu partout de si merveilleux résultats, doive tirer profit de cette situation. En conséquence, convaincus que de telles vues pourront être partagées par d'autres personnes auxquelles ont fait appel, les soussignés pensèrent à se constituer en un Comité promoteur d'une association agricole, industrielle Balkanique ayant pour but d'acquérir des terres en Herzégovine. Les conditions préliminaires sont les suivants:—

1. Il serait émis le nombre de 10,000 actions.

* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Constantinople, and Rome.

2. Les actions sociales seraient chacune de 100 fr.

3. La société entrerait en fonctions aussitôt qu'on aurait obtenu un nombre d'actions de 2,500.

4. Une fois obtenu le nombre d'actions cité dans l'Article 3, les soussignés s'assembleraient à Raguse dans un jour fixé par les promoteurs et annoncé par les journaux les plus répandus en Europe, afin de traiter la question, rédiger les statuts de la société, et élire un comité définitif chargé de la direction de la société. Les souscripteurs pourront dans ce cas se faire représenter par des mandataires spéciaux et sociétaires eux-mêmes.

5. Celui qui signe le présent acte est responsable de l'acquisition des actions souscrites par lui.

6. Cette responsabilité cesse si dans six mois, à partir d'aujourd'hui, on n'obtient pas le nombre d'actions prévu par l'Article 3.

7. Les signataires du présent acte donneront au moment de signer le vingtième des actions qu'ils auront souscrites; cette somme sera remise à un des promoteurs sous leur solidaire responsabilité ou à un banquier commissionné par eux.

8. Cette somme anticipée sera restituée à son propriétaire dans le cas où on n'aurait pu arriver au nombre d'actions prévu par l'Article 3 et dans le terme prévu par l'Article 6, sauf à retenir au prorata de chacun la somme des dépenses faites en but du projet présent.

Raguse, le 27 Mars, 1876.

(Signé) MARINO NICOLÒ DI GIORGI.
MATTEO LUCIANO CONTE DI POZZA.

No. 542.

Consul Taylor to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 10.)

(No. 4.) *Ragusa, March* 30, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward copy of a despatch, No. 7, of March 29th, I have addressed to Sir A. Buchanan, relative to Mokhtar and Ali Pasha's late visit here. Both these officers have since returned to Mostar.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. G. TAYLOR.

Inclosure in No. 542.

Consul Taylor to Sir A. Buchanan.

Ragusa, March 29, 1876.

Sir,

THE Turkish Military Commander-in-chief in Bosnia, Mokhtar Pasha, together with Ali Pasha, Civil Commissioner for the pacification of the disturbed Ottoman districts in this neighbourhood, arrived here two days ago. Their mission was to arrange matters with the Austrian authorities to facilitate the return of the Christian refugees from Turkish territory, who recently fled for a living and protection here and in this neighbourhood. Meantime, the Porte has sent large supplies of grain, at present stored at Gravosa, the port of Ragusa, to sustain the refugees who may be willing to return to their homes, and to provide seed for their spring sowings. But, as all the labour-cattle used for ploughing have been destroyed, it is difficult to understand how the peasants will be able to utilize those gifts, which it is supposed they will be obliged to consume to sustain life before the proper seed-time commences.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. G. TAYLOR.

No. 543.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 10.)

(No. 8. Political.) *Ragusa, March* 30, 1876.

My Lord,

M. YONINE, the Russian Consul-General here, complained to me yesterday in very excited language, of the manner in which he had been traduced by Mr. Consul Holmes. He said that he had learned from General Ignatiew that, on his arrival at Ragusa a fort-

night ago, Mr. Holmes had sent a telegram to your Lordship attributing the continuance of the insurrection to his (M. Yonine's) machinations; that a copy of this telegram had been shown to Rashid Pasha by Sir Henry Elliot, and that Rashid Pasha had at once communicated it to General Ignatiew.

M. Yonine went on to say that it was lamentable that official agents should make such reckless statements; that it was natural that the Ottoman Government should keep on pretending that there was no real insurrection, if, on the authority of a person in Mr. Holmes' position, they were informed that it had been originated, and was now kept up by the Russian Consulate; but that the accusation was so ridiculous that those who really believed it must wish to be deceived; that such an indictment might be fairly made if it were a question of a great statesman like Prince Bismarck, but was, as against "a poor simple Consul-General," wholly inapplicable. Why had not Mr. Holmes called upon him when he passed through Ragusa, and given him an opportunity of meeting the accusation with a point blank denial?

As M. Yonine made these excited observations at his own dinner table, and in the presence of M. Durando, the Italian Commissioner in the Herzegovina, and of three Russian gentlemen, I thought it most expedient to treat the matter jocularly; and so contented myself with replying that I thought he ought to be much flattered at the extent of the influence which Mr. Holmes attributed to him. M. Yonine, however, though he said no more upon the subject, was clearly by no means inclined to treat the matter lightly.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 544.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 10.)

(No. 9. Political.)

My Lord, *Ragusa, March* 30, 1876.

MOUHTAR PASHA left Ragusa for Trebigné yesterday morning, and Ali Pasha started this morning for the same town.

From all that I can learn, the impression produced upon Baron Rodich by the two Pashas is that the Porte has no desire to conciliate the insurgents. Baron Rodich and General Jovanovits called on me yesterday, and said that the Proclamation issued by Wassa Effendi (of which I have not as yet the translation, having only seen it in the Slav text) contained no reference to guarantees, reforms or anything else, except the clemency of the Sultan to those who submitted within four weeks, and the threat of confiscation of the property of those who did not. That, not only did the Pashas show no conciliatory spirit, but that a fresh massacre of seven Christians (three men and four women) had just taken place in the vicinity of Bileh, and a raid across the frontier near Trebigné had been committed within the week upon some sheep belonging to Austrian subjects, who had, however, beaten off the Turks, and saved their property. In the face of outrages such as these, how could it be expected that any good could be done either with the refugees or the insurgents?

I saw Wassa Effendi shortly before this conversation, and he absolutely repudiated the idea that anyone had the right to ask the Porte for further guarantees, his argument being that the acceptance of Count Andrassy's note and the Sultan's Proclamation of Amnesty, were guarantees enough; and that the Porte was entitled to claim that confidence should be reposed in the intention of the authorities to carry out the reforms, and fulfil the promises of succour for the returned insurgents and refugees. He declared, in the most solemn manner, that he himself would not retain his position as President of the Reform Commission for a day if he found that he was unable to act honestly in this sense.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 545.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April 10.*)

(No. 11. Political. Confidential.)

Ragusa, March 30, 1876.

My Lord,

M. WESSILITZKY, the President of the Russian Relief Committee here, a Russian subject, but a Herzegovinian by origin, read confidentially to me this morning the report he had sent about a week ago to Prince Gortchakow, and which I have only time to summarize by this steamer.

The Prince of Montenegro, to whom M. Wessilitzky went on a mission from the Russian Chancellor and M. Yonine, agreed to co-operate in a pacification on the following conditions:—

Recognition of the independence of Montenegro: and

The cession to the Principality of Spitza on the Albanian coast, together with a strip of Albanian territory, watered by the River Moratscha.

Having arranged with Montenegro, M. Wessilitzky proceeded to treat with the insurgents. They all profess to be ready to submit on the following conditions:—

1. Concentration of troops at different selected points during the pacification;

2. Supplies of food and seed corn, and material for rebuilding houses and churches, to be given by the Porte;

3. Surveillance of an European or Consular Commission;

4. Permission for the Christians to carry arms as do their Mussulman fellow subjects.

To M. Wessiletzky's question as to what I thought of these conditions, I replied that, after the terms of the insurgent proclamation of the 26th ultimo, they seemed to me very moderate. M. Wessiletzky remarked that Baron Rodich, who had just seen them, was of the same opinion. He hoped to have in three or four days a formal document embodying them signed by all the Chiefs. He added that M. Yonine would have preferred to have rewarded Montenegro by a slice, or even the greater part of the Herzegovina, and that Prince Nikita was very anxious to annex at least Niksich, but that he, as a Herzegovinian, did not want to see his countrymen placed in the power of brigands and mountain-robbers!!

Wassa Effendi told me last night that he had suggested to Raschid Pasha the policy of such concessions to Montenegro in the full belief that it would weaken her power for mischief. His idea is that Austria should be negotiated with for the cession of the port of Budua; but then Wassa Effendi is an Albanian.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 546.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April 10.*)

(No. 12. Political.)

Ragusa, April 1, 1876.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 9, Political, of the 30th ultimo, in which mention is made of the Proclamation to the Insurgents and the Refugees of the Herzegovina issued here by Wassa Effendi, the President of the Commission of Reforms, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship, herewith, the Slav text and an Italian version which Wassa Effendi has himself been so good as to make for me, together with a translation from that version by myself.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure in No. 546.

Notification.

IN seguito all'amnistia generale che Sua Maestà Imperiale il Sultano si è graziosamente degnata di concedere e far promulgare in favore degl'insorti dell'Erzegovina accordando quattro settimane di tempo a partire dal $\frac{14}{26}$ Marzo corrente; onde ognuno deponga le armi e rientri nel proprio paese.

Per ordine del Governo di Sua Maestà Imperiale si porta a publica conoscenza che tutti quelli che si sottometteranno, godranno non solamente dei benefizi già noti, ma saranno esentati eziandio per un anno del pagamento delle decime e per due anni da quello delle altre imposte legale; e che quelli che rimarranno ostinati à non volersi sottomettere e non profiteranno della clemenza Imperiale per rientrare, entro il termine fissato, nelle proprie case, non solamente saranno esclusi dalla partecipazione ai favori ed alla generosità sovrana, ma incorreranno inoltre la confisca delle loro terre e di loro beni, i quali saranno venduti pubblicamente ed il prodotto che se ne ricaverà sarà erogato in favore di quelli che si saranno conformati alla disposizione sovrana e che saranno ritornati nel proprio paese.

Il Presidente della Commissione delle Reforme,

(Signé) P. WASSA.

Ragusi, li $\frac{14}{26}$ *Marco*, 1876.

(Translation.)

IN pursuance of the general amnesty which His Imperial Majesty the Sultan has been graciously pleased to grant and to cause to be promulgated in favour of the insurgents of the Herzegovina, allowing them four weeks commencing from the $\frac{14}{26}$th of the present month of March, during which every one may lay down his arms and return to his own country.

By order of the Government of His Imperial Majesty it is hereby announced that all those who shall so submit themselves shall enjoy not only the benefits above mentioned, but shall be moreover exempted for one year from the payment of tithes and for two years from that of the other legal imposts; and that those who shall remain obstinate in their refusal to submit themselves, and who will not profit by the Imperial clemency for the purpose of returning to their homes within the time above fixed, shall not only be excluded from participating in these favours and in the Sovereign generosity, but shall incur in addition the confiscation of their lands and property, which shall be publicly sold, and the proceeds thereof assigned to those who shall have conformed to the Imperial will and shall have returned to their own country.

By the President of the Reform Commission,

(Signed) P. WASSA.

Ragusa, March $\frac{14}{26}$, 1876.

No. 547.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April 10.*)

(No. 13. Political.)

Ragusa, April 1, 1876.

My Lord,

I UNDERSTAND that Baron Rodich will have a conference with the insurgent Chiefs at Resina or Castelnuovo on or about the 4th instant.

I have heard that his Excellency has expressed his disapprobation of the tenor of Ali Pasha's Proclamation (of which I hope to be able to procure a copy and translation in time for the mail this afternoon), and that he thinks it will not only produce no good effect on the insurgents, but will even tend to make them recalcitrant on the subject of the pacification.

Wassa Effendi will not leave Ragusa until the 4th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 548.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April 10.*)

(No. 14. Political.)

Ragusa, April 1, 1876.

My Lord,

AT the last moment before the post closes I am able to transmit copy, and a very rough and hurried translation into French, of Ali Pasha's proclamation.

Your Lordship will observe that it is dated the 24th ultimo, but it has only been put into circulation yesterday, thus eliminating a week of the period of grace accorded to the insurgents.

Ali Pasha gave it to be understood that the text of the Proclamation had been sent to him from Constantinople, and that he was not responsible for it. It can hardly be said to be conciliatory, and the barest reference is made in it to the reforms which the Porte, in deference to the wishes of the great Powers, has consented to grant.

I fear it will not be accepted by the insurgents as a satisfactory manifesto.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure in No. 548.

Proclamation.

(Traduction.)

SA Majesté notre Illustre et Gracieux Empereur et Souverain a donné l'ordre qu'on publie sa grâce et clémence à votre égard afin d'écarter le désordre où est tombé votre pays et que ses sujets soient sauvés de l'abîme où ils sont jetés par des promesses criminelles et mensongères de quelques rebelles.

Vous connaissez tous quelles mesures ont été prises de la part du Gouvernement Impérial au commencement de ces troubles et avec quelle justice on a agi pour que ni votre pays ni même un seul d'entre vous ne souffrit dommage; mais en vain, car ceux qui cherchèrent la satisfaction de leur désir dans la valeur de votre pays, et ceux parmi vous qui suivirent ces discours donnèrent un autre sens à l'initiatif bienfaisant qu'avait pris le Gouvernement et y répondirent par les armes; c'est ainsi qu'ils forcèrent le Gouvernement pour rétablir la paix à réprimer et à châtier.

Vous vîtes et comptâtes combien l'accomplissement de ce devoir a causé du sang versé depuis six ou sept mois, et que l'intention de ceux qui vous ont poussés aux désordres n'était point la tranquillité de votre patrie, mais plutôt ceci, de vous faire tomber en diverses souffrances et en tirer leurs avantages; vous vous séparâtes de vos familles, de votre patrie, et de vos maisons, et ne trouvâtes que dommages et privations.

Notre illustre Empereur, attristé par cet état de choses dans son cœur Impérial, n'a pas seulement consenti à vous faire participer aux clauses du juste Firman, clauses qui suffisent pour donner de la sécurité et du bonheur à votre patrie et à tous ses habitants, pour compenser les pertes causées par les troubles, et pour réaliser encore quelques améliorations importantes et essentielles qui sont nécessaires dans votre patrie, et pour vous faire jouir ainsi des avantages légaux et y trouver le progrès; mais aussi a pardonné tout le crime de la désobéissance à tous ceux d'entre vous qui déposeront leurs armes et se soumettront en quatre semaines à compter du jour de cette proclamation. Il ne manquera pas de [illegible] mesures qui faciliteront et assureront votre sécurité et votre bien-être, ainsi que celui de vos familles, quand vous retournerez dans votre pays. Il est attendu que plusieurs d'entre vous apprécieront comme il le faut cette manifestation de la clémence souveraine; et s'il y a de ceux qui n'ont pas encore eu les yeux dessillés, qu'ils verront aussi, et rentreront dans le droit chemin. Mais s'il se trouve [illegible] ceux qui ne savent pas être reconnaissants de tant de grâce souveraine, et persisteront obstinément dans la désobéissance, les troupes impériales continueront à les réprimer. C'est pourquoi il vous est recommandé sincèrement de bien réfléchir à ceci: qu'il vous est nécessaire de montrer l'obéissance à votre Souverain légitime afin ne réparer les torts dont vous vous êtes rendus coupables et de rétablir la paix dans votre patrie.

Le $\frac{12}{24}$ *Mars*, 1876.

Vali et Commissaire du Vilayet de l'Herzégovine,

(Signé) ALI.

No. 549.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 10.)

(No. 187. Confidential.)

Vienna, April 5, 1876.

My Lord,

AFTER receiving to-day Mr. Monson's Reports of the 31st ultimo and the 1st of April, I called at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and had an interview with Baron Hofmann, to whom I submitted, for his observations, a copy of the conditions reported in Mr. Monson's

despatch No. 11, on which the Prince of Montenegro had promised M. Wessilitzky that he would co-operate in a pacification of the Herzegovine, and of those, on which the insurgents had stated to that gentlemen, that they would lay down their arms.

Baron Hofmann said with regard to the latter condition, that he believed Nos. 1, 2, and 4 would form the basis of the arrangement, which it was hoped might be concluded with Baron Rodich at Castelnuovo, but No. 3 would require to be amended, as Consular surveillance of the reforms was not practicable, nor had it been contemplated by any of the Powers who had supported Count Andrassy's proposal.

In telegrams, which he read to me on the subject of the conditions, I found them to be more explicit than they are reported by Mr. Monson, the disbanding of the corps of Bashi Bazouks, and the employment of regular troops alone for garrison duty, being expressly stipulated.

With regard to the question of Montenegro, after repeating what he had stated on a former occasion as to no communications having ever been made to the Austro-Hungarian Government from St. Petersburgh in favour of territorial concessions to Prince Nicholas, he said he was not aware of M. Wessiletzky having reported to Prince Gortchakow that such a measure would be necessary to secure the co-operation of the Prince, though he knew, of course, that the idea had often been put forward by his Highness' friends, but, as far as he was aware, Count Andrassy still considered that concessions to Montenegro, however unimportant in themselves, would be the first step on a course of which it would be difficult to predict the last.

I said that I believed Count Andrassy's opinions on the subject were shared by Sir Henry Elliot, but that I understood so many proofs are believed at Constantinople to exist of Russian Agents thwarting the efforts of Austria to effect a pacification of the insurgent provinces that there is a growing opinion at the Porte that, until concessions are made to Montenegro, no real co-operation can be expected from Russia.

His Excellency said that Count Andrassy was well aware of the double dealing of Russian Agent, and of the imperfect manner in which the loyal intentions of the Emperor Alexander and of Prince Gortchakow are carried out, and it was, unfortunately, not only subordinate agents on the spot, but persons in a position of authority, who are opposed to the policy of their Sovereign; but notwithstanding the difficulties with which Count Andrassy had to contend from this course, his Excellency felt hopeful that his policy would prove successful, if the Porte could fulfil the engagements which he had contracted. In consequence of a report which appeared in the "Times" newspaper, I ought to state that these observations could not apply to M. Nowikow, the Russian Ambassador here, whose relations with Count Andrassy continue to be, as they have been throughout the negotiation, of the most confidential and reliable character.

Baron Hofmann, during our conversation, communicated to me several telegrams, and, among others, the last received from Dalmatia, which reported all the insurgent chiefs to have arrived at Suttorina on the 4th instant, to take part in a conference to be held to-day with General Rodich.

Later in the day I met Count Andrassy, and spoke to him of the reports from Bosnia. He said he had only received a Constantinople version of them, and until they were confirmed by General Molinari, to whom he had applied for information, he would consider them to be greatly exaggerated, as the Turkish Government seemed to listen to every tale brought to them, and to spend their time in finding fault with others, instead of doing what is indispensable for the pacification of their provinces, by placing money at the disposal of the Commissioners.

There were, no doubt, he said, many elements at work to promote disorder, but he had never wavered in his opinion that the insurrection would be suppressed; and as the agents charged with the repatriation of the refugees were alleged to be lukewarm in the cause of peace, he did not trust only to them, but had ascertained through agents of his own that the refugees would return to their villages as soon as the Turkish authorities were provided with the means of supporting and protecting them.

His Excellency said that the Prince of Montenegro first became reasonable; the Prince of Servia had now become so; and it would be found that the refugees also would accept the terms offered to them. His only fear, therefore, was that those terms might not be persistently carried out, and that in five or six months hence the refugees might return to Austria-Hungary, to escape from starvation in their homes.

I then alluded to the wish of the Prince of Montenegro to obtain territorial concessions and the port of Spitza, repeating to his Excellency what I had said on the subject to Baron Hofmann, and his Excellency, after reiterating the reasons which he had formerly given for disapproving of such a scheme, as reported in my despatch No. 160, Confidential, of the 24th ultimo, said he would certainly not support it; but if the Porte chose to

satisfy the ambitious views of Prince Nicolas, it was its affair, and he had no right to object.

He seemed to think it improbable that Russian agents could succeed in opposing the policy of the Emperor, and I therefore reminded him that Russian generals had only recently conquered and annexed to the Empire almost every principality in Central Asia, in many instances against the declared orders of the Emperor, and, I believe, the expressed conviction of Prince Gortschakow that such conquests were impolitic, and I did not see why similar events might not occur in the territories of Turkey; but he held that the cases were not alike, as the only Power interested in the affairs of Central Asia was Great Britain, and Her Majesty's Government had not seen cause to protest against the establishment which had occurred there; but, as the questions now pending in Eastern Europe are of vital importance to Austria-Hungary, the engagements respecting them contracted by Russia would, he felt assured, be maintained.

Meanwhile, he added, General Malinari had given a hint to Russian agitators and sympathisers with the insurgents that they will not be permitted to oppose the wishes of the Government for the repatriation of the refugees; and a certain M. Sarapow, who has been an active abettor of the insurrection, was arrested on the Croatian frontier about four days ago.

His Excellency said M. de Nowikow had been made acquainted with the circumstances under which this arrest had taken place, and had been informed at the same time that the Government would place M. Sarapow at his disposal on condition that he should be sent out of the country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 550.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 10, at night.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Constantinople, April 10, 1876, 5·30 P.M.*

GENERAL IGNATIEW this morning told Rashid Pasha that not only Baron Rodich but Count Andrassy considers the conditions demanded by the insurgents as perfectly reasonable.

As I had just received Sir A. Buchanan's telegram of the 8th instant, I informed Rashid Pasha confidentially of the language which had been held to him by Count Andrassy on this subject.

Rashid Pasha was indignant at the artifices of Russian Ambassador to create a distrust of Austria.

No. 551.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 10, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 10, 1876, 5·45 P.M.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the denial given to the Porte by the Austrian Government there is no doubt whatever that bands did invade Bosnia from their territory, though there appears to have been exaggeration in the first reports.

The last accounts say that one band was easily dispersed by a few companies of troops at Maida, and that they, as well as the others, have again been driven across the frontier.

No. 552.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.[a]—(Received April 10.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April 10, 1876.*

THOUGH accounts received here of a warlike and national spirit in Servia confirms those in your telegram of yesterday, it is still hoped that Austrian and Russian influence

[a] Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Rome, Constantinople, and St. Petersburgh.

will prevent war. With respect to Herzegovina, telegraphic instructions will be sent to General Rodich to inform insurgents through Austrian Agents in Suttorina that the Porte has already granted all that is reasonable in the demand, and that, as they cannot be supported in what is unreasonable, they must accept an arrangement in conformity with Count Andrassy's proposals.

A telegram will also be sent to Petersburgh proposing that Austria and Russia should make a joint representation to the Prince of Montenegro, urging him to insist on submission of insurgents on the terms offered to them.

No. 553.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 7.)
My Lord,

Bosna-Serai, March 30, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, considering it of importance that I should visit this place with a view to ascertain personally the feelings of the authorities and principal people, and the actual state of affairs in Bosnia at the present moment, I obtained Sir Henry Elliot's permission to do so. I now inclose a copy of a despatch, of to-day's date, addressed to his Excellency, stating the result of my investigations during the past week.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure in No. 553.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Bosna-Serai, March 30, 1876.

DURING the few days I have been here I have seen the authorities and most of the chief men of the place, and I have obtained a conviction that, in spite of all predictions to the contrary, the Christian inhabitants of the country will not rise in arms unless they are forced to do so by invasion from without. Up to the present moment there has been no insurrection in Bosnia, except on the frontiers, where it has been produced in this manner, and the future tranquillity of the country entirely depends on the conduct of Austria and Servia.

Among all classes, however, I find very great distrust of the power of the Porte, and even of its intention to properly carry out the promised reforms. Nothing has yet been done to give confidence to the Christians, and though there are many intelligent Mussulmans who are convinced of the propriety and necessity of a change, there is a large majority who understand neither, and will offer a stolid but passive resistance to all attempts to reform.

I have urged Haidar Effendi to commence his operations by giving permission to the Christians to use bells for their churches, as a measure which, perhaps above all others, will produce a favourable effect. As a matter of fact, the Christians have long enjoyed religious liberty, except in the matter of using bells; but whatever has been conceded to them seems of little account if this privilege is denied, which they appear to consider as the symbol of their religious liberty and the proof of its recognition. Were the use of bells allowed they would have nothing more to complain of in the matter of religious freedom, and would then begin to feel confidence in the good intentions of the Government. The more intelligent Mussulmans here seem to be quite disposed to concede the point, and Haidar Effendi himself promises to carry it out. There will at first, perhaps, be a show of opposition on the part of the ignorant and fanatic Moslems; but I am persuaded that, with a little firmness, Haidar Effendi will have no real difficulty. I have told him so, and have indicated the mode of procedure, and the nature of the arguments which I think most likely to overcome the opposition he may expect. The Commission over which he is to preside is not yet formed, but as soon as it is, he declares he will carry out this measure. The Christians also complain of the great difficulty they experience from the local authorities and the Mussulman population in building new churches, for which the permission of the Government has been obtained. The remedy for this, however, lies in the personal character and conduct of the Governor-General.

I find great confusion and want of confidence among the Mussulmans and Christians, occasioned by the extraordinary manner in which the Porte gives its orders regarding the

promised reforms. The additional quarter of the "Aushi" was declared to be remitted, but soon after an order was received to collect it for this year, as this tax had been sold to the Mahsoins while the old system prevailed. People, however, say that, as the Government pretended to alleviate their taxation in their present distressed circumstances, they expected the Government would bear the loss and arrange with the farmers of the tax in consequence. The order also which had arrived here, stating that the "Redel-i-Askerieh" was only henceforward to be paid by persons between the ages of twenty and forty, and also that the rate was reduced, was accompanied by an injunction that there should be no loss to the treasury. The authorities here tell me that this must be an absurdity committed by the Finance Department. The people, however, naturally attribute it to bad faith on the part of the Government. The tax on sheep also was to be assessed in April, just before the animals went to their pastrages, but it has been demanded a month sooner; as people declare, just before the period when the greatest mortality takes place. This has been considered by all classes as a great grievance, and a violation of the promises of the Government. But it must be admitted that there is an excuse for this, as some times, in the case of an early spring like the present, many flocks of sheep are sent away before April, and the authorities would find it difficult to collect the tax if they waited till the animals were already among the mountain pasturages.

Before I arrived, neither the authorities nor the principal people seemed to have calculated the cost of receiving back, and maintaining, the people who have emigrated, and the destitute who are in the country. Now, they seem in some measure to realize the alarming prospect before them: they do not contradict the truth of the calculation, which I sent to your Excellency from Mostar, and admit that it will require nearly, if not quite, 2,000,000*l.* to face this difficulty. They hope the number of people to be supported may be exaggerated, and I allow that it may be, but in such a case it is better to be prepared for the worst.

With regard to the Governor-General, Ibrahim Pasha, he seems to be a well-intentioned and honest man, but he is said to be very fanatical; he possesses neither experience nor courage, he has no influence over the people, and is certainly totally unfitted to occupy his present post at this critical moment. I have also reason to believe that Haidar Effendi will find it very difficult to agree with him.

I hear that a very large proportion of the country, in fact nearly all the Sandjaks bordering on the frontiers of Austria and Servia, remain uncultivated, and even in more tranquil parts, many of the poorer Beys, influenced by a general feeling of insecurity, are unwilling to advance the necessary seed to the Christian labourers on their farms; so that even admitting an approaching pacification, the state of the country is likely to be most deplorable for several years to come. Commerce is entirely at a stand-still. Many merchants have become bankrupts. No one will disburse a piastre beyond what is necessary for the bare personal support of his family. At this season there is usually great activity in building and repairing houses, but nothing of the kind is now to be seen; and carpenters, bricklayers, and indeed all other handicraft-men find no work and are in distress. This reacts on the affairs of small tradesmen, and there is thus already a grievous amount of misery and poverty among all classes.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, there are signs along the Austrian frontier of some action against insurrectionary bands and their chiefs and abettors. I trust that this will become by degrees more and more pronounced. I hope also, and believe that, on my return to Mostar, I shall be able to announce that progress towards a more satisfactory state of affairs in Dalmatia is apparent, and an approaching pacification more probable. I leave this on the 1st April for Mostar, and feel that my short stay has been of great use in enabling me to form a just appreciation of the general state of affairs.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 554.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 336.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 8, 1876.*

I LEARN that the Porte has received information of the passage of considerable bands, said to be accompanied by two pieces of artillery, from Dalmatia and Croatia into the north-western districts of Bosnia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 555.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 12.)

(No. 133.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 7, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship an article from "Agence Russe" of this morning, referring to a previous article (inclosed in my despatch No. 131, of the 5th instant), and expressing its satisfaction that the regretable incident therein referred to had not impeded the continuance of the negotiations with the insurgent Chiefs for the pacification of the Herzegovina and Bosnia.

The article then gives the condition on which the insurgent Chiefs would consent to return to their homes, which are as follows:—

(1). The withdrawal, or at least the concentration, of the Turkish troops at a given point, during the reinstatement of the refugees, in order to avoid any possible collision.

(2). Material proofs guaranteeing the execution by the Porte of its promises relative to the means of subsistence, and the reconstruction of the destroyed property of the Christians.

(3). The carrying out of the reinstatement of the refugees under the superintendence of an European Commission.

(4). The retention by the insurgents of their arms for their defence in case of unforeseen attack.

The article considers that these conditions, the 3rd condition of which will be the most difficult to obtain, form a proper basis for a serious and speedy pacification, and that it is desirable that the well-intentioned effort of Mahmoud Pasha should successfully carry out at Constantinople the combination which the European Powers will not fail to recommend by a common action, and which concerns not alone the interest of the peace in the East, but likewise the maintenance of the *status quo* in Turkey.

This article, as well as the previous one alluded to, although not strictly of an official character, doubtless emanates from an official source.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 555.

Extract from the "Agence Russe" of April 7, 1876.

St. Pétersbourg, Jeudi soir, le $\frac{26}{7}$, *1876.*

LES regrettables nouvelles que nous avons été obligé d'enregistrer avant-hier, et constatant une recrudescence de fanatisme du côté des Turcs, de terreur du côté des réfugiés et de représailles du côté des insurgés, n'ont pas empêché, nous sommes heureux de le constater, — les négociations de se poursuivre. Grâce à l'activité déployée par les représentants locaux des Puissances, les chefs insurgés Soutchitza, Zimonitch, Vouksalovitch, Péiko, et cinquante autres sont arrivés à Cattaro. Le Baron de Rodich les attendait à Castelnuovo depuis deux jours. L'entrevue a dû avoir lieu aujourd'hui, même sur le territoire Herzégovinien. On connaît les conditions auxquelles les insurgés consentent à réintégrer leurs foyers. Elles sont au nombre de quatre. Ce sont: 1, l'éloignement ou, tout au moins, la concentration des troupes Turques sur un point isolé, pendant le rapatriement, afin d'éviter toute collision; 2, des preuves matérielles garantissant l'exécution par la Porte de ses promesses relatives aux subsistances et à la reconstruction des propriétés dévastées des Chrétiens; 3, l'exécution du rapatriement sous la surveillance d'une Commission Européenne; et, 4, la conservation des armes aux insurgés pour leur propre défense en cas d'attaque imprévue.

Ces conditions, dont la troisième sera peut-être la plus difficile à obtenir, constituent certainement des éléments propres à servir de base à une sérieuse et prompte pacification. Il est très à désirer que les efforts si bien intentionnés de Mahmoud Pacha parviennent à triompher à Constantinople la combinaison que les Cabinets ne manqueront pas d'y recommander de toute leur autorité commune et dans laquelle gît, non seulement l'intérêt de la paix en Orient, mais aussi celui du *statu quo* en Turquie.

No. 556.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 12.)

(No. 196.)

Vienna, April 9, 1876.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my telegrams of yesterday, I have the honour to inclose herewith an extract from the "Correspondance Autrichienne" of last night, containing a report of General Rodich's interview with the insurgents near Castel Nuovo, and the conditions on which they have offered to lay down their arms.

As I understand that M. Wessilitsky was present on the occasion, it is improbable that these conditions were put forward without his advice and concurrence, and I regret to learn from one of my colleagues, that the Russian Ambassador has spoken of the demands of the insurgents for grants of land as being susceptible of an arrangement, which reminds me of his Excellency's opinions on this subject, reported in my despatch, No. 284 of the 9th of September last.

The result of the Conference has doubtless caused disappointment here, and the article in the "Presse" of yesterday, of which I inclose a French translation, represents the official language which is held respecting it.

Count Andrassy doubtless feels that his policy, which had received the assent of Europe, and the efforts he is making to bring about an arrangement, are being compromised by the lukewarm support of General Rodich, who, apparently, while obeying the letter of his instructions, has not been inspired by their spirit, or acted with the energy and firmness necessary to convince the insurgents that a rejection of the terms obtained for them in the late negotiations at Constantinople will deprive them of the future sympathy and good offices of Europe.

The public probably consider that this is only what was to be expected, as I have met few persons who had much confidence in the prospect of a pacification of the insurgent provinces, on the basis proposed by Count Andrassy, being effected through the agency of an officer whose Slav proclivities are so well known as those of General Rodich.

It may, however, still be hoped that, if the inadmissible pretentions of the insurgents are met by measures here which will convince them and the Prince of Montenegro that the Government of the Emperor is determined that Dalmatia shall no longer be used as a base for military operations, they may reconsider their demands, and accept the terms which the Porte is willing to grant them.

Should other counsels prevail, and the insurrection be continued, even in the doubtful case of Servia and Montenegro remaining neutral, the policy of the present Grand Vizier will have signally failed, and it may be feared that the Turkish Government will come to consider that all the resources of the country, without any regard to foreign creditors, should be devoted to the maintenance of Mussulman supremacy in the European Provinces of the Empire, as the only means of prolonging its existence.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 556.

Extract from the "Correspondance Autrichienne" of April 8, 1876.

ON écrit de Ragusa 7 Avril:—"Le Feldzeugmestre Baron Rodich, cédant aux prières des insurgés réunis à la Suttorina, s'est rendu au lieu de l'assemblée, le 6 courant, dans l'après-midi, accompagné du Général Jovanovich, de plusieurs officiers d'Etat Major et aides-de-camp. Les chefs des insurgés l'attendaient dans une petite maison. Après avoir donné lecture des réformes et concessions consenties par la Porte, le Baron Rodich a engagé vivement les chefs assemblés à accepter ces propositions et à déposer les armes. Cette allocution n'est pas restée évidemment sans effet sur les chefs du soulèvement, qui ont sollicité et obtenu du Baron Rodich un délai de douze heures pour délibérer. Or, d'après un télégramme de Castelnuovo 7 Avril, les chefs de l'insurrection ont fait connaître le 7 courant au Baron Rodich les conditions qu'ils mettent à la cessation définitive des hostilités. Ils demandent un tiers des biens-fonds des Begs de Bosnie et d'Herzégovine, la réédification des églises et des maisons; des semences, du bétail, des instruments aratoires; la construction de greniers approvisionnés pour un an, l'exemption de la dîme pendant trois ans; le retrait des troupes régulières de Bosnie et d'Herzégovine à la

réserve de petits détachements devant former garnison à Nikolitch, Stolac, Totsa, Mostar, Trebigné, et Plevalje, partout où des Agents Russes et Autrichiens auraient leur résidence et exerceraient des pouvoirs de contrôle; enfin la garantie de la Convention de la part des Grandes Puissances et comme condition dernière le désarmement préalable de la population Turque indigène."

Inclosure 2 in No. 556.

Extract from the "Correspondance Autrichienne" of April 8, 1876.

LA "Presse" commente les conditions sous lesquelles les insurgés, d'après un télégramme officiel de Castelnuovo (voir nouvelle politique), se sont déclarés, vis-à-vis du Baron Rodich, prêts à déposer les armes. La "Presse" trouve que les insurgés demandent beaucoup et que certaines conditions ne semblent guère acceptables; elle constate toutefois avec satisfaction que l'on ne découvre dans les prétentions des insurgés aucune trace de ce catégorique "non possumus" dont parlaient les feuilles Slaves. "Dans ces contre-propositions des insurgés," dit la feuille citée, "il n'est pas question de l'établissement d'un territoire qui jouirait d'une demi-indépendance, et ne relèverait plus que de la suzeraineté de la Sublime Porte, il n'est pas même fait mention de l'autonomie des deux provinces insurgées. Rien ne rappelle la phrase stéréotype de "l'affranchissement du pays habité par les Slaves méridionaux" et de la "ferme résolution de secouer le joug de la Turquie," phrase qui passait pour être l'alpha et l'oméga de la profession de foi politique des chefs insurgés. Au contraire les propositions de ces derniers ne sont en quelque sorte qu'une paraphrase des concessions que le Sultan s'était déclaré prêt à accorder après avoir reçu la note du Comte Andrassy et qui ont déjà été publiées en Bosnie et en Herzégovine par les deux Commissaires Turcs. Seulement elles amendent ces concessions, naturellement en faveur des raïas et proposant certaines mesures d'exécution auxquelles les Ministres Turcs ne songeaient guère, croyons-nous, lorsque Haïdar Effendi et Wassa Effendi reçurent leurs instructions avant de partir pour Mostar et Serajevo.

Somme toute, l'impression faite par le résultat des conférences tenues hier et avant-hier dans la Suttorina n'est pas entièrement défavorable. Les insurgés se montrent un peu durs, il est vrai, dans les négociations, mais il n'en est pas moins vrai qu'en formulant leurs prétentions, ils ont fait preuve d'un certain bon sens politique, d'une certaine habilité à exploiter les concessions que leur offre la Turquie. Ils semblent comprendre enfin toute l'importance des avantages que leur a procurés l'intervention des Puissances, tant au point de vue politique que matériel, et leur attitude annonce la ferme résolution d'en tirer parti. Ils savent parfaitement qu'ils demandent beaucoup plus qu'on ne peut leur accorder, mais c'est là une habitude de tous les peuples à demi-civilisés dans les transactions de ce genre. Voilà pourquoi on les voit élever des prétentions immodérées, débattre et marchander en gens qui, résolus à conclure un marché, veulent le faire aux meilleures conditions possibles. Le résultat définitif des négociations qui, nous en convenons, seront peut-être interrompues par plus d'un incident, prouvera que c'était bien là l'intention des insurgés."

No. 557.

*Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received April* 11, *night.*)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, April 11, 1876.

AUSTRIAN Ambassador has communicated to Rashid Pasha a telegram from Count Andrassy strongly disapproving the demands of the insurgents, and saying that the Porte should not add a single hair's breadth to the concessions already promised to them.

This communication has given much satisfaction.

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* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

No. 558.

*Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received April* 12, 3 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 12, 1876, 12·45 P.M.

TURKISH Commander-in-chief in the Herzegovina recommends that as the insurgents show no disposition to accept the conditions proposed, hostilities should at once recommence.

The suspension of hostilities expires to-day.

No. 559.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 12.)

(No. 15. Political. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Ragusa, April* 4, 1876.

BARON RODICH is, I understand, to be to-day, at Risano, a small town on the coast between Ragusa and Cattaro. He will there hold communication with the insurgents.

I told Danish Effendi, the Turkish Consul-General, this morning, in confidence, the terms which I understood the insurgents have demanded as the price of their submission, and which I reported to your Lordship in my despatch No. 11, Political, of the 30th ultimo, as having been communicated to me by Mr. Wassilitzky. Danish Effendi said that he did not see how the *amour-propre* of Turkey could avoid being offended by the proposal of a European or Consular Commission of surveillance: and as for the fourth condition, viz., the concession to Christians of the right to bear arms, he believed that the Porte would prefer to substitute a general disarmament.

I did not mention to him the source of my information, nor the alleged pretensions of the Prince of Montenegro.

With respect to these last, I confess that, in listening to Mr. Wassilitzky's report to Prince Gortchakow, I was much impressed by a reference to the instructions which the writer had received from the Russian Chancellor during his recent visit to St. Petersburgh. I am glad to be able to adduce this fact as an illustration of the manner in which Russian diplomacy is carried on in these regions. M. Yonine, the Consul-General, who is on the best of terms with Prince Nikita, does not himself avowedly negotiate; but he and Prince Gortchakow accredit a private individual to the Prince of Montenegro, with instructions to arrange the basis of an understanding—and this private individual goes so far as to discuss with his Highness the extent of territorial demands to be made upon Turkey. I have, of course, no means of knowing how far Count Andrassy and Prince Bismarck may be aware of this "officious" diplomacy; but, it strikes me that, if they are not cognizant of M. Wassilitzky's mission, and that he was acting under instructions from, and is in direct communication with, Prince Gortchakow, they have been treated with signal bad faith by the third party to the triple alliance.

Danish Effendi had a long interview yesterday with M. Yonine, in which the latter seems to have referred to the project of "indemnifying" Montenegro for the losses she had incurred in maintaining her neutrality! Danish Effendi argued that, though he concurred in the idea that it would be eventually expedient to do something for the Principality, the present moment was hardly opportune. Mr. Holmes' telegram was again referred to by Mr. Yonine, and the Turkish Consul-General, in repeating this conversation to me, said he thought it unfortunate that Mr. Holmes' accusations, however well founded, should have come to the knowledge of Mahmoud Pasha, and that he himself was so conscious that his position here would be rendered untenable if he reported to Constantinople all that he knew of the proceedings of Russian agents here that he had put a great constraint upon himself, and had forborne to make more than very general remarks upon the subject.

The situation of the Turkish Consul-General here is undoubtedly a very delicate one, and it is only with difficulty that a semblance of friendship is preserved between him and M. Yonine.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

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* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

No. 560.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 13.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April* 12, 1876.

PRINCE GORTCHAKOW has declined Count Andrassy's proposal to make joint representation to Prince of Montenegro, as mentioned in Sir A. Buchanan's telegram of 10th instant; he disapproves Count Andrassy's rejection of counter-proposals of the insurgents, and thinks that they should have been taken into consideration; he regrets precipitate action of Count Andrassy without previous communication with St. Petersburgh; he is most anxious to maintain the perfect understanding existing with Austria.

This day's paper contains the official contradiction of the language attributed to General Rodich in his interview with insurgents.

No. 561.

*Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received April* 12, *at night.*)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April* 12, 1876.

IT appears that, as Prince Gortchakow considered the demands of the insurgent Chiefs as offering a basis for arrangement, Count Andrassy, without proposing that the Porte should grant new concessions, will act with Russia in asking explanations as to details which may satisfy Chiefs that concessions already granted, when carried out, will secure to them all that is reasonable in their demands.

Monson reports by telegraph departure of M. Wassilitsky, said to be charged with a mission from insurgent Chiefs to Constantinople, but his having mission is not admitted here.

No. 561*.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 13.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April* 12, 1876, *midnight.*

WITH reference to your telegram of to-day, I believe Austria and Russia are negotiating at Constantinople the prolongation of the armistice.

No. 562.

*Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received April* 13.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April* 13, 1876.

I COMMUNICATED to Count Andrassy, by a private letter, substance of your second telegram of yesterday. He answered that he was not aware of the wish of the Turkish Pasha to renew hostilities, and that, as the insurgents have not absolutely refused the conditions of pacification, it would be useful to prolong, were it only tacitly, their suspension. He believes, therefore, if Her Majesty's Ambassador and Count Zichy are instructed to act in this sense at Constantinople, it might do good, as he by no means despairs of an arrangement.

No. 563.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April* 13, 1876.

WITH reference to Sir A. Buchanan's telegram, repeated to you to-day, you may join Count Zichy in endeavouring to prolong suspension of hostilities.

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* Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Rome, St. Petersburgh, and Constantinople.

No. 564.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 13, night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Mostar, April 13, 1876.*

GOVERNOR-GENERAL has received a telegram from a surveyor that a Turk named Sinanuna, whilst cutting wood near Kolashin, was murdered by Montenegrins, who cut off his head and exposed it in villages, after which 1,000 Montenegrins attacked Kolashin, but were kept off by the guns of the fort. Further particulars unknown. This happened on the 11th.

No. 565.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 13, night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 13, 1876.*

AN official telegram published this morning states that a body of 1,000 insurgents, who had entered Bosnia from Austria, have been defeated with heavy loss, and driven back across the Save into the Austrian territory.

No. 566.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 14.)

(No. 329.) *Constantinople, April 2, 1876.*

My Lord,

INFORMATION having been received by the Russian Ambassador that at a village near Bidetz—which had taken no part in the insurrection—the Turks had massacred some of the inhabitants and exposed their heads on pikes, I telegraphed to Mr. Holmes to ascertain the truth of the report.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 567.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 14.)

(No. 334.) *Constantinople, April 3, 1876.*

My Lord,

IT appears that the Porte has received intelligence of the revictualling of the Fort of Niksich.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 568.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 14.)

(No. 340. Confidential.) *Pera, April 3, 1876.*

My Lord,

UPON calling upon Raschid Pasha this morning, I found him much discouraged by the last accounts received from Bosnia and the Herzegovine, and his anxiety was not solely caused by the appearance of a revival or extension of the insurrection.

He had, he said, undoubted proof that Russia was doing her utmost to defeat the efforts of Austria to bring about the pacification of the Herzegovine, of the sincerity of which he entertains no doubt, notwithstanding the continued irruption into Bosnia of the armed bands of which the Porte has a right to complain.

Raschid Pasha is convinced that, under the inspiration of Russia, whatever professions the Prince of Montenegro may make, he will, in reality, continue to encourage the chiefs of the insurgents to maintain the struggle until he is satisfied by concessions made to him by the Porte.

Raschid Pasha believes that not only the Austrian Government, but even Count Zichy, is at last convinced that no real co-operation will be obtained from Russia till she has secured some advantage for Prince Nicholas.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 569.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 14.)

(No. 341.) *Constantinople, April 3, 1876.*

My Lord,

THE despatch of Admiral Hobart, with a portion of the fleet to the Adriatic, has been under consideration, but Raschid Pasha told me to-day that nothing had been decided about it.

It is, I believe, wished that the Admiral should ascertain whether a harbour capable of holding men-of-war could be created at Antivari, or by deepening the river at Scutari.

If, during the next few days, the news from the insurgent districts should continue to be as alarming as the last, troops will be despatched to Scutari in case of active operations being required against Montenegro.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 570.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 14.)

(No. 343.) *Constantinople, April 3, 1876.*

My Lord,

THE Governor-General of Bosnia reports to the Porte that the military preparations in Servia along the Turkish frontier are now being carried on more openly than has ever before been the case.

The militia is armed, and it is stated that depôts of arms have been formed for distribution to the christians in Bosnia, among whom Servian emissaries are busy, directing them to prepare to rise about Easter, and warning them that they will not be spared if they do not join in the movement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 571.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 14.)

(No. 345. Confidential.) *Constantinople, April 4, 1876.*

My Lord,

A TELEGRAM from the Governor-General of Bosnia, which has been read to me by Raschid Pasha, gives a very alarming account of the state of things in that province.

Armed bands are passing freely from the Austrian territory, and there are symptoms indicating a probable insurrection of the populations along the rivers Save and Una.

The Governor-General states that he has been unable to re-establish the line of telegraph along the Save, as the workmen are continually fired at from the Austrian bank of the river, and that his remonstrances addressed to the Austrian authorities have been unattended to.

Along the whole of the Servian frontier from Vishegrad, a distance of several hundred miles, preparations for incursions on an extended scale appear to be making, and large reinforcements of troops are urgently called for.

Two battalions have already been ordered from Crete, and others will be despatched as quickly as possible, but, through sickness and privation, the efficient force in the insurgent provinces is, as far as I can gather, at a very low ebb, and, from the commencement of the insurrection, there has never been a moment in which affairs looked so serious as they do just now.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 572.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 14.)

(No. 348. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 5, 1876.*

GENERAL IGNATIEW has spoken to me of the approaching departure of the Emperor of Russia from St. Petersburgh, and of the probability that the Grand Duke Constantine would conduct the Government as Regent during his Majesty's absence.

He spoke in the highest terms of the Grand Duke, to whom he gives credit for administrative capacities far above those of the Emperor, and he looks forward to the Regency with undisguised satisfaction.

Count Zichy, on the other hand, who has spoken to me on the subject, looks upon it in a very serious light, especially as Prince Gortchakow is expected to be absent at the same time as the Emperor, for the Grand Duke has always been supposed to be intimately connected with the Slav Committees.

There is indeed a very marked change to the feelings of my Austro-Hungarian colleague as regards Russia, and distrust has taken the place of the blind confidence which has done so much to bring about the present critical state of things.

Count Zichy is much depressed by the news of the part that is played by Austrian subjects in the new movement in the north of Bosnia, but he gets little consolation from his Russian and German colleagues, who taunt him unmercifully with the helplessness of his Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 573.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 14.)

(No. 349.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 6, 1876.*

Mr. Agent and Consul-General White has mentioned a belief entertained at Belgrade that General Ignatiew was endeavouring to obtain from the Porte some concessions in favour of Servia.

There is, I believe, no ground for this report, and I hardly even know what concession could be suggested, for, except as regards the insignificant question of Little Gournik, there is no matter at issue between the Porte and the Principality.

The Russian Ambassador makes no concealment of the interest he feels in the Prince of Montenegro, but he almost ostentatiously proclaims his indifference towards Prince Milan.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 574.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 14.)

(No. 351.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 7, 1876.*

THE inclosed Report from Mr. Sandison of the account received at the Porte from Haidar Effendi gives a very serious aspect to the state of affairs in Bosnia.

It is evident that the Austro-Hungarian Government have failed lamentably in their engagement to guard their own frontier, and by means of well-armed bands coming from their territory, a formidable insurrection has been excited in districts which have hitherto remained quiet.

Although the news received from the Herzegovina is good and gave hopes of a pacification, it would be too much to expect that the movement in Bosnia should not produce its effect in the districts which have so long been in insurrection.

The Turkish Ministers who had guaranteed to the Sultan the faithful execution by Austria of the engagements taken towards them are likely to find their position hardly tenable.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 574.

Mr. Sandison to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Constantinople, April 6, 1876.*

A FURTHER telegram reached the Porte to-day from Haidar Effendi, giving the particulars of the insurrection in Bosnia. Bands of insurgents, it is stated, have crossed the Austro-Hungarian frontier into Turkish territory at three different points between Cestinitza and Crajnoch, carrying devastation over a considerable extent of country. One band has entered Krupa by way of Novin, laying siege to the town of Madon and threatening the inhabitants with total destruction if they refuse to join the insurrectionary movement. A second band, provided with two field-pieces, has entered the district of Pyrovatch, and has taken possession of the town of Oljak, the Christian population thereof joining the insurgents. A third band, having crossed the frontier at Basne on the Save, has taken possession of Perwanar, the Christian population of which has also made common cause with the insurgents.

The telegram goes on to say that the whole of Turkish Croatia may be looked upon as being in a state of insurrection, and that whilst the insurgents are amply provided with breech-loaders supplied by the Revolutionary Committee organized on Austrian territory, the Turkish population is excessively ill-armed with flint guns, which places them at a disadvantage in presence of the enemy.

There being a pressing necessity for troops to check the further progress of the insurrectionary movement, all the available forces from Travnik and Banjaluka, consisting of one battalion and a half are already in motion, accompanied by a body of Bashi-Bazouks, independently of which two more battalions are marching on from Yeni Bazar.

Haidar Effendi seems to think that the insurrectionary movement might be put down, provided the insurgent bands receive no help and reinforcements through the organized Revolutionary Committees existing in Servia and on Austrian territory.

The news, on the other hand, from the Herzegovina is much more reassuring, so much so that Ali Pasha appears to be very hopeful as to the early re-establishment of tranquillity in that quarter. But Rouchdi Pasha considers the insurrection in Bosnia a great deal too serious to justify Ali Pasha's hopes, and seems, at the same time, little confident of the present Ministry remaining in power should matters continue to go on at the present rate in Bosnia, for which he, in particular, may have to be responsible to the Sultan after the assurances he had given His Majesty on the strength of the Austrian promises in regard to the suppression of the insurrection.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. SANDISON.

No. 575.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 14.)

(No. 197.)

My Lord, *Vienna, April 10, 1876.*

AS Count Andrassy's time is at present entirely taken up with the conferences between the Cis- and Trans-Leithanian Ministers, I called this morning on Baron Hofmann and informed him, with reference to your Lordship's despatches of the previous day, that the assurances recently received by Her Majesty's Government as to the prospect of Servia maintaining her promises are not satisfactory, and that some hostile movement was apprehended if General Rodich failed in his negotiations with the Insurgent chiefs. I observed also that this information had become extremely serious in consequence of the recent movement in Bosnia, and the very unsatisfactory result of General Rodich's proceedings in the Sutterina.

Baron Hofmann said it is unfortunately true that the revolutionary party in Servia is endeavouring to drive the country into war, and that as great excitement prevails throughout the Principality it may be doubtful whether Prince Milan will have sufficient firmness to resist them. Austria and Russia, however, will continue to use their efforts at Belgrade to prevent war, and as they have both warned the Prince that he will be held responsible for disregarding the wishes of the Great Powers to prevent any violation of the peace of Europe, there is reason to hope that His Highness will consider that the consequences of offending the Emperors of Austria-Hungary and Russia will be more dangerous than any risk he may incur by resisting the agitators for war.

As to the Herzegovine, his Excellency said it might also be hoped that the insur-

gents there would moderate their pretensions on learning that Count Andrassy, without waiting for the arrival of their memorial, had, on receiving a telegraphic report of its contents, declared their demands to be inadmissible, and had instructed General Rodich to inform them that all that was reasonable in these demands had been already granted by the Porte, in conformity with the suggestions contained in his Excellency's despatch of the 30th December last, and that though the Austrian Government would continue to use its influence at Constantinople to secure the execution of the promises already made by the Porte, they considered that to claim further concessions would be unreasonable, and the terms on which it has been proposed to effect the pacification of the country must therefore be strictly maintained, and the insurgent chiefs held responsible for the consequences of declining to accept them.

It was intended also, he said, to instruct General Langenau, by telegraph, to propose to Prince Gortchakow that a joint communication should be addressed by Austria and Russia to the Prince of Montenegro, calling upon His Highness to insist upon the chiefs laying down their arms, and accepting purely and simply the terms of pacification which have been offered to them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 576.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby—(*Received April* 14.).

(No. 199.)
Vienna, April 11, 1876.

My Lord,

WITH reference to the reciprocal complaints of the Austrian and Turkish authorities, that their troops had been fired upon across the frontier from their respective territories, as reported in Sir Henry Elliot's telegram of the 8th instant, I am told that the incident which gave rise to them occurred on the Unna, where some refugees, who had spent the night on the bank, were fired upon when crossing the river into Austria in the ferry-boat; and that an Austrian patrol of ten or twelve men on the opposite bank, being exposed to the fire, returned it, until an officer arriving caused a signal to be given, notifying the presence of the Austrian detachment, when the Turks ceased firing. With regard to the bands said to have invaded Bosnia, I am told that the frontier near Behirtch passes through a mountainous forest district, in which insurgents can secrete themselves from both Austrian and Turkish patrols, but for whose descent into the plains the Turkish military authorities are more responsible than those of Austria can be.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 577.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 14.)

(No. 136.)
St. Petersburgh, April 9, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship an article from the "Agence Russe" of the 8th instant, reproducing two telegrams received by the Russian newspaper "World" ("Russki Mir") from its private correspondent at Castelnuovo.

The former reports an interview between General Rodich and the insurgent Chiefs, at which General Rodich is represented to have said to the insurgents "that Europe viewed the insurrection with displeasure, and that they could expect no assistance from any quarter. "Ne vous fiez pas," General Rodich is reported to have said, "aux promesses de la Russie: elle a déjà été battue une fois par les Turcs, et ne voudra rien entreprendre de décisif."

The second private telegram received by the Russian organ from the same source reports the violation of the armistice by the Turks, the disembarkation of fresh troops at Klieck, and the concentration of twenty-five battalions at Trebigné, with the intention of taking the offensive.

I had an interview yesterday with M. de Giers, when, in referring to these reports, his Excellency informed me that no official information had been received in confirmation of them, and he appeared to doubt their authenticity.

He added that the Imperial Government were anxiously awaiting information as to

the result of the conference between General Rodich and the insurgent Chiefs, but that nothing of any positive nature had reached them for two days.

I have further the honour to inclose to your Lordship in French translation from the "Agence Russe" a leading article from the "Russki Mir" ("World"), founded on the private telegrams received from Castelnuovo, in which the speech of General Rodich is severely criticized, and the policy of Austria-Hungary denounced.

Whether founded or not, the language of the Russian newspaper is calculated to excite public opinion in Russia, and to cause unnecessarily, and probably without any foundation, a distrust of Austria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 577.

Extract from the "Agence Russe" of April 8, 1876.

St. Pétersbourg, Samedi soir, le $\frac{27 \text{ Mars}}{8 \text{ Avril}}$, 1876.

NOUS traduisons littéralement les deux télégrammes que le "Monde Russe" a reçu cette nuit de son correspondant particulier de Castelnuovo:—

"*Castelnuovo, le* 26 *Mars.*

"A une heure de l'après midi a eu lieu l'entrevue de Rodich avec les Chefs; elle s'est prolongée une demie heure. On a lu les réformes d'Andrassy, la proclamation de Vassa Pacha, et un discours a été prononcée. Je vous communique la volonté de l'Empereur. L'Europe voit avec déplaisir l'insurrection qui peut amener une tempête. Il n'a pas de secours à attendre d'aucun côté. Ne vous fiez pas aux promesses de la Russie. Elle a déjà été battue une fois par les Turcs, et ne voudra rien entreprendre de décisif. La Servie et le Monténégro ne peuvent rien. Profitez des succès que vous ont valu de telles concessions, ne prolongez pas la lutte, sans quoi vous perdrez tout.

"Sotchitza et Zimonitch ont remercié pour l'assistance prêtée par l'Autriche aux réfugiés. La réponse à la note a été promise pour demain matin."

"*Castelnuovo, le* 26 *Mars* (*nuit*).

"L'armistice a été violé par les Turcs. Hier de nouvelles troupes ont débarqué à Klieck: grâce à l'armistice, les Turcs ont concentré vingt-cinq bataillons à Trébigné, avec l'intention d'attaquer de suite. L'indignation est parmi les Chefs. Une solution pacifique, douteuse hier, est aujourd'hui impossible. Les paroles de Rodich sur la Russie ont provoqué l'irritation des Chefs."

Les autres journaux Russes, "la Voix" entre autres, ont reçu de leurs correspondants particuliers des télégrammes à peu près identiques.

Nos propres renseignements ne nous permettant pas démentir ou de confirmer le contenu de ces télégrammes, nous nous bornerons à déclarer pour le moment que nous le tenons pour peu probable. Nous aimons surtout à considérer comme invraisemblables les paroles relatives à la Russie que ces correspondants attribuent à M. de Rodich.

Comme preuve néanmoins de l'impression que ces télégrammes ont produit sur le public Russe, nous donnons plus loin l'article qu'ils ont inspiré au "Monde Russe."

Inclosure 2 in No. 577.

Extract from the "Agence Russe."

VOICI l'article du "Monde Russe" dont nous parlons plus haut:—

"Nous venons reproduire avec la plus scrupuleuse exactitude des télégrammes qui nous sont parvenus ce matin de Castelnuovo. Il nous est impossible de cacher l'étonnement que leur contenu nous a occasionné. A la réunion des chefs Herzégoviniens, le Baron Rodich a prononcé un discours au nom de l'Empereur François Joseph. Dans ce discours le Gouverneur de la Dalmatie a dit à ces chefs qu'ils ne doivent pas 'se fier aux promesses de la Russie, (?!) que la Russie a déjà été battue par les Turcs, et qu'en conséquence elle n'entreprendra rien actuellement en leur faveur.'

"Nous ne pouvons pas admettre," dit le "Monde Russe," "que tel puisse être le langage officiel du Représentant d'une Puissance avec laquelle la Russie non seulement ne

se trouve pas dans des relations d'inimitié, mais avec laquelle elle est liée au contraire par quelque chose qui ressemble assez à une alliance. Nous ne parlerons pas de la sortie du Baron de Rodich contre la Russie, aussi incompréhensible qu'inepte; mais de quelles promesses pouvait-il être question à Suttorina? Ne s'agirait-il pas des conseils de paix que M. Vessélitsky-Bosjidarovitch donnait la veille encore aux insurgés au nom du Chancelier de l'Empire, Prince Gortchakow? Les promesses et les intrigues de l'Autriche ont sans doute joué un rôle important dans les affaires de l'Herzégovine et de la Bosnie, où l'on a vu des émissaires Autrichiens déployer aux yeux des insurgés un drapeau avec cette devise: 'Vive l'Empereur François Joseph!' L'inqualifiable sortie du représentant de la politique à double face de l'Autriche-Hongrie, envoyé sur les lieux en qualité d'intermédiaire et de pacificateur officiel, n'en est que plus incompréhensible. Le fait est en tout cas trop grave pour qu'il reste sans suites. Nous nous abstiendrons pour le moment de porter d'autre jugement sur cette affaire, en attendant les explications qui ne peuvent nécessairement se faire attendre."

Le "Monde Russe" fait ici l'historique de la carrière du Baron de Rodich. "Le Feldzeugmeister Baron de Rodich, dit-il, est d'origine Khorvate. Il a reçu ses grades et ses distinctions au service militaire de l'Autriche. Pendant la guerre d'Italie, il prit part aux batailles de Solférino et de Custozza, ce qui lui a valu les croix de Marie Thérèse d'Autriche, de l'Aigle Blanc de Russie. Lors de l'insurrection de la Dalmatie du Sud en 1869, alors que le Ministère Giskra-Herbst, qui voulait détruire les droits et privilèges de ce pays, ne parvint à rien obtenir ni par la force ni par la ruse, l'Empereur d'Autriche remplaça le détesté Wagner par le Général Rodich comme Gouverneur de la Dalmatie, dont les affaires lui étaient connues. Il parvint à gagner la confiance des insurgés et conclut avec eux le traité que chacun connaît. L'insurrection fut apaisée et la paix rétablie, après toutefois que Rodich eut déclaré aux Dalmates, au nom de l'Empereur, que leurs anciens droits leur seraient conservés. Il résulta de tout cela que le Ministère tomba et que M. Rodich jouit d'une grande popularité. Il fut nommé Lieutenant de l'Empereur en Dalmatie. Pendant toute son administration, il introduisit l'emploi de la langue Slavonne dans toutes les écoles et dans l'administration; il fonda des gymnases Slaves. Dans ses rapports avec le Monténégro il gagna la confiance et le respect du Prince Nicolas, qui lui conféra la Grande Croix de l'Ordre Monténégrin de Daniel. A chaque nouvelle difficulté ou intrigue à Vienne contre lui, parce qu'il se tient avec fermeté au principe de l'égalité de droits et défend ceux de la Dalmatie. A la suite de sa popularité il a été choisi par l'Empereur d'Autriche pour conduire les négociations avec les chefs de l'insurrection Slave. La nature des instructions qu'il a reçues de son Gouvernement nous est suffisamment démontrée par les télégrammes que nous venons de recevoir de Dnubrovnik et d'Erzeg-Novi."

No. 578.

Mr. Harriss-Gastrell to Sir A. Buchanan.—(*Received at the Foreign Office, April* 14.)

(No. 36.) *Vienna, April* 10, 1876.

Sir,

THE Hungarian newspapers contain many articles and letters of correspondents, showing a determination on the part of Servia to go to war soon against Turkey.

The "Kelet Nepe," in a letter of the 4th from Belgrade, declares everything to indicate an immediate war, and the militia, under pretence of manœuvres, to be marching to the frontier.

"It is a favourable moment, for the Turks have shown so small a military force, and the 50,000 Servian troops, backed up by a general insurrection in Bosnia, can scarcely fail of success."

Then the "Nemyeti Hirlap" declares that, unless some very extraordinary event occurs, the war will break out between Servia and Turkey on the 20th of April. The Government has given itself over to the Ouladinists, and will carry out their policy. "All Serbs between the ages of 20 and 23 are called out, and make a supply of 100,000 to 120,000 men, and they all go willingly to war, for few have anything to lose."

Such are the statements which abound, and find credence within ten days of Servia's answer to Austria by Prince Wrede.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. P. HARRISS-GASTRELL.

No. 579.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 14, *night.*)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 14, 1876, 12·30 A.M.

WITH reference to Sir A. Buchanan's first telegram of the 12th instant, the report that Austria and Russia have been negotiating here the prolongation of the armistice is not correct.

No. 580.

*Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received April* 14, *night.*)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 14, 1876, 12·40 A.M.

AUSTRIAN Ambassador has received no instructions to urge prolongation of suspension of hostilities.

We both consider that we should assume too serious responsibility if we advocated it.

The suspension was agreed to by the Porte on the understanding that Niksich was to be revictualled by the Prince of Montenegro, which has not been done, and the fortress has now provisions for very few days.

It is for the purpose of throwing in supplies that the Commander-in-chief insists on the necessity of immediately resuming operations.

Even now if the place should be obliged to capitulate, the Governments which urged the first suspension will be considered responsible for the disaster.

No. 581.

Acting Consul Summa to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 15.)

(No. 8. Consulaire.)

My Lord, *Scutari, le* 1 *Avril*, 1876.

J'AI l'honneur de transmettre à votre Seigneurie, ci-joint copie d'une dépêche que j'ai adressée en date du 28 du mois écoulé à son Excellence l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté à Constantinople, sur le ravitaillement de la place de Niksich, le retour du Consul de France de Cettigné, et les déclarations pacifiques du Prince de Monténégro.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) F. SUMMA.

Inclosure in No. 581.

Acting Consul Summa to Sir H. Elliot.

Excellence, *Scutari, le* 28 *Mars*, 1876.

J'AI l'honneur de rapporter à votre Excellence que comme je le prévoyais par ma précédente dépêche datée du 21 de ce mois, de sanglants combats ont eu lieu récemment du côté de Niksich entre les insurgés et les troupes Impériales, et d'informations puisées par moi à une source certaine il résulte que Moukh donna le Général de Brigade Hellorabhin Pacha a marché à la tête de vingt bataillons de troupes régulières pour approvisionner Niksich, et sans coup férir a pénétré dans la place, qu'il a ravitaillée pour quelques mois. Le lendemain sortant de Niksich pour se rendre à Gatska à la tête de ces troupes, Sefket Pacha a rencontré à Ishestop les insurgés qui l'attendaient réunis à un grand nombre de Monténégrins. Un combat nourri s'ensuivit dans ces passages et dans lequel les insurgés complétement battus n'ont trouvé leur salut que dans une fuite précipitée, gagnant les frontières du Monténégro; tandis que les troupes Turques, après avoir dispersé les insurgés, ont continué leur marche pour Gatska. Cet engagement a coûté aux insurgés de pertes très-sérieuses, d'autant plus sensibles qu'ils n'ont pû réussir dans le but qu'ils se proposaient, à savoir de s'opposer au ravitaillement de Niksich.

C'est donc un très-rude coup qui les a frappés, car à présent il ne leur reste aucune

* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

chance de pouvoir s'emparer de cette place forte et c'est en vain qu'ils pourraient tenter de nouveau pour y réussir.

Pour ce qui regarde la politique du Monténégro, je dois faire part à votre Excellence que dans la semaine écoulée est retourné de Cettigné le Consul de France de Scutari, et d'après lui cette Principauté garde une attitude d'inaction vis-à-vis les événements qui se déroulent dans l'Herzégovine, et que le Prince a déclaré être sa ferme volonté de voir ramené la paix dans ces malheureuses contrées.

Celles étant les déclarations du Gouvernement Princier, je crois de mon devoir les soumettre à la haute appréciation de votre Excellence sans d'ailleurs pouvoir espérer beaucoup que le Gouvernement de Cettigné ait à s'y conformer; car, vu les déclarations faites précédemment et continuellement par le Gouvernement Montenégrin en sens pacifique, et auxquelles il ne s'est point conformé, l'on a droit de craindre que cette Principauté continue à jouer double jeu: car en cas contraire, et que le Montenégro fût réellement sincère dans ses désirs de voir rétabli l'ordre et qu'il gardât par conséquent dorénavant la plus stricte neutralité, nul doute que ses efforts aboutiront à un résultat satisfaisant et qu'on pourra compter enfin sur la complète et prochaine pacification des provinces insurgés. D'ailleurs le jour sur ce sujet ne tardera pas à se faire.

J'ai, &c.
(Signed) F. SUMMA.

No. 582.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 16. Political. Confidential.)
Ragusa, April 6, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE to report that in the last fortnight the numerous Russian agents whom I found here on my arrival have been withdrawn, or have left Ragusa under various pretexts. The last to depart was Colonel Bobrikow, the so-called Military Agent, who has been recalled by the War Department at St. Petersburgh, and who started direct to Russia, viâ Vienna, the day before yesterday. With the exception of two ladies, said to be newspaper correspondents, the only Russians in Ragusa at this moment are the members of the Consulate.

I should, perhaps, apologize to your Lordship for the extent to which I dilate upon Russian activity here and in Montenegro; but if I err in the direction of prolixity, my excuse must be that I am anxious to submit to Her Majesty's Government all that I hear and observe without any reservation.

The Russian Consul-General at Ragusa enjoys an exceptional position—holding as he does the rank of Diplomatic Agent accredited to the Prince of Montenegro. It is in that capacity, and in no other, that he considers himself to be acting—his residence on Austrian territory he regards as a mere accident. He receives a handsome salary and allowances; has a staff of cavasses, who act as Government couriers; and a separate establishment of men and horses at Cattaro to facilitate communication with Cettigné.

These, however, are but external advantages. What is more important is that M. Yonine is on the most intimately confidential terms with General Ignatiew, while his relations with M. de Novikow, the Ambassador within whose jurisdiction he is nominally stationed, are confined to official correspondence. I was sitting with him yesterday morning, when, to show me that the reports received at Constantinople from the Turkish officials in the Herzegovina were persistently false, he produced a packet of private letters, in Russian, from General Ignatiew, and translated to me extracts of them. Later on I asked him, casually, what he heard from Vienna, and he said that he never either writes to, or hears from, M. de Novikow, to whom, however, he sends, under flying seal, the despatches he addresses to Prince Gortchakow.

In the course of a long conversation yesterday, M. Yonine argued that the Austro-Hungarian Government was greatly responsible for the pretensions of the insurgents. He said that these repeated missions of so considerable a personage as Baron Rodich, the Governor of Dalmatia, had given them vastly increased ideas of their own importance, which the recent negotiations for an armistice to enable his Excellency to communicate with the Chiefs had certainly not lessened. In fact, Austria had, as it were, extorted from Turkey the concession of belligerent rights to her rebellious subjects. The whole tenor of M. Yonine's reasoning was that Count Andrassy, had unnecessarily committed his Government to a very embarrassing task; and he confessed he did not understand the

alacrity with which Austria had accepted responsibilities, the consequences of which it was absolutely impossible to foresee.

It occurred to me, as M. Yonine was speaking of Count Zichy's sanguine language at Constantinople, that his utterances were possibly but the reflection of General Ignatiew's expressed sentiments; but I should add that he very explicitly stated that he had the best reasons for knowing that the reports addressed to Vienna by the Dalmatian officials were utterly ignored by the Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs; and of this *suppressio veri*, Count Andrassy's language and policy were, M. Yonine remarked, quite sufficient corroboration.

Of one thing I remained after this conversation perfectly convinced—namely, that M. Yonine himself will be exceedingly disappointed if Baron Rodich's mission produces any pacificatory results.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 583.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 17. Political.)
Ragusa, April 6, 1876.

My Lord,

THE supplies sent by the Turks for the garrison at Niksich having been landed at Risano, to be forwarded thence through Montenegrin territory to their destination, have been delayed for several days for want of means of transport. The Turks requested Montenegro to furnish 500 horses. The Montenegrin authorities replied that they were not to be procured. An attempt was then made to purchase beasts at Cattaro and in the neighbouring villages, but the Dalmatians refuse to let or to sell any animals for such a purpose; and I am informed that offers at the high rate of nine dollars a horse have been universally declined.

The Turkish Consul-General has gone himself to Risano, but I have not yet heard whether he has succeeded in making any arrangement.

I have, &c
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 584.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 15.)

(No 18. Political.)
Ragusa, April 8, 1876.

My Lord,

BARON RODICH and General Jovanovich returned last night from Suttorina, and the former after a stay of two hours at Ragusa, for the purpose of conferring with M. Yonine, the Russian Consul-General, proceeded direct to Zara.

I called upon General Jovanovich this morning. He told me that he had not read the document placed in the hands of Baron Rodich by the insurgents, but that he believed that its contents were generally known; in fact that the nature of the reply which would be given had been previously communicated to the newspaper correspondents, and telegraphed all over Europe. He himself had been much impressed by the determination and unanimity of the insurgents; one and all expressed their respect for the wishes of the great Powers, and their gratitude to Austria for the efforts she had made to restore peace; one and all, however, declined to put any confidence in Turkish promises, or believed that it would be safe for them to accept a pacification without the most trustworthy guarantees as to the future. They were all full of reliance on their power to continue the struggle; each had his exploits to boast of; and while admitting that they would do much to be able to rejoin their families and re-enter into possession of their homes, they expressed no fears as to the ultimate result of a continuance of hostilities, and nothing but contempt for the prowess and strategy of the Turks.

General Jovanovich is of opinion that all chance of re-establishing Turkish domination in the Herzegovina is absolutely at an end. He spoke in the very strongest manner in this sense, adverting to his experience of the country during the period that he was employed on special service in Montenegro, and during the years that he passed as Austrian Consul at Bosna-Serai. He thoroughly enters into the views of the insurgents, as to the

untrustworthiness of Turkish promises; corrobates all that they say of the cruelty and treachery of Ottoman administration, and quoted renewed instances of acts of pillage and inhumanity committed by Turkish troops on the frontier, to the prejudice of Austrian subjects and their property. He complained that the Government at Vienna was acting with unnecessary and unappreciated delicacy towards the Porte, in that such outrages had not elicited representations couched in much sterner language than he believed had been addressed to Constantinople; and he argued that the insurgents, in the full knowledge that the persons and property of a friendly nation were not respected by the Mussulmans, could hardly be expected to give credence to any assurance of future forbearance towards themselves

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 585.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 19. Political.) *Ragusa, April 8, 1876.*

My Lord,

APPARENT efforts are being made by the Dalmatian authorities to carry out with more strictness the orders received from Vienna to prevent the passage across the frontier of food and ammunition for the use of the insurgents. I am, however, assured that such efforts are hardly more than ostensible, as, in the case of food, there is no difficulty in sending over supplies by employing women from among the refugees; and with regard to ammunition, the illicit trade is as rife as ever, as Mr. Kirby Green will probably have reported to your Lordship he had himself opportunity of seeing during his voyage down the coast last week.

There are, I am informed on excellent official authority, twenty-five battalions of Turkish troops now at Trebigné, and it is asserted that the soldiers continue to sell their cartridges for food. This concentration of so large a force close to Ragusa is probably necessitated by the difficulty of feeding them elsewhere.

General Jovanovich declared that the total supplies for Niksich, for which the Turks have been endeavouring to find means of transport from Risano, consist of only 250 sacks of flour, a tithe perhaps of what has been ordered, and will have to be paid for by the Porte, and that the contractors never think of supplying more than one-third of the quantity ordered.

Moreover, as the officials through whose hands the contracts pass have all of them claims for arrears of pay, an extensive system of taking toll of whatever they can lay hold of invariably diminishes still further the ultimate supply.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 586.

Consul Taylor to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 5.) *Ragusa, April 7, 1876.*

My Lord,

THE terms offered by Ali and Wassa Pashas to the insurgents are:—

1. The refugees can within four weeks from 24th March return to their homes.
2. The refugees will be supplied with grain till harvest.
3. The rebuilding of their houses will follow at Government (Turkish) cost.
4. Those who return will be exempt from tithes for one year and from other taxes for two years.
5. A general amnesty for all who return within four weeks.
6. Those who, in spite of these concessions, do not return, will have their lands confiscated.

These are generous terms, but the refugees are tardy in accepting them, fearing a renewal of hostilities between the insurgents and Turks, in which case, if they return, they will, as heretofore, be again the real sufferers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. G. TAYLOR.

No. 587.

Séfvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, April 15.)

Constantinople, le 13 Avril, 1876.

J'AI fait connaître antérieurement à votre Excellence les réformes complémentaires octroyées à la Bosnie et à l'Herzégovine par Iradé Impérial du 18 Moubarrem, 1293. Ces réformes, dans lesquelles on voyait un moyen de pacification des districts insurgés, n'ont pas encore abouti à ce résultat tant désiré. Néanmoins, le Gouvernement Impérial n'a reculé devant aucun sacrifice. Puisant surtout ses inspirations dans ses sentiments de clémence et de sollicitude pour ces populations égarées, il a adopté des mesures pratiques et efficaces, jugées par les Puissances garantes elles-mêmes comme devant amplement suffire à l'œuvre de pacification. Il a chargé des commissaires spéciaux d'aller constituer sur les lieux des commissions exécutives pour veiller à l'application des réformes, au rapatriement et à l'installation des réfugiés. Aussitôt arrivés à destination, ces Commissaires ont solennellement proclamé qu'une amnistie était accordée à tous les insurgés qui, dans le délai de quatre semaines, déposeraient les armes pour retourner chez eux, et que le même délai était assigné aux réfugiés pour se rapatrier; que tous seraient sans distinction l'objet de la plus efficace protection, qu'on leur donnerait les facilités nécessaires pour la reconstruction de leurs maisons et de leurs églises incendiées, ainsi que des subsides et des moyens pour commencer leurs travaux; qu'enfin les rentrants seraient exemptés de la dîme pendant un an et des autres impôts pendant deux ans. Ces mesures elles-mêmes ont été impuissantes à modifier sensiblement la situation. Alors est venue l'entrevue à Raguse du Général Rodich avec Ali et Moukhtar Pachas, et dans laquelle il a été arrêté qu'un répit de douze jours serait accordé aux Chefs insurgés pour aller à Sutorina conférer avec le Gouverneur-Général de la Dalmatie. Ainsi mis à même d'apprendre les nouvelles preuves de la générosité de leur Souverain à leur égard, ces Chefs insurgés se sont crûs en quelque sorte encouragés à formuler des conditions et des propositions aussi inqualifiables qu'inadmissibles. En présence de cette situation, le Cabinet de Vienne lui-même nous a informé qu'étant d'avis que les limites tracées par les mesures déjà adoptées de commun accord avec les Puissances ne doivent pas être franchies, il a donné l'ordre de rejeter ces demandes et de notifier aux insurgés que désormais ils auraient à s'adresser aux autorités Ottomanes. Le Comte Andrassy ajoute que les rebelles ont demandé conseil au Prince du Monténégro, qu'il cherchera à influencer ce dernier, et qu'il compte sur une action identique de la Russie. Quant à nous, nous continuerons l'œuvre de la pacification par la fidèle et scrupuleuse exécution des réformes et des mesures arrêtées. En même temps, sans nous départir de la modération que nous nous sommes imposée dès le début, nous donnerons une nouvelle impulsion aux opérations militaires et augmenterons au besoin l'effectif de nos troupes en Herzégovine. J'ajouterai toutefois que nos autorités n'en useront pas moins des moyens de persuasion pour ramener les insurgés dans la voie de l'obéissance. C'est pour vous mettre au courant de la situation que j'ai tenu à vous communiquer ce qui précède.

No. 588.

*Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 15, at night.)**

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April 15, 1876.*

NO confirmation received here of Consul Holmes' intelligence respecting the attack on Turkish fort, reported in your telegram of yesterday.

Prince of Montenegro is using his influence in support of a prolongation of the armistice, which it is hoped will take place.

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* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Rome, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, and Constantinople.

No. 589.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 16.)

Vienna, April 15, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

I SENT a few lines to Minister for Foreign Affairs this evening, communicating to him the substance of Sir H. Elliot's telegram forwarded to me to-day by your Lordship, and his Excellency merely sent back a verbal message thanking me.

No. 590.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 16.)

(No. 69. Secret and Confidential.)

Athens, April 8, 1876.

My Lord,

I AM confidentially informed that the Prince of Servia was not satisfied with the first refusal of the Hellenic Consul-General at Belgrade to listen to his proposal that Greece should enter into an alliance with Servia against Turkey, and that His Highness afterwards urged M. Droscos to inform the Hellenic Government by telegraph that it would be sufficient for them to promote insurrections in Thessaly and Epirus, without declaring war.

Upon receiving another unfavourable answer through M. Droscos, I understand that the Prince was still disinclined to consider it final, and declared that he would send an agent of his own to Athens. Shortly afterwards, however, he appears to have requested M. Droscos to telegraph that he had abandoned his project, and that he threw the whole responsibility upon the Hellenic Government.

The Servian to whom I alluded in my secret despatch No. 58 of the 30th ultimo, is said to have disappeared as suddenly as he came, without calling upon the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I don't know whether he can have been the agent whom the Prince of Servia had talked of sending here, nor whether he was charged with any mission at all, as he showed no letter of credence or of introduction to M. Comnoundouros during his interview with that Minister; but it seems to me as not impossible that he may have been the person whom the Prince originally intended to send as an agent, and that upon his arrival here he may have found instructions informing him that the object of his mission had been abandoned.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. STUART.

No. 591.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.[a]*—(Received April 16.)*

Vienna, April 16, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

HAVING asked an interview with Count Andrassy to learn why instructions were not sent to Count Zichy, as intended, he writes that he will explain enigma if I will call upon him to-morrow.

No. 592.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.[a]*—(Received April 16, at night.)*

Vienna, April 16, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

WITH reference to my telegram of this morning, I have seen Minister for Foreign Affairs.

He states that after his proposal to me on Thursday, a complaint arrived from Constantinople, that Niksich had not received provisions as promised. Therefore before recommending the Porte to prolong the armistice, he asked explanations from the Prince of Montenegro as to the alleged breach of his engagements.

His Highness, in reply, attributed the supplies not having reached the fort to the

[a] Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Rome, St. Petersburgh, and Constantinople.

defective arrangements of the Turks, but stated at the same time that the insurgents will agree to a further suspension of hostilities for twenty days, during which provisions may be forwarded to it through Grahovo.

Count Zichy was therefore instructed yesterday to propose this to the Porte, but to state that Austria accepted no responsibility in the matter.

Count Andrassy knows of no recent fighting in the Herzegovine; considers reports from Bosnia to be greatly exaggerated, but is not without anxiety as to Servia embarking in war.

No. 593.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 16.)

St. Petersburgh, April 16, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

I WISH to correct the statement in my despatch No. 136,* of General Rodich having referred to the Prince of Montenegro for his aid and influence; I have learnt subsequently from Prince Gortchakow that it was the insurgents who referred to the Prince of Montenegro.

No. 594.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 17.)

(No. 8. Political.)

Canea, Crete, April 3, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to his Excellency Sir Henry Elliot on certain judicial reforms contemplated by the Governor-General of this Province, and reporting its tranquil condition.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

Inclosure in No. 594.

Consul Sandwith to Sir H. Elliot.

Canea, Crete, April 1, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that in the early part of last month, his Excellency the Governor-General set out for an extended tour in the island, where several matters demanded his attention. His Excellency is particularly anxious to put the Courts of Justice on a better footing, the Presidents being underpaid and for the most part ignorant of their duties. To remedy to some extent this state of things, he has constituted in Canea a Board of Examiners, consisting of the President of the Court of Appeal (the Naïb Effendi) and the Director of the Mussulman Schools, and as their colleagues two Christian judges of local Tribunals. It will henceforth be incumbent on every President of a Court of Justice, before entering on the duties of his office, to satisfy the Board of his competency for his post. Nobody imagines that this arrangement will survive the tenure of office of its author, and it is besides intrinsically a lame one, as the examiners themselves have little more knowledge of law than those on whose legal acquirements they are called to pass judgment.

Réauf Pasha confesses that his main difficulty lies in the lack of men of average capacity willing to undertake judicial duties for the paltry stipend allotted them, and he informs me that he is recommending to the Porte that all the salaries of the Presidents of Tribunals throughout the island should be augmented. He proposes that the stipend of the President of the Court of First Instance in Canea should be raised from 158*l.* a-year to 278*l.*; that those of the Presidents of the four District Courts should be raised from 158*l.* to 218*l.*; and those of the same functionaries in the thirteen sub-districts should also be increased from 78*l.* to 130*l.* a year. In order to supply the requisite funds for this reform, his Excellency has offered that the sum of 109*l.* a year should be deducted from his own salary

[a] Repeated to Paris, Rome, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, and Constantinople. * See No. 596.

of 2,727*l.*, and an equal amount from the salaries of the four Governors of districts or Mutessarif Pashas, who receive 1,200*l.* a year. By thus preferring the public interest to his own private advantage, his Excellency gives the best proofs of the sincerity of his desire to raise the standard of judicial purity. But though the measures he is adopting to that end are perhaps as good as he can devise, it is beyond the power of any man, with the existing native materials, thoroughly to purify the judicial administration, society itself being too sunk in corruption to warrant any expectation of a speedy cure of these evils.

Réouf Pasha has already begun to carry out the orders received by his predecessor with reference to the substitution of Christian for Mussulman Caimakams, the former receiving an addition of two to the four already existing, the latter being thus reduced from nine to seven. He further intends to establish the principle that in every sub-district where the Caimakam is a Mussulman, the President of the local Tribunal shall be a Christian, and *vice versâ*. There will thus shortly be seven Christian Presidents of sub-districts courts and six Mussulman, whereas a few months ago there were twelve Mussulman and only one Christian President. There is no doubt that these measures are producing a certain degree of contentment, and they show how great an influence for good or evil it is in the power of the Governor to wield.

Two important nominations complete the changes which his Excellency is effecting in the local administration. These consist in the promotion of Berovich Effendi, Christian Mustravar (Councillor) at Canea, to be Governor of the Mutessarif Pashalik of Lasethe, in the east of the island, and the promotion of the Mouavin of Candia to succeed the former in his post here. Neither of these appointments can be said to be happy ones. That Miltiades Aristarchi Pasha, an ex-Prince of Samos, should be dismissed from Lasethe is not a subject for regret, but the merits of his successor, Berovich Effendi, are yet to be discovered; since, while Christian Counsellor here, he was considered a nonentity, and his successor is no better. This is to be regretted, as it leaves the Mussulman Counsellor, Hamid Bey, in uncontrolled authority; and his son being Mouavin of Lasethe, the next in rank to the Governor, will exercise an undesirable influence in that part of the island.

The discouragements attending the prospects of the Bosnian insurrection is exercising a corresponding depression on the spirits of the discontented Cretans, and they seem to have quite abandoned all present hopes of any change in their political condition. Raouf Pasha assures me that he found the people everywhere contented, with thoughts intent only on their agricultural and pastoral occupations. It is difficult, however, for a Governor-General rightly to gauge the character of the Cretans. While he is among them, they will disguise their real sentiments and condescend to flattery, for they are as adepts in the arts of dissimulation as the generality of Orientals. There can be no doubt that they have laid aside all idea of provoking an armed conflict with the Government, even should the struggle in Herzegovina be prolonged, and it is only in the event of that movement assuming greater proportions that any serious alarm as to the intentions of the Cretans need be felt. That they will ever be reconciled to the idea of permanently remaining under Mahometan rule, no one who knows them could ever believe.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

No. 595.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 17.)

(No. 10. Political.) *Bosna Serai, April 7, 1876.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copy of a despatch marked No. 18, which I have just addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, reporting irruptions of armed bands into Bosnia in the Sandjaks of Bihach and Svornik; and also reporting that permission has been granted to have bells in the Orthodox Church in this town.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

Inclosure in No. 595.

Acting Consul Freeman to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Bosna Serai, April 7, 1876.*

ON the 3rd instant I had the honour to telegraph to your Excellency as follows:—

"Information received here that large bands of armed men have entered Bosnia in the vicinity of Kostainitza and Krupa, and being joined by the inhabitants of Lipnik, Fazen, Ostrovitza, and Tapra, are encamped about 4,000 strong at Lipnik, district of Majdan. Many houses burnt, and other ravages committed. Communications with Bihach intercepted. Troops are urgently demanded, and irregulars have been levied."

I also telegraphed to your Excellency on the 6th instant that "an armed band, about 400 strong, has crossed the Save into Bosnia, near Shamatz, and are raising the Christian population."

I have but few details to add to the information contained in these telegrams. As regards the irruption reported in the former one, it would appear to have been made according to a preconcerted plan, as on the same day, Thursday, the 30th ultimo, armed bands entered the Sandjak of Bihach at diversely opposite points, viz., near Krupa and Kostainitza, in the north, and at Umatz, in the south-east. They were at once joined by numbers of the peasants, those unwilling to rise being forced to do so, as usual, by having their houses burnt and their property destroyed; and now the whole country between Krupa, Kljuch, and Umatz may be said to be in revolt. The authorities urgently demand troops, and two battalions have already been dispatched from here. Two have also been sent thither from the Herzegovina by way of Livno, and four more are expected here to-day or to-morrow from Sienitza, two of which will be sent on without delay to the north. It will be ten or fifteen days, however, before all these troops can reach their destination, and in the meantime the small force in the Sandjak of Bihach is powerless to cope with the insurgents. A few skirmishes have been already reported, but without any important result for either side.

No particulars have yet been received here regarding the band that has passed the Save at Shamatz in the Sandjak of Svornik.

The Turks maintain that these armed bands are composed of Austrians, Servians, and even Montenegrins, but I think it more probable that they consist chiefly of the Bosnian refugees, who, finding the means of subsistence failing them, and being pressed by Austria to return to their country, have preferred doing so with arms in their hands. On the other hand, emigration from the northern districts of this province is said still to continue, many families having passed into Austria within the last fifteen days.

In consequence of these events his Excellency Haidar Effendi is naturally taking no steps to bring about the return of the refugees, and he has decided on not issuing for the present a Proclamation which had been prepared, and of which many thousand copies had been printed.

The Mutessarif of Travnik also reports that there are indications of a proximate rising in the districts of Tarza and Glamoch, and has asked for additional troops and a supply of ammunition.

The opinion seems to prevail that Bosnia and the Herzegovina are now well provided with troops, but the number is totally inadequate to the occasion. The whole force, inclusive of artillery and cavalry, cannot be reckoned at more than sixty battalions, which, reduced as they are by desertion, sickness, and losses in the field, does not represent more than 20,000 men. I am assured that there are many battalions which cannot now bring into the field 150 men.

I am glad to be able to report that since Sunday last a bell has been rung at the Orthodox church in this town, and the Mussulmans seem to have treated the matter with the utmost indifference. It is true it is a very small one and the sound produced resembles rather the striking of a clock than the ringing of a bell, but now that a beginning has been made the Turks will get accustomed to the sound, and probably make no opposition if eventually a larger and more sonorous bell be used.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 596.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 17.)

(No. 138.)

St. Petersburgh, April 12, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAD an interview yesterday with M. de Giers, and inquired whether any information of a satisfactory nature had been received from the Herzegovine. His Excellency replied that the accounts were of such a contradictory nature that it was impossible to form any correct judgment as to the successful issue of the negotiations for the pacification of that province.

His Excellency referred to the private telegrams received and published by the "Russki Mir" (reported in my despatch No. 136 of the 9th instant), and dwelt on the bad effect they would produce, for although there were no doubts that they were pure inventions for a malicious purpose, still they would be circulated far and wide, and were calculated to revive in Russia the former ill feeling against Austria which of late had been happily appeased.

M. de Giers regretted the circumstance, and observed that till now (the 11th instant) the reported speech of General Rodich had neither been confirmed nor denied.

His Excellency referred to an article on this subject in the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg," of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, which has evidently emanated from the Imperial Foreign Office, with a view to prevent public opinion being misled by the telegrams and violent language of the "Russki Mir."

M. de Giers said that the Imperial Government had received no distinct or positive information as to the progress or result of General Rodich's negotiations. The insurgent Chiefs had submitted to him the conditions on which they were ready to submit and lay down their arms, and his Excellency seemed to consider the fact of their willingness to lay down their arms as of good omen.

M. de Giers observed that Prince Gortchakow was of opinion that the conditions of the insurgents ought not to be entirely rejected, or the doors thus closed to the possibility of an arrangement. Some means might be found of harmonizing these conditions with the general necessity of the situation, without sacrifice to the dignity of the Porte, and with evident advantage to all parties concerned.

As far as I could gather from M. de Giers, General Rodich had, on receiving the conditions of the insurgents, with a memoir explanatory of them, referred them to the Prince of Montenegro, and had appealed to him for his aid and influence with the insurgents.

It is evident to me that the Russian Government are most anxious for a pacification on any suitable terms, as is evinced by an article from the "Golos," of which I inclose a *précis* in translation by Mr. Michell.

The Imperial Government are consequently desirous that the negotiations with General Rodich and the insurgents should not be abruptly broken off, but that the armistice should be prolonged, and time thus given for the exercise of the pacifying elements.

The two points to which M. de Giers referred in the conditions of the Insurgents as susceptible of an understanding were, the right of the Christian population to carry arms for their defence, or a disarmament of the Mussulman population, as the latter was impracticable, there was no reason to oppose the admission of the former.

The second point was the concentration of the troops in six localities, under the supervision of foreign Commissaries.

His Excellency (evidently expressing the views of Prince Gortchakow) was of opinion that a suitable arrangement of this nature, with a view to a pacification, was not impracticable.

Finally, M. de Giers said that a certain M. Wessilitzky* had reported that if acceptable conditions were made the insurgents would give in their submission, but that a refusal of what they considered to be the minimum of their claims would at once decide them to continue their resistance.

In regard to M. Wessilitzky, I may inform your Lordship that he is a private person, domiciled for some years in Russia, but originally a native of the Herzegovina. He has interested himself in the cause of his countrymen, and during the winter held meetings with a view to collect money for the relief of the sick and wounded in the Herzegovina. Before leaving St. Petersburgh as a member of the Red Cross for the Herzegovina, he was received by Prince Gortchakow, who charged him to inform the insurgent Chiefs that if they resisted the counsels of Europe, they had nothing to expect from Russia. To this may be attributed the report that he was an Agent of the Russian Government; whereas Prince Gortchakow had only profited of his position and influence with the insurgents to make known to them the wishes of the Imperial Government.

I am informed that M. Wessilitzky is very moderate and conciliatory, although his sympathies are with the insurgents, and that he is very anxious to aid in bringing about a pacification.

In reply to my inquiry, M. de Giers stated that the Imperial Government had received no information in regard to a reported rising in Bosnia.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

* Mr. Monson says this person is a Russian agent at Ragusa, holding no official position.

Inclosure 1 in No. 596.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of $\frac{\text{March 29}}{\text{April 10}}$, 1876.

UN télégramme de Raguse qu'on lira ci-après nous fait connaître les conditions auxquelles les chefs insurgés auraient déclaré vouloir déposer les armes. Nous ignorons si les indications du télégramme sont exactes et il nous semble prématuré de les discuter.

Il se fait du reste en ce moment un débit extraordinaire d'informations télégraphiques provenant du quartier-général des insurgés, et, dans cette course à l'abondance des renseignements, la qualité doit nécessairement souffrir parfois. Ce doit être notamment le cas pour les dépêches de Castelnuovo que nous trouvons aujourd'hui dans la "Voix" et dans le "Monde Russe" et qui prétendent rendre compte d'un entretien que le Général de Rodich aurait eu le 6 Avril avec les chefs Herzégoviniens. Il saute aux yeux que le langage prêté par les correspondants des deux journaux, et notamment par celui du "Monde Russe," au Gouverneur de la Dalmatie n'a pas pu être tenu. Que M. de Rodich ait insisté auprès des chefs sur ce qu'en cas de continuation de la lutte ils ne devaient pas compter sur le concours matériel de la Russie, cela est tout naturel et s'accorde avec ce que, la veille déjà, M. Bojidarovitch leur avait déclaré, d'après les entretiens auxquels il avait été admis à St. Pétersbourg même. Mais qu'il ait ajouté que la Russie n'était pas en état de les défendre, comme l'affirme le correspondant de la "Voix;" qu'il ait encore affirmé—ainsi qu'on le mande au "Monde Russe"—qu'il ne fallait pas se fier aux promesses de la Russie, qui aurait déjà "été vaincue une fois par les Turcs,"—cela est tellement contraire au bon sens, tellement en dehors de la politique poursuivie d'un commun accord par toutes les Puissances, tellement en opposition avec la mission d'apaisement dont M. de Rodich est chargé,—que nous avons beaucoup de peine à comprendre que des correspondants sérieux aient pu transmettre de pareilles assertions et que des feuilles politiques n'aient pas hésité à les accueillir. On peut s'attendre à ce que ces nouvelles ne tarderont pas à être démenties de source compétente; mais ne le fussent-elles pas, que nous continuerions à les considérer comme inadmissibles.

Inclosure 2 in No. 596.

Précis of Article from the "Golos."

THE "Golos" of the $\frac{\text{29th March}}{\text{9th April}}$ 1876, contains a leading article of several columns on the policy of Russia towards the Herzegovina. It arrives at the conclusion that it is only a withdrawal of Turkish troops out of the province, and by the appointment of a European Commission that the present difficulties of the situation can be surmounted. The writer also indulges in the following considerations: "Notwithstanding the military ardour of some Russian public writers, and the ingenious plans formed for establishing a new State on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire, we still adhere to our original conviction, that the true requirements of the interests of the Russian people consist in the preservation of peace, peace, peace!

"If the problem of Russian policy consists in the preservation of peace, Russia must, in conjunction with the other Powers, inflexibly strive to obtain an amelioration in the order of things existing in the rebellious provinces. ..... Up to the present time Austria has been allowed to take the lead; it is Russia's turn now, and we are convinced that she will be able to attain the desired object both sooner and more effectually than her ally. ..... The interests of the people of Russia demand that no means should be left untried for the

maintenance of European peace, and that not a single step should be taken which would compel Russia to stake all her vital force and power on a single card."

No. 597.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 17.)

(No. 141.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 12, 1876.*

SINCE addressing to your Lordship my despatch No. 138 of this date, I have received the inclosed leading article of the "Agence Russe," written evidently under official inspiration, giving an account of the present phase of the Herzegovine question.

It commences by stating "The community of interests of Austria and Russia in the maintenance of peace, and that the basis of their common understanding was the maintenance of the *status quo* in the East, and the amelioration of the condition of the Christian subjects of the Sultan.

"This programme united the two Governments, and obtained the assent of Europe. The first part has been happily accomplished inasmuch as the Porte has accepted the proposals of Europe. The second part, namely, the retention of Servia and Montenegro from participating in the insurrection, the energetic measures to induce the insurgents to submit, and the conclusion of an armistice, has been equally carried out with the same firmness. Thus the action of the two Governments has been logical, loyal, firm, and consistent.

"The insurgents have not refused to accept the terms offered, they merely require a guarantee for their fulfilment. This guarantee is not of an excessive nature. Their lives and those of their families are at stake. They require the withdrawal of the troops within certain fortresses, the permission to be armed so long as the Mussulman population is not disarmed, the participation of European Commissioners in the measures necessary for the reinstatement of the population in their houses, and the control of Austrian and Russian Agents for the execution of the reforms.

"The Cabinets are both interested in satisfying these just demands.

"The loyal execution of the promises of the Sultan is the fundamental basis of the plan of pacification, and should this not be attained, the Cabinets will have compromised their honour in the eyes of the Christian population and of Europe."

From the foregoing preclude the article declares, as a necessary consequence, "that the Governments of Austria and Russia are bound either to take into consideration the demands of the insurgents, and to force the Porte to satisfy them, or to make up for this deficiency by such a guarantee as will fully insure the safety of the populations of the Herzegovina, and the dignity of the Cabinets against surprise on the part of the Turkish Authorities, notwithstanding the good intentions of the Sultan and his Ministers."

The whole tendency of this article is in favour of taking into consideration the conditions submitted by the insurgents, with a view to their adoption in such a manner as may lead to a successful issue to the present negotiations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 597.

Extract from the "Agence Russe" of $\frac{\text{March 27}}{\text{April 8}}$, 1876.

DANS ce moment critique où peut se décider [illegible] pour l'Orient, nous devons à prévenir la position.

L'Autriche et la Russie ont compris, dès le début de cette crise, l'intérêt qu'elles ont l'une et l'autre à marcher d'accord, dans leur propre intérêt, dans celui de l'Orient, et par dessus tout, dans l'intérêt de la paix générale. Elles ont dû chercher un terrain où elles pouvaient se rencontrer dans une marche commune et exiger toute divergence. Ce terrain elles l'ont trouvé dans ces deux principes maintenus de concert par politique et l'autre : amélioration sérieuse, pratique, effective du sort des sujets Chrétiens du Sultan.

Le plan du Comte Andrassy répondait admirablement à ce programme. C'est pourquoi le Gouvernement Russe y a entièrement adhéré, quel les moyens d'exécution. Les deux Cabinets réunis y ont obtenu l'assentiment de l'Europe.

La première partie du programme a été heureusement accomplie. Devant l'unanimité des Puissances, la Porte a dû céder et accepter les propositions qui lui ont été faites, dans l'intérêt général de la pacification de ses provinces insurgées. La deuxième partie a été mise à exécution avec la même fermeté. Les Serbes et les Monténégrins ont été sommés de ne pas entraver les efforts d'apaisement. Ils s'y sont engagés. Des mesures énergiques ont été prises pour démontrer aux insurgés qu'ils n'avaient ni le droit, ni la force de résister à eux seuls aux vœux unanimes des Cabinets et qu'ils avaient plus d'intérêt à accepter les améliorations que les Puissances leur avaient obtenues [illegible] garantie morale. On les avait ainsi amenés à conclure un armistice et à entrer en pourparlers, tandis que simultanément, les conditions nécessaires au rapatriement étaient stipulées avec la Porte.

Jusque-là, la marche des Cabinets a donc été logique, loyale, ferme et conséquente. Aujourd'hui leur œuvre se heurte à un obstacle fondamental.

Les chefs insurgés ne refusent pas d'accepter les conditions qui leur sont imposées. Ils demandent seulement que l'exécution leur en soit garantie. Et cette exigence n'est pas excessive ; il s'agit de leur vie, de celle de leurs familles et, malheureusement, le passé justifie la défiance. Les conditions qu'ils ont formulées, c'est-à-dire le retrait des troupes Turques dans quelques forteresses, la conservation de leurs armes tant que les Musulmans ne sont pas désarmés, la participation de Délégués Européens dans le maniement des ressources à préparer pour le rapatriement et le contrôle d'Agents Autrichiens et Russes sur cette opération et sur la mise à exécution des réformes, n'ont pas d'autre signification ni d'autre but.

Les Cabinets sont doublement intéressés à satisfaire à ces justes demandes.

La loyale exécution des promesses du Sultan est la base fondamentale du plan d'apaisement qu'ils ont pris sous leurs auspices. Si ce but n'était pas atteint, si, sur la foi de leur garantie morale, les réfugiés se décidaient à rentrer dans leurs foyers et les insurgés à déposer les armes et qu'ils en devinssent victimes, non seulement l'œuvre de l'apaisement serait compromise, car une nouvelle explosion plus violente encore viendrait probablement mettre le feu à l'Orient, mais encore les Cabinets auraient compromis leur honneur aux yeux des Chrétiens et à ceux de l'Europe.

Il s'agit donc, en ce moment, ou bien de prendre en mains les réclamations des Chefs insurgés et de contraindre la Porte à y satisfaire, ou bien d'y suppléer par telle garantie efficace qui pourrait les remplacer et protéger à la fois la sécurité des populations de l'Herzégovine et la dignité des Cabinets contre les surprises que les autorités Turques peuvent nous ménager, malgré la parfaite rectitude des intentions du Sultan et de ses Ministres.

Telle est aujourd'hui la tâche de la diplomatie. L'unité qui a présidé jusqu'ici à son action, et la communauté de ses intérêts nous donnent la confiance qu'elle n'y faillira pas.

Ce que nous pouvons certifier, c'est que la Russie ne [illegible] en aucun cas à une marche qui ne s'inspirerait pas de ces principes d'humanité et d'honnêteté.

No. 598.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April .)

(No. 206.)
My Lord, *Vienna, April 13, 1876.*

HAVING received yesterday a telegram, en *clair*, from Mr. Monson, of which I inclose a copy, I called on Baron Hoffmann to ask whether any information had reached him respecting the alleged appointment of M. Wessilitzky to act for the insurgent Chiefs at Constantinople.

His Excellency said it appeared that M. de Wessilitzky had received a written communication from the Chiefs, containing the conditions on which they stated to Baron Rodich that they would lay down their arms, and in which, after acknowledging his past good offices on their behalf, and in assisting the refugees, they had requested him to recommend these conditions to the favourable consideration of the Great Powers and of the Porte.

His Excellency said that M. Wessilitzky appeared therefore, to have left Ragusa for Vienna, but it was impossible that he could be received at the Porte as the representative of the insurgents, to negotiate a pacification of the Herzegovina.

I had mentioned to his Excellency on the previous occasion, on meeting him accidentally, that I had been surprised to learn that General Ignatieff had spoken of Count Andrassy as not considering the demands of insurgents to be unreasonable, and

as I again referred to this misrepresentation of the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, his Excellency, without apparently attaching much importance to it, informed me that at first there had been a slight difference of opinion between Count Andrassy's view of the present state of the question and that of Prince Gortchakow, who had considered that the conditions demanded by the insurgents offered a basis for negotiating an arrangement.

The two Governments had, however, he said, now come to an agreement (Prince Gortchakow having adhered to Count Andrassy's opinion) that no further conditions can be proposed to the Porte, and that those already formulated must remain the limit of the concessions to be granted to the Christian population of the insurgent Provinces; but it is hoped at the same time that, within those conditions, explanations may be given as to the details of the manner in which they will be carried out, which will satisfy the Chiefs that all that is reasonable in their demands will be secured to them. The suspension of hostilities ought, therefore, he said, to be prolonged, in order to give time for further communication with Constantinople and with the insurgents; and the same language would be held on the subject by the Austrian and the Russian Ambassadors.

I afterwards called on M. de Novikow, who spoke in the same sense as Baron Hoffmann, respecting the impossibility of M. Wessilitzky, who is a Russian subject, being received at the Porte as the representative of the insurgents, and his Excellency endeavoured to diminish the importance of the part which has been already taken by that gentleman in the recent communications with the Prince of Montenegro and the insurgent Chiefs.

I inclose, herewith, a French translation of a report which appeared yesterday in the "Tagblatt" respecting M. Wesselitzky's mission, and also translations of articles in the "Fremden Blatt" and the "Pester Lloyd" on the present attitude of this Government towards the Insurgents, which your Lordship will perceive have evidently come from an official source.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 598.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.

Ragusa, April 12, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

WESSILITSKY started to-night viâ Fiume, and is due in Vienna Friday night. Am informed on tolerable authority that he has full powers to act for all the Chiefs at Constantinople, but cannot vouch for this.

Inclosure 2 in No. 598.

Translation of Article in the "Tagblatt" of April 12, 1876.

LES insurgés de l'Herzégovine ont confié à l'agent spécial du Cabinet Russe, M. Boxidarovich Wesselitzky, la représentation diplomatique de leurs intérêts. D'après le "Tagblatt," le Mémorandum de la Skupschtina des insurgés contenait la clause confidentielle que voici :

"Monsieur,—Nous savons que vous êtes aussi un fils de notre patrie infortunée et que vous avez de tout temps pris à cœur ses destinées. Nous savons aussi que dès le début de l'insurrection vous avez été le premier à prendre l'initiative des soulagements à apporter à nos familles contraintes à chercher un refuge en pays étranger. Bien plus, vous leur avez pendant plusieurs mois envoyé vous-même des secours. Vous avez ainsi appris à connaître nos douleurs et notre détresse. Aujourd'hui, nous faisons appel à votre patriotisme, et nous vous prions de communiquer aux Cabinets des grandes Puissances et à la Sublime Porte cette déclaration, qui contient nos conditions telles que nous les avons présentées au Général Rodich, et en cette circonstance de prendre en main nos intérêts. Nous saisissons cette occasion pour vous exprimer l'entière confiance que nous avons mise en vous et l'assurance où nous sommes que vous défendrez notre cause en toute occurrence."

Boxidarovich Wesselitzky a remercié les chefs insurgés de leurs témoignages de confiance; il a fait à chacun suivant son rang un cadeau de prix, et il a accepté formellement la mission de les représenter diplomatiquement. Il a promis en termes chaleureux de soutenir et de patronner leur cause.

Inclosure 3 in No. 598.

Translation of Article in the "Fremdenblatt."

LE "Fremdenblatt" fait observer ce qui suit à propos de la nouvelle que les insurgés songeraient à reprendre les hostilités :—"Les Puissances n'iront pas de l'épaisseur d'un cheveu au-delà des propositions de réformes faites par la Porte Ottomane et garanties par elles. On a épuisé avec ces propositions la mesure des concessions possibles, et si les insurgés ne veulent pas se contenter de ce qu'on leur offre et de ce qui leur est garanti par les Puissances, qu'ils fassent ce que bon leur semblera, qu'ils persistent à leurs propres risques et périls dans leur résistance. L'Autriche regretterait tant au point de vue humanitaire que pour des raisons politiques ce fâcheux revirement, mais elle renouerait à toute autre tentative de médiation avec la conscience d'avoir rempli honnêtement son devoir, et son action se bornerait à isoler autant que possible le foyer de l'insurrection, à empêcher que l'incendie éclaté chez le voisin ne se communique à son propre toit."

Inclosure 4 in No. 598.

Translation of Article in the "Pester Lloyd."

"DANS le monde diplomatique Viennois," dit le "Lloyd de Pest," "on juge les conditions de l'acceptation desquelles les insurgés font dépendre la cessation des hostilités, parfaitement indiscutables. On considère surtout la demande tendant au retrait des troupes Turques concentrées dans les plaines comme une atteinte portée aux droits de souveraineté de la Porte Ottomane. Une garantie formelle pour l'exécution des réformes ne répondrait pas plus qu'une intervention au programme des grandes Puissances. Sans s'engager dans de plus amples explications on répliquerait au Mémorandum des Voïvodes par une nouvelle sommation de déposer les armes. Des pourparlers auraient lieu actuellement à ce sujet entre Vienne et St. Pétersbourg."

No. 599.

Musurus Pasha to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 17.)

My Lord, *Ambassade Impériale Ottomane, Londres, le* 15 *Avril*, 1876.

CONFORMEMENT aux instructions de mon Gouvernement, j'ai l'honneur de communiquer à votre Excellence la copie ci-jointe d'une dépêche télégraphique que je viens de recevoir de son Excellence Rachid Pacha au sujet de la trêve demandée par les Chefs des insurgés de l'Herzégovine, et consentie par son Excellence Mouktar Pacha, et de la manière dont a été étudiée la condition relative au ravitaillement de Nikchik.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) MUSURUS.

Inclosure in No. 599.

Séfvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le* 13 *Août*, 1876.

VOTRE Excellence sait que le Général Baron Rodich avait reçu la mission de réunir à Sutorina les chefs insurgés pour porter à leur connaissance les mesures généreuses dont ils ont été l'objet de la part du Gouvernement Impérial, les engager à se soumettre et à rentrer dans leurs foyers. En même temps, une entrevue nous a été conseillée entre Ali et Mouktar Pachas, et le Gouverneur-Général de la Dalmatie. Cette entrevue a eu lieu à Raguse. Indépendamment de l'entente qui s'y est établie sur les dispositions à prendre préalablement tant à l'égard des réfugiés que des insurgés, le Baron Rodich a demandé à conférer avec les chefs insurgés. Ces derniers, répondant à ce désir du Baron Rodich, n'avaient voulu y consentir, qu'à la condition qu'une trêve de douze jours leur serait assurée. De son côté, le Prince du Monténégro a appuyé leur demande, et promis conjointement le ravitaillement de Nikchik à travers la Principauté. Notre Commandant-en-chef a consenti à cette trêve. La Sublime Porte, qui ne l'avait pas autorisée, se réserve

d'examiner la manière d'agir en cette circonstance du Commandant-en-chef, et de la blâmer, s'il y a lieu ; en tout cas, elle a reconnu le fait accompli. Mais j'ajouterai qu'en même temps il avait été entendu et décidé que Nikchik, que nos troupes allaient en ce moment ravitailler, en forçant les positions occupées par les insurgés à cet égard, le serait pendant la trêve, et que les provisions passeraient librement par le Montenégro. Le Prince Nicolas, qui désirait vivement l'entente des chefs insurgés avec le Baron Rodich, avait formellement promis de donner à cet effet toutes les facilités désirées. Les douze jours de répit ont été scrupuleusement observés ; ils se sont pleinement écoulés, et, pendant que les chefs insurgés formulaient les conditions et les demandes inqualifiables que vous connaissez, nous n'avons pu introduire aucun approvisionnement à Nikchik, grâce aux empêchements déguisés que le Montenégro s'est ingénié à cumuler pour faire manquer complètement cette aspiration, et cela, lorsqu'il était connu que tout autre chemin nous était fermé par suite de l'engagement pris de ne pas attaquer les positions occupées par les insurgés.

Aujourd'hui, ces derniers, profitant des avantages de leur situation, faisant appel à toutes les forces dont ils disposent, concentrent leurs derniers efforts pour empêcher ce ravitaillement. En présence de l'entente intervenue à Raguse, en présence de la promesse formelle que le Prince Nicolas s'est empressé de donner à cet égard comme un témoignage et comme un gage de son désir de concourir à la pacification, nous nous demandons comment nous devons interpréter les faits tels qu'ils se sont présentés à nous. Serait-ce faire une conjecture hasardée que de supposer que notre confiance et notre bonne foi ont été surprises, et que les chefs insurgés, d'accord avec le Montenégro, nous ont fait perdre du temps pour profiter des circonstances ?

Telle est notre impression, et je vous prie de la soumettre à l'appréciation bienveillante du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine.

No. 600.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 17.)

(No. 161.) *Berlin, April 15, 1876.*

My Lord,

A STATEMENT appeared some time since in the papers respecting the periodical sale of old guns by the German Government, according to which the French Government had indirectly caused 100,000 chassepôts to be purchased at 25 fr. a-piece by American agents, and the Servian Government had equally made a large purchase in a similar manner, but that the guns on reaching the Austrian frontier had not been allowed to pass.

Since then it was reported that the American agents had found means of sending the guns round by Russia into Servia, avoiding Austria altogether.

Be that as it may, the German authorities, it is said, were not aware for whom the American agents were purchasing these guns; but I will make inquiry myself, and endeavour to ascertain the truth of the reports in circulation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ODO RUSSELL

No. 601.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 17, at night.)

Pera, April 17, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

GENERAL RODICH, knowing the extremity to which Nichsich is reduced, has repeatedly pressed the Commander-in-chief to abstain from taking measures for its relief.

Porte is convinced that engagement for the revictualling of the fortress upon which the armistice was obtained was not given in good faith, but was a contrivance between Rodich and the Prince of Montenegro to bring about its capitulation.

No. 602.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 17, at night.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Pera, April 17, 1876.*

RASCHID PASHA says that the Porte is convinced that Austrian and Russian Governments are trifling with it.

The Turkish Government will pay every attention to any reasonable proposals made directly to them by the insurgents, but cannot be party to delusive negotiations through Austrian Government or Russian agents, whose good faith they disbelieve.

Additional troops will be sent to the Herzegovine and also to Scutari.

This last measure will be, Raschid Pasha knows, displeasing to Russia, but it cannot be avoided.

There is no intention to attack Montenegro, but as no trust can be put in the assurances of the Prince, Porte must be prepared.

No. 603.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 17, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Pera, April 17, 1876.*

TURKISH Ambassador at St. Petersburgh telegraphs that Prince Gortchakow says that the Porte should express willingness to examine propositions of insurgents, in which case Russian authorities will be instructed to advise the Chiefs to enter into communication with the Turks.

Porte considers that by consenting to this it would sanction a certain step towards open intervention by Russia.

The proposals of the Porte were approved and considered sufficient by Austria and Russia, and the Ambassador has been desired to express the regret with which it has learnt that those Governments now recommend examination of new demands of the nature of which the Turkish Government have not even received official communication.

The support of Russia and Austria was promised if the Porte followed a certain course, and the Turkish Government having taken that course, state that they are surprised and pained to find that this support is to be withheld.

No. 604.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 18.)

(No. 143.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 13, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose an article from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of this day, contradicting officially the language attributed to General Rodich in his interview with the insurgents, in which he was reported to have said that Russia was powerless to support them, and that they could place no confidence in her.

I have reason to believe that this denial was given in reply to an official inquiry addressed to the Austrian Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 604.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of April 15, 1876.

NOUS sommes autorisés à déclarer que, d'après des données reçues officiellement de Vienne, le langage attribué au Général de Rodich, Gouverneur de la Dalmatie, dans son entrevue avec les Chefs insurgés de l'Herzégovine, c'est-à-dire, que la Russie était impuissante à les secourir, et qu'ils auraient tort de se fier à elle, a été démenti de la manière la plus positive.

No. 605.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 18, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Pera, April 18, 1876.*

MUCH sensation has been caused at the Porte and among my colleagues by a report of the Turkish Ambassador at St. Petersburgh that Prince Gortchakow had declared to him that Europe could not remain indifferent to the continued effusion of Christian blood in the Herzegovina.

The expression is considered by some as indicating an indifference to sufferings of all except those of one religion, and as foreshadowing an intervention in their favour.

No. 606.

The Earl of Derby to Musurus Pasha.

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Foreign Office, April 19, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's communication of the 15th instant, respecting the terms upon which the armistice between the Porte and the insurgents in the Herzegovina was agreed to, and the impediments thrown in the way of the revictualling of Nichsich.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 607.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 8.)
My Lord, *Mostar, April 7, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch No. 8 of April 7, addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, relating to various matters of interest at the present moment.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure in No. 607.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Mostar, April 7, 1876.*

IT would appear appear that a report has been widely circulated that a massacre of some of the inhabitants of a village near Stolatz or Bilekia has lately occurred. Nothing of the kind has happened near the former place, but it is known that a band of insurgents endeavoured to drive off some cattle from a village near Bilekia, and it is said that some persons were killed in an affray which took place. No particulars, however, are as yet known.

Ali Pasha has received telegrams from the Porte and from Paris inquiring into this matter, and has written for information on the subject. There is no telegraph to Bilekia, and communications are slow, but when intelligence is received I shall not fail to communicate it to your Excellency.

Bad news has been received from the north-west of Bosnia, where it is said that Unatz, Troubar, and Bobolueki, in the Sandjak of Bihach, and Yaïtza, Glamnoch, Livno, and Duvno, in the Sandjak of Travnik, have been forced to rise by the irruption of armed bands, and the country is being devastated.

Ibrahim Pasha, the Governor-General of Bosnia, was warned six weeks ago by Ali Pasha that preparations for a movement were being made, but he seems to have paid no attention to the matter, for when I was in Serajevo he did not even allude to it. He has been asked where the armed bands passed the frontier, but he replies that he cannot say, and in fact seems to know none of the particulars of the affair.

It is difficult to conceive why the Government maintains in the important post of Bosnia at this critical moment so incompetent a Governor, and I would urge that it is

absolutely necessary for the proper conduct of affairs to name, without delay, the best man that can be found as Governor General of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, with full powers and authority over all other officers, both civil and military.

The interview which took place between Ali Pasha and Baron Rodich had for its object to arrange matters in the best manner possible for the return of the refugee insurgents into the Herzegovina, and Ali Pasha understood that in consequence of the acceptance of Count Andrassy's note, the Austrian Government had undertaken to urge the refugees to return, and to discontinue their allowances if they refused to do so.

Ali Pasha on his way to Ragusa ascertained that at Stagno there were 500 families quite willing to come back, and he thinks that everywhere the great majority desire to do so. On speaking, however, to Baron Rodich about the matter, the latter declared that the refugees refused to return. And Ali Pasha then declared that his mission was at an end. His Excellency states that the supples to the refugees have not been discontinued.

An armistice of twelve days has been accorded, dating from the 1st of April, and Baron Rodich is now supposed to be urging the armed insurgents to lay down their arms.

It is a very critical moment, and it is impossible to predict what may happen until the 12th, when the armistice will cease. The sincerity of the Austrian Government to bring about a pacification can scarcely be doubted, and hopes are therefore strongly entertained here that a pacification will be effected in spite of the unpromising aspect of affairs produced by the rising in the north-west of Bosnia. This will, I think, be easily put down by the Turks if they take proper measures, as the country is not of the same difficult nature as the Herzegovina, and it will have no further importance if a pacification be arrived at than that of increasing the devastation and distress in Bosnia, if otherwise, it will prove a most serious complication of affairs.

Ali Pasha, the Governor-General of the Herzegovina, is doing his best to put matters right, but he complains that Mouktar Pasha, the military commander, will listen to no advice, and does nothing that he suggests. I think also, that on all sides there is a misapprehension as to the attributions and authority of the two Commissioners with relation to the Governors General, which, as usual, I suppose have not been sufficiently clearly defined by the Porte, and that this will, perhaps, give rise to future trouble.

I assure your Excellency that when all the innumerable difficulties of the situation, both in the present and the future, present themselves in the reality which they assume to those on the spot, it is almost impossible to imagine any satisfactory solution of this wretched affair, whether there be pacification or not. When one witnesses the incompetency of the Government as evidenced in the appointments it makes, and the confusion of the orders it issues, its total indigence, the incapacity of most of the authorities, complicated by their jealousy and conflicting pretensions, famine staring one in the face, the insufficiency of troops, and the difficulty of maintaining even those now in the country, the hopelessness of executing reforms, with a divided population regarding each other with feelings of mutual fear, hatred, and vengeance, deepened by religious fanaticism, and the continuance of political intrigues by agents of all kinds with or without the knowledge of their respective Governments, one can only hope for any satisfactory result must be sanguine indeed. However, I trust that peace will be established This will be undoubtedly a great gain; and if it might be hoped that the two great difficulties of want of money and the incompetency of the Government and its subordinates could be got over, most of the other evils might disappear. Is this, however, possible?

The Italian Government has established a Vice-Consulate here, and Signor Usiglii, the gentleman appointed to the post, arrived at Mostar on the 19th of March.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 608.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 10.)
My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that I have ascertained, from a trustworthy Moslem source, that fourteen Turkish officers captured during the recent reverses of the Sultan's troops in the Herzegovina are detained as prisoners in Montenegro, and that the Turkish authorities fear that if attempts that are being made to obtain their release are not speedily successful they will be executed, not to say murdered, by the

Scutari, April 7, 1876.

Montenegrins. Another Turkish officer who had also been made prisoner, and was released through private influences employed in his favour, is reported to have arrived here two days ago. Accounts, credited by my informant, state that there are female Mohammedan prisoners in Montenegro, and that a very considerable number of Turkish soldiers, after having been conveyed into the Principality, were butchered with accompanying circumstances of revolting cruelty.

Some officers whom I met on my journey here, and who were returning from the seat of the insurrection, admitted to me that the losses of the Turkish troops in the recent encounters were exceedingly heavy, but added that the mortality that has arisen among them from disease engendered by exposure to the inclemencies of the weather and by insufficiency of food is a far more serious matter.

A few days ago the Governor-General, having received a telegraphic communication about the armistice said to have been concluded between the Turks and the insurgents, informed the public that the road to Nichsich through Montenegro was once more open. A limited number of loads of provisions were prepared and dispatched by some merchants, but when the caravan reached the Herzegovinian frontier the Montenegrins counselled it not to venture any further as the rebels would probably not permit it to pass unmolested. The loads were therefore brought back to Scutari. It is now more than six months since any provisions have been introduced into Nichsich from this, although in times of peace that town receives its supplies from Scutari.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 609.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 20. Political.)

My Lord, *Ragusa, April 11, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation from the Italian version made by M. Durando, the Italian Consular Commissioner in the Herzegovina, of the document presented to Baron Rodich by the insurgent Chiefs, at Suttorina, on the 7th instant.

In his frequent conversations with me upon the origin and history of the insurrection, M. Durando has invariably maintained that the agrarian grievance lay at the root of the question; that it had been, far more than the religious disabilities, the cause of discontent; and he, therefore, regards the first condition submitted by the insurgents as extremely pertinent and suggestive.

All the accounts which have reached me of the interview at Suttorina concur in attributing to the insurgent Chiefs the most determined language; and, as far as I am able to judge of public opinion in a town where no newspapers are published, and which, under the peculiar circumstances of the moment is perpetually excited by the most contradictory rumours, the mission of Baron Rodich is generally considered at Ragusa as a complete failure.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

P.S.—Since writing the above, I have seen the Report which M. Durando sends this day to his Government upon the Address of the insurgents. He points out that the demand for a third of the lands must not be considered as indicative of communistic aspirations, but as a clumsily expressed desire for the revocation of the agrarian regulations of 1851 and 1862, which abolished the ancient feudal privileges of the tillers of the soil.

E. M.

Inclosure in No. 609.

Address of the Insurgent Chiefs to Baron Rodich.

(Translation.)

Excellency,

NONE can more appreciate the rectitude, nor recognize with more sincere gratitude the undertaking of powerful Austria in thus attempting to ameliorate the condition of the

Christians in Turkey, and of us insurgents,—a condition so wretched as to have become henceforth insupportable.

The Imperial Austrian Government may be assured that the Herzegovinian nation is profoundly touched, and grateful for all that that Government has done for our good. We, having been obedient to the summons of Austria, and desirous of following her counsels, ask permission of your Excellency, as of a friendly intermediary with the Imperial Government, to say frankly what we have at heart, and what we desire; especially as we think and believe that no one in the world can expect that we shall return into the power of the Turks, and into the condition in which we have lived hitherto; as also that no one in the world can desire that we should so return.

Everything in our country is burned and laid waste. With what spirit can we return to this unhappy country of ours?

Austria has been so good as to interest herself about us and our existence, and has informed us that she has obtained some reform for us. In the words of Austria we have trust, and therefore we accept these reforms, but only when they shall have been put into execution; then will we return under the sovereignty of the Sultan.

It is true Turkey has promised to execute them, and says that the Powers have guaranteed them, but we cannot on any account believe that Turkey means to, or can, execute them. Therefore no sincere friend of our unhappy nation will think we are wrong in seeking for secure guarantees for our amelioration, which guarantees we submit and present to your Excellency:—

I. That to the Christians shall be given at least a third of the lands as their property; lands which the Turks took and usurped from the Christians, and without which third the latter will not be able to live.

II. That Turkey withdraws the troops in the Herzegovina, and shall only maintain garrisons which shall be recognized as necessary in the following places: Mostar, Stolatz, Trebigné, Nichsich, Pleoljé, and Toccie.

III. That Turkey cause to be rebuilt the houses and churches that have been burned, provide for the Christians food for at least a year, and agricultural implements, and exempt them from taxation for three years from the date of their return.

IV. That the Christians shall not lay down their arms until the Mussulmans shall have been disarmed, and until the reforms are in process of execution.

V. The Christians having returned, their leaders shall come to an understanding with the Government as to the execution of the reforms. The said leaders shall compose an assembly with the functionaries of the Government for the application and the regulation of the said reforms, which latter must be extended to the whole of Bosnia and the Herzegovina.

VI. As the insurgents cannot trust to the simple promises of the Porte, which he has never been known to keep, and as also the Porte will with difficulty support her own troops, the insurgents, fearing that the money given by the Porte for the Christians may be lost in the hands of the Turkish employés, who would distribute nothing, and would let the Christians starve; and as the insurgents know that they would get no help from the Porte, even if the powers should protest; on these grounds we demand that the money shall be paid into the hands of the Treasurer of an European Commission, that this Commission shall receive all the funds for the reconstruction by itself of the houses and churches, and for the distribution of provisions to the Christian families, erecting for that purpose central storehouses in convenient places.

Finally, we demand that in the before-mentioned garrisons, occupied by the Turks, the Governments of Austria and Russia shall establish agents, who shall see that the reforms are executed as we desire.

While we do not dare to ask for more, we cannot, on the other hand, ask for less for our safety and tranquillity.

We submit these our desires to Austria through the medium of your Excellency.

Suttorina, $\frac{\text{March 29}}{\text{April 7}}$ 1870.

(Follow the signatures.)

No. 610.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 21. Political. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Ragusa, April 12, 1876.*

M. WESSILITZKY, the Russian Agent, whose negotiations with Montenegro and the insurgents I reported to your Lordship in my despatch No. 11, Confidential, of the 30th ultimo, started last night for Vienna and Constantinople, with, as I am informed at the Russian Consulate, full authority to act as the representative of the insurgents. He had been at Suttorina for the meeting of the latter with Baron Rodich, and his proceedings there, and especially his announcement to the Chiefs that he was acting under instructions from Prince Gortchakow, have created much excitement among the Slavs.

I cannot say how far the Russian Consulate here was prepared for M. Wessilitzky's avowals. M. Yonine affected surprise, but I can hardly believe but that the plan of action had been concerted beforehand. However that may be, every precaution, to the extent even of falsehood, was taken to prevent M. Wessilitzky communicating with anyone here on his way through to Vienna, so that neither the Turkish Consul-General nor the Italian Commissioner, nor I could get speech of him except in the presence of M. Yonine—an opportunity of which none of us chose to make use.

The Turkish Consul-General, in discussing with me this morning the demands of the insurgents, said that M. Yonine had pointed out to him yesterday that the stipulation for the concentration of the troops in six selected towns was simply the application of the system formerly in force in Servia; and Danish Effendi deduces from this observation that Russian policy aims at encouraging in the Herzegovina a process analogous to that which caused the Mussulman population to remove from Servia, and which will eventually justify the demand for the complete evacuation of the Herzegovina by the Turkish troops.

With regard to the foreign Commissioners, he observed that he did not see how the Porte could be expected to consent to such a humiliation as their appointment would involve, or to the money furnished by herself being handed over to foreigners for distribution among insurgents against her authority.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 611.

Mr. Adams to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 267. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Paris, April 18, 1876.*

THE Duc Decazes read to me confidentially this morning a telegram which he had received last night from the French Ambassador in Constantinople. This telegram was, as I understood it, in substance as follows:

"Prince Gortchakow had told the Turkish Ambassador in St. Petersburgh that he did not agree with Count Andrassy that the propositions of the insurgents were unacceptable, that there had been enough Christian blood shed, and he begged the Porte to authorize the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh to treat with the insurgents.

"Raschid Pasha told General Ignatiow that the Porte could not agree to do this, but was ready to treat with the insurgents direct. Raschid Pasha was much agitated by this action of Russia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

No. 612.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 19.)

(Telegraphic.) *Pera, April 19, 1876.*

THE following telegram from the Commander-in-chief in the Herzegovina has been published, dated yesterday:—

"J'arrive à l'instant à Grahovo; nous nous sommes continuellement battu en allant

comme au retour pendant six jours entiers. L'ennemi était au nombre de 14,000 au moins, les succès obtenus sur les insurgés sont éclatants, les troupes Impériales ont bien méritées de la patrie par les combats victorieux qu'elles viennent de livrer contre une force deux fois supérieure. Cette fois le Prince de Monténégro nous a ouvertement fait la guerre, près de 7,000 Monténégrins bien équippés et regulièrement organisés s'étaient joints aux insurgés pour nous combattre. Après quelques heures je vous écrirai les détails."

Moukhtar Pasha does not state whether he has succeeded in revictualling Nichsich.

No. 613.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 20.)

(No. 356.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 8, 1876.*

COUNT ZICHY this morning communicated to the Porte a telegram from Count Andrassy, complaining that an Austrian detachment, within their own frontier, had been fired upon by the Turkish troops.

In the course of the afternoon a telegram was received from the Governor-General of Bosnia, giving the Turkish version of this occurrence.

According to this, the Ottoman troops, while pursuing a body of insurgents who were driving off some cattle which they had seized, were fired upon from across the frontier by the Austrians, and had replied to the fire in self-defence.

There is stated to be great exasperation on both sides.

All available troops, which amount at present only to two or three battalions and 4,000 irregulars, are being hurried to the scene of the new insurrection; but, as I do not imagine that it will be possible for any considerable reinforcements to reach it for some time, the situation is becoming extremely critical.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 614.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 20.)

(No. 360.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 10, 1876.*

ALTHOUGH the Austro-Hungarian Government instructed their Ambassador altogether to deny the reports of invasions of Bosnia from their territory, there appears to be no doubt whatever that bands did pass the frontier at several different points both from Dalmatia and Croatia.

There appears, however, to have been much exaggeration in the first account of their force.

According to the last account from the Imperial authorities, three companies of troops easily dispersed at Muidan one band stated to amount to 15,000 men, and to have driven them across the frontier.

It can hardly be supposed that their real numbers can have amounted to anything approaching those given.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 615.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 20.)

(No. 362. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 10, 1876.*

I CALLED upon Raschid Pasha to-day, just as General Ignatiew left his room.

He told me that my colleague had just been informing him that not only Baron Rodich, but also Count Andrassy, considered the conditions demanded by the insurgents as perfectly reasonable.

As immediately before leaving home I had received from your Lordship Sir Andrew

Buchanan's telegram of the 8th, I was able to inform Raschid Pasha confidentially that Count Andrassy's language to Her Majesty's Ambassador was quite at variance with the views attributed to him by General Ignatiew.

Raschid Pasha said he had not been surprised to hear that Baron Rodich indorsed the pretensions of the insurgents, but he had hardly believed it of Count Andrassy, although General Ignatiew's assertions in regard to him were very positive.

His Excellency spoke with indignation of the artifices which were resorted to to render the Porte distrustful of Austria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 616.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 20.)

(No. 364.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 11, 1876.*

RASCHID PASHA has been much pleased by a telegram communicated to him by Count Zichy, in which Count Andrassy expresses the strongest disapproval of the demands put forward by the insurgents.

Count Andrassy states that the Porte should not be encouraged to add a single hair's breadth to the concessions already promised by it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 617.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 20.)

(No. 368.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 12, 1876.*

RASCHID PASHA having spoken to me of the approaching expiration of the suspension of hostilities in the Herzegovina, I said that it would be right to authorize the Commander-in-chief to prolong it without further reference to the Porte, if he saw reason to expect that it might lead to an understanding with the chiefs.

I learnt last night that Moukhtar Pasha has telegraphed that, as there is no appearance of the insurgents accepting the conditions offered to them, it is, in his opinion, advisable that hostilities should at once recommence at the expiration of the period of suspension agreed upon, of which this is the last day.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 618.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 20.)

(Telegraphic.) *Rome, April 20, 1876.*

MINISTER for Foreign Affairs informs me that Prince Gortchakow has told Italian Minister that all hope of armistice and pacification has vanished; that the Porte has ordered vigorous renewal of hostilities, and that it has become more than ever urgent that Powers should point out to Turkish Government the danger of course they are following.

M. Melegari hears that Russian Ambassador at Constantinople has spoken in this sense, stating that the Russian Government does not share the views of Austrian Cabinet that the demands of the insurgents should be resisted, but on the contrary, urges Porte to negotiate with insurgents thereupon. Reply of Porte as reported in Sir H. Elliot's telegram of the 17th instant. Austrian Ambassador said to be much embarrassed.

Italian Government, anxious to act in concert with Her Majesty's Government, would be glad to be informed of their views under present circumstances. They will be also in communication with French Government, and have ordered Italian minister at Berlin to ascertain, if possible, opinion of the German Government.

No. 619.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 20, night.)

Telegraphic.) *Pera, April 20, 1876.*

SULTAN is greatly incensed by the report of last combat in the Herzegovina and at the part taken by Montenegro.

His Majesty has ordered the immediate despatch of troops to Scutari, and operations against Montenegro appear to be under discussion.

A Military Council was about to meet at the Porte when I saw the Grand Vizier to-day.

I told him to recollect that war with Montenegro meant war with Servia also, and that attitude of Greece, the Greek provinces and Crete, could not be depended upon, and I advised him not to recommend an attack upon Montenegro unless the Minister of War guaranteed that he has men, money, and organization sufficient to carry on war on such a scale.

I also reminded him that Russia had formerly declared that she would not permit an attack on Montenegro.

No. 620.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 20, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Mostar, April 20, 1876.*

THE Commander-in-chief has returned to Gatzko, having failed to revictual Nichsich. He reports having been opposed by 7,000 insurgents and as many regular troops of Montenegro.

The Governor-General thinks the object of Montenegro is to obtain Nichsich, which, if (captured?) would, he considers, compromise future safety of the Herzegovina. He almost seems to despair of pacification, and to see no other alternative but war with Montenegro.

No. 621.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 21.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April 20, 1876.*

I SAW Prince Gortchakow to-day; he considers that the negotiations are, for the present, exhausted; that Turkey has appealed to arms, and that Europe must now await decision of conflict.

He is anxious to maintain existing European concert, and stated that Russia had no interested policy, and desired only maintenance of European peace, and amelioration of condition of Christian population.

The difference with Austria is entirely removed, and perfect understanding restored.

News received here from the Herzegovina very contradictory. Turkish Ambassador considers the fortress has been provisioned, whilst private telegrams report the failure of the Commander-in-chief to do so.

No. 622.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 21.)

(Telegraphic.) *Pera, April 21, 1876, 11·5 A.M.*

THE feeling for war with Montenegro is so strong and so general that there seems little chance of it being avoided.

No. 623.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 22. Political.)
My Lord, *Ragusa, April* 14, 1876.

MOUKHTAR PASHA, with twenty battalions, is, I am told, on his way to the relief of Nicksich, and a serious engagement with the insurgents may be expected within two or three days. Nearly all the troops have been withdrawn from Trebigné, and Constant Pasha has warned the Turkish Consulate here that communication between that town and Ragusa is for the moment hazardous.

The employment of Bashi-Bozouks is under the serious consideration of the Turkish military authorities, who begin to perceive that with regular troops alone they have no chance of suppressing the insurrection. They argue that the kind of warfare carried on by the insurgents is one which cannot be fairly met but by similar tactics; that the daily perpetration of outrages and massacres (it is to-day reported that some zaptiehs have been burned alive by the Christians) justify the use of reprisals; and that even on philanthropical grounds, if the insurrection is to be stamped out, any hesitation at employing every practicable coercive measure is misplaced. They are aware that foreign countries will probably protest against such a policy, but they maintain that such protests would not be made if Europe clearly understood the savage and brigand-like character of the warfare practised by the insurgents.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 624.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 211.)
My Lord, *Vienna, April* 19, 1876.

IN forwarding to your Lordship herewith Mr. Monson's Political despatch No. 22 of the 14th, which I received this morning under flying seal, reporting that Moukhtar Pasha had left Mostar with twenty battalions to provision Nichsich, I also inclose a translation of a statement from the "Politische Correspondenz," containing information up to the 16th instant of fighting in the Duga Pass, and on the road to Nichsich, which the Turkish army had not reached on that date.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 624.

Extract from the "Politische Correspondenz."

(Translation.)

IN the "Political Correspondence" we receive news from the Herzegovina by way of Ragusa to the effect that, immediately after the cessation of the armistice, Moukhtar Pasha made preparations to provision Nichsich, where the supplies had fallen very short. With this object he organized an expedition consisting of twenty-five battalions, but was obliged to detach several in order to send them to Trebigné, which, in the meantime, was threatened by several bands of insurgents. He had besides at his disposal, on the 13th of April, eighteen battalions of regular troops, which he concentrated at Tristac at the entrance of the Douga Pass.

On the 14th the Douga Pass was forced by the Turks without any particular difficulty, and it was only between the Turkish rear-guard and an insurgent division, commanded by Pope Zimonics, that more spirited firing ensued, in which the insurgents assert that they were victorious; an assertion which is, however, entirely without foundation, as the engagement did not even prevent Moukhtar Pasha from bringing his whole army corps through the pass.

On the 14th, Moukhtar was prevented from advancing further by numerous insurgent divisions under Petro Pavlovics and Lazar Sotschitza, and, in the neighbourhood of the Turkish block-house Presjeka, a more important engagement ensued, which lasted the whole day.

From the fact that the Turks maintained and spent the night in their positions it is evident that there was no question of a victory for the insurgents on that day.

On the next day Ahmed Moukhtar made an attempt to break through the insurgent lines, which had meanwhile formed up closer, and this lead to a deadly engagement. The insurgents not merely kept their stand bravely, but began to act on the offensive, and, though suffering terrible losses, compelled the Turks to retire as far as Odzine Poljane.

On the 16th Moukhtar renewed the attack against the insurgents, while, at the same time, the Turkish garrison in Nichsich made a sally. He could not, however, succeed in forcing his way to Nichsich, as the Turks there were obliged to beat a hasty retreat into the fortress. Thus for two days have the Turks and insurgents, worn out as they are with their frequent engagements, been confronting each other. The insurgents assert that they have hemmed in the whole Turkish army corps, and that Moukhtar Pasha will be compelled to lay down his arms, to say nothing of the fall of Nichsich, which they consider to be inevitable. In Ragusa, on the contrary, we know that the insurgents, besides finding themselves numerically inferior to the Turkish forces, have but slight hopes of forcing Moukhtar Pasha to lay down his arms, as they are themselves in great straits from want of ammunition and provisions.

No. 625.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 280. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Paris, April* 21, 1876.

THE Duc Decazes spoke to me this afternoon of an apparent difference of opinion which had, he said, taken place between Russia and Austria respecting the demands of the Herzegovinian insurgents.

The Duke said that he thought that there had merely been a little irritation on the part of Prince Gortchakow at Count Andrassy's having taken upon himself to act and speak, in some degree, in the name of Russia without consulting her. The Duke did not, however, consider that any serious diminution of the concert between Russia, Austria, and Germany had been the consequence.

To one conclusion he had, he said, been led by the language of Prince Orloff, the Russian Ambassador here, as well as by reports which he had received from other quarters. Russia was, he conceived, very decidedly opposed to any occupation by Austria of the Herzegovina, Bosnia, or any part of Turkey proper; and still more opposed to any occupation by Austria of Servia. He had not, he informed me, hesitated to say to Prince Orloff that he himself also considered that there were very grave political objections to any such occupation.

The Duke proceeded to tell me that Prince Hohenlohe, the German Ambassador, had, in conversation, suggested that the other Powers might contribute to relieve Austria from part of the pecuniary expense of supporting the Herzegovinian refugees. The Duke had, he said, replied that he had not yet received any offer from foreign Governments to relieve France from the expense to which she was put with regard to the Carlist refugees from Spain.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 626.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 22.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 21, 1876.

ALLOWING for all exaggerations in Turkish reports of success, there cannot be a doubt of active participation of Montenegro with the insurgents, and it will not be long possible to prevent Turks from operations against Principality, which may lead to a general conflagration.

The acceptance of Count Andrassy's proposals upon the assurances that a pressure should be applied to Montenegro which would terminate the insurrection, seems to have

laid upon the Austrian Government a moral obligation to ensure the neutrality of that Principality.

The demonstration of an Austrian force in its immediate neighbourhood, and an intimation to the Prince that if he cannot control his subjects Austria must help him to do so, appears to me the only means by which a rupture can be avoided.

No. 627.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 22.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 21, 1876.

MINISTER of War this morning sent his Secretary to me to say how anxious he was to have the disinterested advice of Her Majesty's Embassy.

I held the same language to him as to the Grand Vizier yesterday.

In the afternoon the Secretary came again and said that the Minister was now inclined to endeavour to avoid a declaration of war, and had spoken in this sense to the Sultan.

He was understood yesterday to be in favour of immediate hostilities. I have arranged to see him to-morrow morning, and shall repeat the recommendation to be prudent.

No. 628.

*Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received April* 22, 11 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April* 21, 1876, *midnight.*

THE newspapers report that three battalions of Chasseurs which have arrived at Trieste are on their way to Dalmatia.

No. 629.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 22, 11 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April* 22, 1876, 1 A.M.

WITH reference to recent reports of Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Constantinople and Rome respecting Russian proposals to Porte, Count Andrassy told me yesterday that he had received similar intelligence from Count Zichy, but had not given him any instructions in consequence.

His Excellency was evidently embarrassed by the steps taken by Prince Gortchakow, but said the Russian proposals might be merely suggestions to Cabuli Pasha, as General Ignatiew did not appear to have supported them. Novikoff had, however, intimated to him that he would be able to give him full explanation on the subject to-day.

No. 630.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 22, 4·45 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 22, 1876, 2·30 P.M.

MINISTER of War has given me a positive assurance that there is no intention to attack Montenegro. Another attempt to relieve Nichsich will be made with twenty-five battalions.

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* Repeated to Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.

No. 631.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 22, *at night.*)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April* 22, 1876.

PRINCE GORTCHAKOW, by order of the Emperor, convened this morning the Ambassadors of France, Austria, Germany, Italy, and myself at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He stated that he had received last night news from Constantinople which had greatly pained the Emperor. General Ignatiew had telegraphed that the Porte, after a Council of War, had decided to attack Montenegro as soon as the necessary forces could be assembled at Scutari; that Dervish Pasha had undertaken to reduce Montenegro and suppress the insurrection; that a portion of the Turkish forces on the Servian frontier would co-operate; and that the Sultan had advanced funds from his private purse.

Prince Gortchakow informed us that he had instructed General Ignatiew to remonstrate with the Porte in the most energetic and peremptory language, and he requested us to invite our respective Governments to instruct their Representatives at Constantinople in a similar sense; immediate and combined action of Europe could alone restrain the Porte from a course which must lead to its ruin.

The crisis is serious, and if the Porte persists in the intention of attacking Montenegro, I am confident that Russia will not remain passive.

No. 632.

*Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received April* 22, *at night.*)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April* 22, 1876, 3·45 P.M.

M. WESSILITSKY having called upon me to-day with an introduction from the Russian Ambassador to explain the part he had taken in the negotiations in the Herzegovina, maintained that he had done his best to prevent the insurgents exceeding in their demands the four points they had at first arranged with him, and he insinuated that they had become arrogant from General Rodich having entered into personal communication with them.

I told him that the only way, in my opinion, to prevent Turkey now employing all her resources to suppress the insurrection and punish Montenegro, would be for the insurgents to open the road to Niksick, and invite the Commander-in-Chief to renew negotiations with them.

At the Austrian Foreign Office the last news from Constantinople has caused great anxiety, but I did not see Count Andrassy, who, I was told, had gone to the Russian Embassy.

No. 633.

Mr. Vivian to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 23.)

(No. 35. Political. Most Confidential.)

My Lord, *Bucharest, April* 4, 1876.

WHEN I last wrote to report a movement among the Bulgarians, promoted by Servian emissaries, I said I believed this Government were acting honestly and energetically in defence of their neutrality, and were taking all proper steps to prevent the passage of arms through their territory, or any violation of its neutrality. I am still of this opinion as regards the Ministers generally, but I have my doubts whether General Floresco, the Minister of War, may not be secretly conniving at the passage of arms and ammunition, whether with or without the sanction of the Prince I cannot say.

The latest reports from Servia describe affairs there as being again in a very critical postion, notwithstanding the pacific declaration put into the Prince's mouth. I have reason to believe that Prince Charles lately addressed a letter to Prince Milan suggesting the hopelessness of the isolated action of Servia without the support of a Great Power, or of a league of the other tributary Provinces of Turkey which Roumania could not possibly join under present circumstances. Yesterday M. Stourdza, the Roumanian Agent at Belgrade, returned from his post; and M. Ballatchano, the Minister for Foreign Affairs,

* Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Rome, St. Petersburgh, and Constantinople.

tells me that during an interview between M. Stourdza and the Servian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Prince Milan disavowed all responsibility for the pacific assurances lately given by his Government under pressure to the Austrian Agent.

Major Draysiewitch, the Servian officer whose intrigues among the Bulgarians here I have already reported, is still staying at Bucharest, notwithstanding the notice to quit he received from this Government, and the applications for his recall they have made both at Belgrade and to the Servian Agent here. He has been engaged (I believe without much success) in trying to organize a Bulgarian Legion. He is in constant communication with the Servian Agency here, and it was only in deference to the personal appeal of the Agent, who offered to vouch for his future good behaviour, that he was not at once sent across the frontier. He has, however, been finally warned that he must positively leave to-day, and if he will not go voluntarily, orders have been given to the police to compel him to do so.

The Servian officers who came here to buy horses have,* I hear from M. Ballatchano, only succeeded in getting about forty in Bessarabia (the price they offered being too low) which they have sent on to Servia.

I mentioned yesterday both to M. Catargi and to M. Ballatchano the reports that had reached me from good authority that notwithstanding their assurances to the contrary, arms were being secretly conveyed in considerable quantities across Roumania to Bulgaria and Servia. They both assured me that they did not believe the report, but it is possible (and I saw they thought so) that General Floresco may have been conniving at the transit without their knowledge.

There is little doubt, in my case, that the Servian Government have either tried to buy, or are actually in treaty for the immediate purchase at Berlin of a large number of Chassepôts (60,000), and M. Ballatchano anticipates a request very shortly for permission to pass these arms through Roumania, a request which, he assured me, so long as he was Minister, he would positively refuse.

There is also said to be a large depôt of arms in Southern Russia destined for the Bulgarians.

M. Ballatchano also tells me in confidence that M. Catargi's Government owes its defeat in the Senate, where they would otherwise have had a majority, to the intrigues of certain of the clergy and superior officers of the army who, having seats in the Senate, are tools of the Russian party here, with which the present Government have no sympathy.

On the other hand it is only fair to say that the conduct of the Russian Agent here is apparently very correct; he openly disavows all insinuations of Russian intrigue, and professes that her policy is identic with that of Austria; but my Austrian colleague betrays much uneasiness at the turn events are taking, and some suspicion of the sincerity of Russia.

To sum up all these facts it seems clear that Servia, notwithstanding her official parade of peaceful professions, is still arming and intriguing through her emissaries to obtain the support of the Bulgarians.

That the ill success she has hitherto met with here is only attributable to the Bulgarians' mistrust of the Servians, and to their uncertainty of Russian support; but that they have more organization and arms than is generally believed, and are ready to rise at the proper signal, which can only be given by Russia.

As regards Roumania, the Servians would only look to her for indirect assistance in the transit and purchase of arms and ammunition.

All sensible men, and, as I really believe, the present Government, are fully alive to the danger to this country of a declaration of war by Servia, probably leading to an Austrian occupation of that Principality and to a Russian occupation here for which they are anxious to furnish no possible pretext.

They see the hand of Russia in everything, and refuse to believe that the insurrection could be kept alive, or Servia recusant if Russia were really in earnest.

They ridicule the notion of offering any resistance to the advance of Russian troops, they have little trust in any assistance from the other guaranteeing Powers, and their only present hope is in the fact that Russia is notoriously unprepared for war.

Such are the language and views generally held here.

I hope to be able shortly to send your Lordship a reliable statement of the numbers and positions of the Russian forces on the Bessarabian frontier.

Meanwhile I inclose the second Circular, to which I have referred in previous despatches, sent by the Roumanian Government to their Agents abroad with the view of modifying and undoing the ill effects of the first one. I gathered from M. Ballatchano

* From another source I hear they have succeeded in buying 400 horses.

that the two passages I have underlined respecting the "inalienable rights" and intentions of Roumania to "make her neutrality respected" were added by the Prince against M. Ballatchano's wishes; but he eventually agreed to the alteration rather than sacrifice the Circular, which he imagines will have a good effect abroad.

I cannot close this despatch without bearing cordial testimony to the frankness and, as I fully believe, the loyalty with which I am treated by M. Ballatchano.

Had M. Boerescu been in office, instead of receiving such full and frank confidence, my inquiries would have been met with evasive answers, upon which I could not at all have depended. I should, therefore, sincerely regret any change of Government, and particularly of this Minister at the present moment.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. VIVIAN.

Inclosure in No. 633.

Circular Note addressed by the Roumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs to his Agents abroad.

M. l'Agent,

Au milieu des émotions qui l'agitent encore, l'Europe éprouve un si grand besoin de paix, un tel désir d'éviter toute cause de conflagration, que je ne crois pas superflu, pour conserver à notre pays les sympathies des Puissances Garantes, de leur rappeler, à l'occasion, l'attitude paisible et absolument correcte que le Gouvernement du Prince a conservée depuis le commencement de la crise qui a éclaté en Orient.

Cette attitude, prudente autant que loyale, ne résulte pas seulement des idées personnelles d'un groupe d'hommes qui, se trouvant au pouvoir, auraient dirigé, dans ce sens, le courant de l'opinion; elle ressort encore et surtout des traditions, des sentiments, des vrais intérêts du peuple Roumain.

Géographiquement séparé de la Turquie par un des plus grands fleuves du monde, forte de son autonomie, confirmée dans les Traités qui garantissent son existence, la Roumanie n'a pas à revendiquer des droits qu'elle n'a jamais aliénés. Bien qu'étrangère, par la langue, par le sang, et par le génie de son peuple, aux races qui habitent la Turquie, elle ne leur marchande pas ses sympathies; mais elle ne voit rien, non plus dans ce qui se passe au delà du Danube, qui doive lui faire oublier les questions économiques et sociales qui s'agitent dans son sein et qu'il lui faut résoudre à tout prix. Le peuple Roumain comprend que de la solution de ces problèmes dépendent son repos et son bien-être intérieurs.

Le désir de réaliser tout le progrès compatible avec notre temps et nos moyens forme aujourd'hui, M. l'Agent, l'objet de nos constantes préoccupations. Développer notre agriculture et notre commerce; créer de toutes pièces, pour ainsi dire, notre industrie; multiplier nos relations avec les pays voisins; mettre l'instruction à la portée de tous; augmenter nos voies de communication; n'y a-t-il pas là de quoi absorber toutes nos facultés? Cette noble tâche, ce vaste champ ouvert à l'intelligence et à l'activité des Roumains, ne sont-ils pas dignes d'une nation jalouse de prendre place dans la grande famille des peuples civilisés?

Ces idées de paix et de progrès forment un programme auquel nous saurons rester fidèles. Comptant en toute occasion sur la sympathie des Grandes Puissances; confiants en nos propres forces pour nous développer pacifiquement, nous faisons, de la stricte observation des Traités, la base même de notre politique.

Dans les circonstances actuelles, cette politique se définit d'un mot—la neutralité. Si elle nous crée des droits à l'appui et à l'estime des Puissances Garantes, elle nous impose aussi des sacrifices et le devoir de faire respecter cette neutralité.

Ce qui précède doit suffire pour édifier les plus prévenus sur les véritables sentiments du peuple Roumain et sur les véritables intentions de son Gouvernement. J'ai tout lieu de croire que ces franches explications réduiront à néant les bruits répandus naguère sur de prétendus armements que nous songerions à faire.

Vous savez, en effet, M. l'Agent, que les Corps Législatifs n'ont accordé cette année, au Ministre de la Guerre, en fait de crédits extraordinaires, qu'une somme de 950,000 fr. Si ce Ministre dispose actuellement d'une réserve de 4,000,000 fr., c'est parce qu'il a conservé intacts 3,000,000 fr. sur le crédit qui lui avait été allouée l'année dernière, et dont il aurait déjà trouvé l'emploi, si le Gouvernement avait nourri, ne fût-ce qu'un instant, les projets belliqueux qu'on lui a si gratuitement attribués. Ne pensez-vous pas, Monsieur, que, le cas échéant, il aurait dû songer, tout d'abord, donner à notre infanterie cette unifor-

mité d'armement que réclament pour elle tous les hommes spéciaux, et que nous serons néanmoins obligés de lui faire attendre encore?

Tels sont les faits, M. l'Agent, telle est, je le répète, la conduite pacifique que le Gouvernement du Prince a suivie, et qu'il est décidé à suivre encore. Observateur scrupuleux des Traités, spectateur désintéressé des événements qui se déroulent autour de lui, il ne songe qu'aux moyens de mettre en œuvre les immenses ressources dont la Roumanie peut disposer.

Vous voudrez bien, Monsieur, vous pénétrer de ces idées, et vous en inspirer exclusivement dans toutes les communications verbales que vous serez appelé à faire à M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) BALLATCHANO.

No. 634.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 23.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 23, 1876, 1 P.M.

LORD A. LOFTUS reports that Prince Gortchakow considers that, as Turkey has appealed to arms, Europe must now await the issue of the conflict.

The statement is inaccurate.

The Turks undertook no offensive operations when the armistice expired, but were obliged to attempt to revictual Nichsich, which had not been done according to the agreement.

In this they were opposed by the insurgents, who had been organizing preparations for resistance during the armistice.

I may add, confidentially, that General Ignatiew fully admits that the Turks could not have acted otherwise, and that Prince Gortchakow must have spoken in ignorance of the state of things.

No. 635.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 23.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 23, 1876, 1·20 P.M.

ACCORDING to the explanations received by General Ignatiew from the Prince of Montenegro, General Rodich was alone responsible for provisions not having been taken to Nichsich during the armistice.

General Rodich insisted that supplies should be sent, not from Turkish, but from Austrian, territory in the Gulf of Cattaro.

He afterwards alleged that he could not find means of transport; but neither the Prince nor the Turks were responsible for this.

Prince had suggested the supplies being sent by the Turks through Podgoritza, but General Rodich objected.

No. 636.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 23.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 23, 1876, 1·30 P.M.

GENERAL IGNATIEW tells me that the Prince of Montenegro positively denies that Montenegrins took part in the late fights, and he invites an European investigation of the truth of the charge against him.

Minister of War, on the other hand, declares that it was the father-in-law of the Prince who commanded the insurgents.

No. 636*.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 24.)

(No. 11. Political.)

My Lord, *Bosna Serai, April* 14, 1876.

WITH reference to my despatch, Political, No. 10 of the 7th instant, and its inclosure, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that, up to the present moment, but little has been done to check the progress of the revolt in the Sandjak of Bihach. On the 6th, a body of about 1,500 Bashi-Bazouks were repulsed by the insurgents, but on the following day, the former, being joined by three battalions of regular troops, renewed the attack, and forced the insurgents to withdraw from the neighbourhood of Majdan.

Notwithstanding this, however, the area of the revolt seems rather to have enlarged, and bands of insurgents are reported to have been seen within twelve miles of Jaitza. The Ferik Ali Pasha has been sent from the Herzegovina to take command in the north.

A few days ago also a band of armed men crossed the Save at Kobash, but, being attacked by the troops, are said to have dispersed in the hills. Nothing more has been heard of the band that passed at Shamatz, but it is believed that the greater part re-crossed the Save into Austria.

Haidar Effendi informs me that, in consequence of representations made by the local authorities as to the continued entry into Bosnia of armed bands from Austria, the Ottoman Ambassador at Vienna has communicated to him the assurance of Count Andrassy that, in future, stricter measures shall be taken to guard the frontier.

It was reported here some days ago that the Turkish troops had again violated the Austrian frontier near Novi, but it appears that the true facts of the case are these. A number of fugitives being pursued by the troops, endeavoured to cross the Unna into Austria. The Turks fired at them while crossing, and even after they had landed on Austrian territory. The officer in command of a detachment of Austrian troops on the frontier summoned the Turks three times to cease firing, but no attention being paid to his summons, he commanded his men to fire, and three Turkish soldiers were killed and several wounded. I believe this happened on the 30th ultimo.

The state of the administration here continues to be as unsatisfactory as ever. No doubt the position of Haidar Effendi is an exceedingly difficult one. Being subordinate to the Governor-General, he cannot take the initiative in any matter, and all he seems to do is to act the part of Councillor to his Excellency. The local Medjlisses have been re-elected, exactly as in former years, and without any regard to the interests and wishes of the people in general. The "Bedel-i-askerieh," or tax in lieu of military service, is being exacted as heretofore, and payment of the "Aghnam," or tax on sheep, which should only be required in the month of June, is being demanded now. The state of the Treasury is so low that even the civil employés no longer receive their salaries, and the army contractors have such large sums to receive that they refuse to deliver any further supplies. The general impression here appears to be that matters cannot much longer go on as at present, and a painful distrust of the future is evident amongst all classes.

To add to the misery and discontent already prevailing, a very extensive conflagration occurred in the Turkish quarter of this town yesterday. A gale was blowing from the south at the time, which carried the sparks far and wide, and in a short time the town was burning at five or six different points. Every effort to stop the progress of the flames was unavailing, and it was only towards night, when the wind dropped, that the fire could be got under. The extent of the damage caused is not yet known, but it is believed that more than 120 houses in different parts of the town have been burnt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 637.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 23, at night.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April 23, 1876, 9·30 P.M.*

I HAVE communicated to Count Andrassy the telegram from Constantinople of Friday, relative to assistance from Montenegro to the insurrection, and his Excellency denied entirely the truth of the Turkish reports as to any breach of neutrality by Montenegro.

As there was no ground, therefore, for a declaration of war, he had informed the Turkish Government that if they embarked in a war of aggression, Klek would be closed; whereas, as long as their military operations were defensive as hitherto, Austria would continue her efforts to effect a pacification of the provinces on the basis already agreed to at the Porte.

With respect to late Russian proceedings, he says that Prince Gortchakow had spoken to the Turkish Ambassador as reported; but on reflecting, had abstained from making representations through General Ignatiew, and an understanding was now re-established between the two Governments to promote a pacification on the basis of the Austrian despatch of December.

The insurgents will be told to communicate directly with the Turkish authorities, and their claims will be supported as far as they come within the provisions of the despatch. His Excellency considers that, to succeed, the agreement with the Porte must be strictly maintained without any deviation to one side or the other.

He said that Count Beust reports your Lordship to think territorial concessions to Montenegro might be impending, but his Excellency maintains that any such concession would raise a host of claims for similar advantages.

No. 638.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 146.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 14, 1876.*

AT an interview I had yesterday with Prince Gortchakow, his Highness informed me, in reply to my inquiry, that he had declined to accede to the proposal of Count Andrassy to make a joint representation to the Prince of Montenegro, urging him to insist on the acceptance by the insurgent chiefs of the terms offered to them.

Prince Gortchakow stated that he was of opinion that the counter-proposals of the insurgent chiefs should not have been so summarily rejected. He observed that the fact of the counter-proposals being made was a proof that the insurgents, under certain conditions, were ready to lay down their arms.

He further observed that there was nothing in the counter-proposals of the insurgent chiefs which was in opposition to the spirit of Count Andrassy's proposals.

They neither asked to be freed from the direct rule of the Sultan, nor did their counter-proposals aim at any territorial dismemberment of the Empire. The maintenance of the six garrisons in the Herzegovina and Bosnia was a proof that they projected no dismemberment of the Empire. Their object alone was to obtain some guarantee for the execution of the proposals accepted by the Porte.

His Highness stated that he regretted that the counter-proposals of the insurgents had not been taken into consideration, as they might, in his opinion, form the basis of an understanding. He seemed also put out that Count Andrassy should have taken such decided action without previous communication with St. Petersburgh.

From what Prince Gortchakow said, I am led to believe that he has taken steps to induce Count Andrassy to modify his opinions, with a view to a renewal of the negotiations with the insurgent chiefs. At the same time, I could perceive, from the language of the Chancellor, that he was most anxious to maintain a perfect understanding and cooperation with Austria, and to prevent anything which could lead to a divergence of opinion between the two Cabinets in regard to Eastern affairs.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

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* Repeated to Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Rome, and Constantinople.

No. 639.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 212. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, April 16, 1876.*

ON the receipt of your Lordship's telegram of the 12th instant, informing me that the Turkish Commander-in-chief in the Herzegovina had recommended the Porte to assent to his immediately resuming hostilities, I addressed a letter to Count Andrassy, of which I inclose a copy, stating that I presumed he had received similar intelligence. My letter was, however, only delivered to him on the following morning, and he returned the answer, a copy of which is also inclosed herewith, stating that, as he had seen no one for two days, which meant that his time had been entirely occupied in the Conferences between the Austrian and Hungarian Ministers, he was unaware of Moukhtar Pasha's intention to resume active operations. His Excellency, however, at the same time expressed a hope that, if Her Majesty's Government would recommend at Constantinople a prolongation of the existing armistice, and if Count Zichy received instructions to the same effect, a good result might be expected, as he by no means despaired of effecting a satisfactory arrangement.

Having immediately communicated this suggestion to your Lordship by telegraph, I was able in the evening to acquaint Baron Hofmann, who dined at the Embassy, that your Lordship had complied with it, and had instructed Sir Henry Elliot to join Count Zichy in carrying it out.

On the 15th instant I called at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Baron Hofmann told me that there was every reason to hope that the prolongation of the armistice would be effected, as the Prince of Montenegro was exerting his influence with the insurgents in favour of it. I communicated this information to your Lordship by telegraph, and I was greatly surprised the same evening by receiving your Lordship's telegram stating that Count Zichy had received no instructions on the subject, and that he and Sir Henry Elliot were of opinion that they would incur a very serious responsibility by advocating the proposed measure, in consequence of Nichsich not having been provisioned during the armistice about to expire, and having only provisions for a few days.

I therefore addressed the letter, of which a copy is inclosed, to Count Andrassy, communicating to him the substance of your Lordship's telegram; and his Excellency having sent me no answer, I wrote a further letter to him, of which a copy is inclosed, asking for an interview, in order that I might receive some explanations on the subject, as it was right, under the circumstances, that your Lordship should know why Count Zichy had not been instructed, as his Excellency had informed me he would be.

He sent me a few words in reply, stating that if I would call upon him to-morrow "he would explain the enigma." I met him, however, accidentally to-day, when he informed me that, after writing to me on the 13th instant, he had received a communication from the Porte, complaining that the Prince of Montenegro had not fulfilled his promise to facilitate the revictualling of Nichsich during the suspension of hostilities, which had been agreed to by the Turkish Commander-in-chief, on that express condition, and he said that he felt, until he could receive explanations on this point from Cettigné, he could not properly propose at Constantinople a prolongation of the armistice. He had, therefore, put himself in communication with Prince Nicolas, who had declined any responsibility for the failure of the Turks to provision Nichsich, as the road had been open to them, and if the fort had not been provisioned, it was entirely owing to their own imbecility and their defective arrangements.

His Highness had, however, accompanied these explanations with an assurance that the insurgents were ready to agree to a renewal of the suspension of hostilities, for twenty days, and that, if the Porte accepted this proposal, arrangements would be made by which they would find an open road through Grahova to forward supplies to Nichsich.

Count Zichy was therefore instructed yesterday to communicate Prince Nicolas' statement to Raschid Pasha, and to recommend the continuance of the armistice, declaring, however, at the same time, that the Austro-Hungarian Government could accept no responsibility for the provisioning of Nichsich.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 639.

Sir A. Buchanan to Count Andrassy.

(Private.)
Dear Count Andrassy, *Vienna, April 12, 1876.*

I PRESUME you have been already informed that Moukhtar Pasha recommends the immediate resumption of hostilities, as he says the insurgents have shown no disposition to accept the conditions of pacification offered to them.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 639.

Count Andrassy to Sir A. Buchanan.

Dear Sir Andrew, *Vienne, le 13 Avril, 1876.*

N'AYANT vu personne depuis deux jours je ne savais pas que Moukhtar Pasha avait l'intention de recommencer les hostilités. Il me semble, quoique je ne suis pas du tout content de la réponse des insurgés, qu'ils n'ont pas absolument refusé les conditions de la pacification. Il serait donc utile de prolonger la cessation des hostilités ne serait-ce que tacitement. Je crois que si le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine voulait agir dans ce sens à Constantinople, Zichy recevrait les mêmes instructions; cela pourrait avoir des bons résultats, car je ne désespère encore nullement.

Tout à vous,
(Signé) ANDRASSY.

Inclosure 3 in No. 639.

Sir A. Buchanan to Count Andrassy.

Dear Count Andrassy, *Vienna, April 15, 1876.*

IN compliance with your suggestion, Sir Henry Elliot was instructed, as I informed Baron Hofmann on Saturday evening, to join Count Zichy in recommending a prolongation of the suspension of hostilities; but a telegram, received from Sir Henry to-day, states that no instructions to do so had reached his Austrian colleague, and that they both consider that they would assume a very serious responsibility in advocating such a measure.

He reminds Lord Derby that the Porte agreed to the first suspension, on the Prince of Montenegro undertaking to revictual Nichsich, which has not been done. The fortress, consequently, having only provisions for a very few days, it is with a view to throwing in supplies that Moukhtar Pasha has urged the necessity of immediately resuming operations; and Sir H. Elliot is of opinion that, even under present circumstances, the Porte will consider the Governments who urged the first suspension, responsible for the disaster, if the fort is obliged to capitulate.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure 4 in No. 639.

Sir A. Buchanan to Count Andrassy.

Dear Count Andrassy, *Vienna, April 16, 1876.*

AS Lord Derby will expect me to explain why Count Zichy did not receive instructions to urge the Porte to prolong the suspension of hostilities, as I informed him on Thursday last would be the case, I should feel obliged by your receiving me either to-day or to-morrow, in order that you may enable me to acquaint Lord Derby why Sir Henry Elliot did not find his Austro-Hungarian colleague prepared to receive his offer to join him in recommending the proposed prolongation of the armistice.

As the Ambassadors at Constantinople doubt the expediency of interfering in the matter, Count Zichy having been without instructions may be unimportant; but, nevertheless, it is right that Lord Derby should know why instructions were not sent to him.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 640.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 213.)

My Lord, *Vienna, April* 18, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a letter addressed to me from Pola by Major Gonne, the Military Attaché to this Embassy, when on his way to Ragusa with a cypher for Mr. Monson.

As I have sanctioned Major Gonne's availing himself of his visit to Dalmatia to obtain any local information which he may acquire likely to interest Her Majesty's Government and the Duke of Cambridge, the inclosed statement of his opinions on the respective political interests of the Great Powers in the events now passing in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, appears to be intended as an introduction to the future reports which he may have occasion to address to me.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 640.

Major Gonne to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir, *Pola, April* 14, 1876.

ON the eve of visiting, with your permission, in an unofficial capacity, the Slavonic provinces under the dominion of Austria and the Ottoman Porte, I have the honour to submit my preconceived idea of the political bearing of affairs south of the Danube.

I imagine the great European Powers to be affected by a Slavonic insurrection in the following order—

I. Turkey.—In their effort to extinguish the sparks of revolt now kindling in Herzegovina and Bosnia the Turks may be said to struggle for political existence, not only because failure and loss of prestige is a sufficient proof of weakness to encourage all tributary provinces to the shaking off of an Ottoman yoke, but because with a bankrupt treasury an immediate loss of revenue will bring about a decisive crisis. Both the administrative and the executive servants of the Sultan will lose that hope of better times which the book of fate may possibly contain, and an outbreak of fanatical desperation will be the final historical record of a once great nation.

II. Austria.—The word "Panslavism," especially when uttered by Russian lips, is a standing threat to an Austro-Hungarian ruler. As one race plays out its part in history another becomes dominant, and Austria cannot but look with dread at the possibility of other provinces being associated with Servia in the formation of a Slave nation. No such country could thrive without a seaboard on the Adriatic, and therefore the inland frontier line marking Dalmatia would sooner or later lead to a struggle in which the race fighting for power would meet with more than sympathy in the ranks of the opposing Austrian army.

Moreover the financial question touches Austria nearly—by holding the Dalmatian ports on the Adriatic she now monopolises all neighbouring trade.

And last but not least comes the question of maritime power. The natural advantages of Sebenico as a dock and harbour vie with those of Pola. It is possible that this position, although reported on by a Commission in the highest terms, has not been fortified from the dread that money spent on a Dalmatian naval station might one day prove a bad investment of Imperial treasure. (It is probably within your Excellency's knowledge that more favour has been accorded for a scheme to increase the accommodation for a fleet at Pola by blocking the Straits of Fasana).

Thus far I have mentioned Powers anxious that things shall remain *in statu quo*, and under this head falls England. However, I place

III. Russia, as more nearly interested.

In comparing Russia with Austro-Hungary one finds the former rejoicing in the strength of unity under despotic will. The latter miserably weak from mixed nationalities, a divided Government, and conflicting interests. As time passes on Russia becomes a more perfect unit, she is at this moment banishing the German language and influences from her Baltic provinces. On the contrary, one sees no progress towards union in Austria. The difference in language insisted on in Hungarian schools, the difference in stamps for postage, &c., and the desired difference in taxation amply prove a dual nature in the Kaiser's Government. The regiments of the army speak the different languages of the districts in

which they are recruited, and it is hardly too much to say that loyalty to the House of Hapsburg and a sentimental feeling in favour of the existing conscientious hard working Emperor are the chief cohesive elements in a seeming mighty Empire.

The number of Slaves in Europe is estimated by modern writers at 80,000,000. The Austrian territory beyond the Save and the Drave is, however, alone called Slavonia, and of course contains but a fraction of this startling total, the bulk have mixed with other races, and they preponderate as pervert Moslems or Christians in the Danubian provinces.

The Czar is notoriously averse to war—still a most costly expedition against most warlike nations has lately been permitted. The cost of this and of peaceful progress, including the education of the recently emancipated mass of population and the improvement of means of communication, added to the expense of a national armament, which is common to the whole of Europe, has exhausted the Imperial purse; hence it happens that the existing Russian policy has been to join the German Emperors in an effort to circumscribe the focus of the insurrection, and thus aid the Sultan to restore order by force of arms.

The important question is, What can be the real object of the Czar's advisers? Russian sympathies are historical and unchanged. She neither loves the Turk nor the Austrian, while she interests herself greatly in the destiny of the Slav. The actual result of the alliance between the three Emperors works in the direction of what must be considered Muscovite desire.

The Turk seems incapable of a continuous effort. The soldiers of an unpaid mal-administered army are likely to be without heart in a war which offers no immediate result. Yet the success of Turkey will alone enable Austria to escape from a most awkward situation. If she (Austria) coerces the Slav by force of arms not only does she perform the unpopular act of assisting a moribund infidel against a Christian, but that Christian is a Slav. If the Slav race conquer the moment may arrive when Russia will object to an obstacle being thrown in the way of a Slav Confederation.

Then, apart from the Slav question, the policy which Russia has consented to follow will, in point of fact, have hurried on the national death of Turkey.

IV. England.—I imagine England to require peace with a balance of power.

V. Prussia.—Whose interest extends over the German-speaking races, and who would doubtless view with jealousy any increase of the vast power of her neighbour Russia either by land or sea.

To sum up. I shall not expect to find any preparation on the Austrian frontier for the occupation of revolted provinces. And as regards the belligerents, I can form no idea of their relative strength. With the odds more against them the Turks have gained the day on former occasions on the self-same battle ground. The immediate question at issue seems to be what is the *morale* of the Turkish army.

My hope is to put your Excellency in possession of military facts, and if possible depict the feelings of the classes I come in contact with during my travels.

I have, &c.

(Signed) M. S. GONNE, *Major, 17th Lancers, Military Attaché.*

No. 641.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 26.)

(No. 214.)

My Lord, *Vienna, April* 19, 1876.

WITH reference to the angry comments made in the Russian press on the language derogatory to Russia alleged to have been held by General Rodich in his conference with the insurgent chiefs near Castel Nuovo, I have been informed that he merely warned the insurgents against despising the military power of Turkey, as Turkish troops had beaten those of Russia during the war in the Crimea.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 642.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 26.)

(No. 215. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Vienna, April 20, 1876.*

WITH reference to Sir Henry Elliot's telegraphic despatches of the 17th instant, of which I received copies on the 19th, I have already informed your Lordship that until Prince Gortchakow declined adopting Count Andrassy's views, his Excellency looked upon an acceptance of the proposals of the insurgents as a basis of negotiation much in the same manner as the Porte have done; but it is said that M. Wassilitsky, who has arrived here, is to proceed to Constantinople, in the hope that the Turkish Government will be disposed to treat directly with him on those points of the insurgent demands in which it is alleged that an arrangement might be effected without going beyond the principles of the reforms promised by the Sultan, and the suggestions in Count Andrassy's despatch of December last.

M. Wassilitsky, however, is not looked on very favourably here, as he is said to have ambitious views of his own, and to look forward to being appointed the Governor or Prince of the Herzegovina, if that province is granted an independent administration.

The complaint of the Porte that the Prince of Montenegro did not act with good faith with a view to the fulfilment of his engagement for revictualling Nichsich during the late suspension of hostilities has apparently some foundation, and I understand that he excuses himself by saying that the Turkish authorities did not comply with his invitation to send horses from the fortress for the provisions which were ready to be forwarded to it, when he must have known that they had no horses to send.

His Highness is also suspected of a wish to obtain possession of the fortress himself, if it is obliged to capitulate, on the pretext of saving it from falling into the hands of the insurgents, but a few days will probably show how far this suspicion is well founded, as Moukhtar Pasha has failed in his attempt to revictual it.

That the Turkish Government have had to contend with bad faith on the part of Russian and Austrian Agents may be true, but the hopeless state into which their affairs in the insurgent provinces seems to be drifting, is principally to be attributed to the incapacity of their own officers, and to the insufficient military means which they have to suppress the insurrection.

I am assured, on good authority, that not more than 17,000 to 18,000 men have entered the Herzegovina by Klek, and that no troops whatever have arrived by the military road through Bosnia, while, if that province had not been left almost entirely without troops, the present rising there might have been prevented.

The Turkish authorities pretend now to have a corps of 30,000 men at Nisch, watching Servia, and another of 15,000 men at Widdin, but I am told that the former could not bring 15,000 men into the field, or the latter 7,000.

The military weakness thus shown by Turkey has produced great discouragement among her friends here, and doubts seem to be entertained as to the possibility of preventing the dissolution of the Empire, or at all events the anarchy which is likely to prevail in its European provinces, if she is unable to suppress the existing insurrection.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 643.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 216.)

My Lord, *Vienna, April 20, 1876.*

YOUR Lordship's attention has, doubtless, been called to a publication in the "Mémorial Diplomatique," a French newspaper, of despatches alleged to have been addressed by the Turkish Ambassador at Vienna, in 1870, to Ali Pashi, together with copies of a telegraphic correspondence said to have taken place at the same time between the Russian Mission here and the Consulate at Ragusa, on the affairs of Montenegro.

The despatches are, probably, authentic, but doubts are entertained as to the telegrams being equally so. However this may be, I understand that they are believed at the Austrian Ministry for Foreign Affairs to have been furnished to the Italian journal, in which they first appeared by a M. Klindworth, a well-known intriguer, who was employed by Count Beust, but dismissed by Count Andrassy on his being appointed to the Foreign Office.

If the intention of the publication was to injure Count Andrassy, it appears to have failed; but the statements in the alleged despatches, and the comments upon them in the "Neue Freie Presse," the journal which first published them at Vienna, produced a panic in the Exchange, which had a disastrous effect on the value of all Austrian securities, and of which the influence is still felt.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 644.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 219.)

My Lord, *Vienna, April 20, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship the accompanying translation by Mr. Milbanke, of an extract from the "Politische Correspondenz" respecting the state of the insurrection in Bosnia, and giving the latest news of the fighting between the Turkish troops and the insurgents on the 15th and 16th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 644.

Extract from the "Fremden Blatt."

(Translation.)

THE "Politische Correspondenz" gives the following news respecting the state of affairs in Bosnia, dated the Unna, April 17:—

"The Turkish Commander-in-chief has succeeded, with great difficulty, in concentrating a force of 6,000 men at Risowatz, and though the Turks give the higher figure of 9,000, their estimate is undoubtedly a wrong one. Besides, 4,000 of these are merely Redifs and Baschi-Bazouks, so that there is really only a force of 2,000 Nizams available. For it must be remembered that only these regular troops can be relied upon. For four days the Turks did not venture to attack the insurgent force of 5,000 men, who had fortified their camp with the most approved military science.

"Up to the evening of the 11th there were nothing but small skirmishes, which were, however, always attended with severe casualties. The insurgents themselves estimate their own losses at 280 men, besides a great number of wounded; and this is significant enough, as they usually reckon theirs at not more than twenty or thirty. And another very serious loss they sustained was in their leader Bejnovics, a brave and skilful commander, being dangerously wounded.

"Between the evening of the 11th and the morning of the 14th there was a cessation of hostilities, but without either side changing their positions. On the 14th the fighting was renewed, and is being carried on with great obstinacy. The object of the Turks was to force the insurgents to retreat—for fear that the insurrection should spread—to the interior of the vilayet.

"On the 14th the insurgents did not appear to be much favoured by the chances of war, in any case they kept back the usual announcement of victory; should they not succeed in the course of the next two or three days in driving the Turks back, they will be obliged to retire to Unac, where they will join the forces under Golub.

"Golub intends to attempt to surround Grahovo—a most important point for future operations, and which must be taken, cost what it may. A force of 700 Turks who attempted to frustrate Golub's intention with respect to Grahovo, were beaten and driven back by him to Klenec."

No. 645.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 221. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, April 20, 1876.*

HAVING met the Russian Ambassador to-day in Count Andrassy's anteroom, I inquired whether M. Wessilitsky had gone to Constantinople, and if not, whether he was likely to do so.

M. de Novikow professed to know nothing of his plans, and said that his mission ended with the advice which he was authorized to offer to the insurgents in favour of peace.

I replied that as he would be unable to go to Constantinople without a passport from the Russian Embassy, his Excellency might, at all events, be aware whether he had applied for one. To this he answered that M. Wessilitzky had certainly come to Vienna to see him, but had, he believed, not yet decided whether he would go to St. Petersburgh, or possibly to Constantinople, but that would be entirely a matter of his personal convenience.

The impression, therefore, made upon one of my colleagues who was present, and myself, was that the energy defeated its own object, with which M. Novikow maintained that this personage was both entirely independent of him, and could not, as a Russian subject, be charged with a mission from the insurgents to the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 646.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 222. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, April 20, 1876.*

AT an interview which I had with Count Andrassy to-day, I read to his Excellency the Memorandum, of which I inclose a copy, containing the substance of Sir Henry Elliot's telegrams of the 17th instant, respecting the impression caused at Constantinople by Prince Gortchakow's proposals to the Porte through Cabouli Pasha.

His Excellency said that he had received exactly the same information from Count Zichy, and that he had not yet sent him any observations upon it, as he did not understand why Prince Gortchakow had made the communication attributed to him, or how he proposed that the intentions which it intimated should be carried out. It did not appear, also, that General Ignatiew had received instructions on the subject, or that any official proposal had been made to the Porte.

He hoped, however, he said, to know more to-morrow, as the Russian Ambassador, who had just left him, had called to state that he had received a despatch from St. Petersburgh, with the contents of which he was still imperfectly acquainted, but that to-morrow he would be able to give him full explanations, with a view to coming to an understanding with him, as to the course which it would be expedient to adopt under present circumstances, for promoting the pacification of the Turkish Provinces.

Count Andrassy then observed that he did not believe this could be done by making new demands on the Porte; but, as the insurgents in their memorial to M. Wessilitsky had declared their readiness to return to their allegiance on the basis of the reforms promised by the Sultan, he thought means might be found for an arrangement being effected between them and the Turkish authorities, which would be satisfactory to both parties. In the meanwhile he had told M. Wessilitsky, who had called upon him, that some of the demands of the insurgents were impracticable, and could not possibly be granted; and M. Wessilitsky did not attempt to refute this opinion.

Time, however, would evidently be necessary for the Porte and the insurgents to come to an understanding; and he, therefore, greatly regretted that his proposal for the prolongation of the armistice had not been accepted, as Moukhtar Pasha, who thought that a signal victory over the insurgents was within his reach, had met with a serious defeat; and having only been able to convey provisions to Niehsich to within three leagues of the fort, news might daily be expected of its having capitulated.

A telegram, which Moukhtar Pasha on returning to Gusko had addressed to the Porte, having stated that the insurgents had been joined by 7,000 well-equipped Montenegrin troops, Count Andrassy said he did not believe this, as a telegram from General Rodich had explained the ease with which the Turkish corps, which had marched from Mostar, had passed through the Douga Pass, was to be attributed to the insurgent bands having been generally dispersed on the faith of the armistice, and it was not probable, therefore, that a large force of Montenegrins could have been within reach, to take part in the fighting of the 15th and 16th instant.

Moukhtar Pasha's telegram was, however, he said, only like all others from Turkish officers, which had preceded it; and, perhaps, the greatest difficulty in dealing with the question arises from no one at Constantinople, or in the provinces, daring to tell the Sultan the truth.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 646.

Memorandum.

HER Majesty's Government have been informed that the Porte has been advised through the Turkish Ambassador at St. Petersburgh to express its readiness to examine the counter proposals of the insurgents, in which case Prince Gortchakow would advise the Chiefs to open communications with the Turkish authorities. As the Porte, however, is of opinion that an assent to this suggestion would be sanctioning in some degree Russian intervention, Caboulí Pasha has been instructed to express the regret with which his Government have learnt that the Governments of Austria and of Russia, after having approved as sufficient the offers of the Porte, should now recommend it to examine new demands put forward by the insurgents, and of which the Porte has received no official communication.

The Turkish Government appear also to be surprised and pained at finding that the support of Austria and Russia, which had been promised if the Porte would follow a certain course, is to be withheld. They will pay, however, attention to any reasonable proposals which may be made to them directly by the insurgents, and meanwhile additional troops will be sent to the Herzegovina and to Scutari; the latter measure being adopted without any intention of attacking Montenegro, but with a view to being prepared for active hostility on the part of Prince Nicolas, in whose assurances recent events have proved that no reliance can be placed.

No. 647.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 223.)
My Lord, *Vienna, April 21, 1876.*

THE "Politische Correspondenz," a lithographed sheet, which has the credit of receiving information from official sources, estimates the strength of the insurgent bands in the Herzegovina at 4,500 men of whom 700 are armed with Snider, and 1,500 with Wanzel rifles, and the rest with a few breech-loaders on different systems, or with muzzle-loaders.

On the other hand it states that in the middle of last month, the Turkish force did not exceed 23,000 to 25,000 men, 17,000 of 40,000 who had been brought to the theatre of war having been killed in battle, or having died from sickness, cold, or hunger.

This force is composed of Nizams, Redif, and Bashi-Bazouks. The first, which forms its best element, are said, however, to have greatly deteriorated since 1862, and although, according to Turkish reports, 150,000 Henry-Martini rifles have been distributed to the army, not one has been seen in the Herzegovina.

With reference to Mr. Acting Consul Freeman's despatch No. 11, Political, of the 14th instant, which I forward to-day, the above-mentioned paper states that 6,000 Turks, who fought with great bravery, were unable to dislodge the insurgents from well-chosen and strongly entrenched positions, near Risorac in Bosnia, and that on the 15th instant, the insurgents succeeded in repulsing them, the Turks having retreated to Banialuka, and 1,800 of them having arrived at Novi.

In this affair the insurgents are reported to have taken several hundred muskets, and also ammunition, horses, and cattle, but their success is said to have been purchased dearly as they must have lost at least 550 men.

It is also stated, however, that there is reason to fear that the insurrection will spread to the heart of the Province, and that Banialuka will soon be threatened.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 648.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 224.)
My Lord, *Vienna, April 21, 1876.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 218 of yesterday's date, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that, in respect of the negotiations for a renewal of the Customs and Commercial Union with Hungary, a "communiqué" has appeared in the "Politische Correspondenz," stating that "the deliberations of both Governments have led to an agreement in many essential points. In other points, however, no arrangement could be effected; and that before a definitive decision can be obtained, the Hungarian Ministers have deemed it necessary to return to Buda Pesth, and come to an understanding with their supporters."

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 649.

Mr. Harriss-Gastrell to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, April 24.)

(No. 40. Confidential.)
Sir, *Buda-Pesth, April 19, 1876.*

THE apparent failure of Count Andrassy's note to produce the pacification of the Herzegovina is freely canvassed in political circles here. A part of the press supposes that his Excellency's policy veils another and different policy, but this is naturally held to be impossible, for Count Andrassy is a thoroughly honourable man and would not bring forward one policy when he had another in the background; and, moreover, his Excellency, as a Hungarian, is well known to be resolutely antagonistic to any annexation of Slavs.

I find, however, two opinions sometimes put forward to account for the present condition of the Eastern question. The one is that Russia has another policy in view, and has misled Austria-Hungary and the Minister for Foreign Affairs. But this, again, is held to be incredible, for, although Russia may have shown herself astute in Central Asia, it it not to be believed that she would employ in European politics a similar craft; and, on the other hand, it is not likely that Count Andrassy could have been thus led into his present position. The second opinion is that a strong party in favour of Slav annexation and hostile to Hungary exists in Austria and is able to countermine the best intentions of his Excellency, and in connection with this view the Court party is mentioned.

As great difficulty is found in reconciling the conduct of Generals Mollinary and Rodich with regard to Count Andrassy's policy, with the fact of that obedience to the Crown and Head of the army which military discipline enforces, the Archduke Albert is also mentioned, although His Imperial Highness has been usually considered quite free from Slavish proclivities. If any such a party exist and favours the annexation or military occupation of the neighbouring Turkish territory, its intentions will apparently be resolutely resisted by Hungary.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. P. HARRISS-GASTRELL.

No. 650.

Mr. Harriss-Gastrell to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, April 24.)

(No. 41. Confidential.)
Sir, *Buda-Pesth, April 19, 1876.*

WITH reference to my previous despatch No. 40 of to-day's date, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that, amongst Hungarians who are fond of discussing political

questions, the opinion seems to prevail that, in case of a permanent occupation of the Herzegovina and the neighbouring territory by Austria, it would not be possible to govern it as a Secundogeniture with or without the adjacent Austrian and Hungarian Slav lands, for it is not considered that any of the Archdukes who could be invested with such a dominion would consent to accept the position. It is held, therefore, that such a territory could only be governed as a military province by one of the Slav Generals, who are a power in the State.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. P. HARRISS-GASTRELL.

No. 651.

Mr. Harriss-Gastrell to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, April 24.)

(No. 42.)
Sir, *Buda-Pesth, April 19, 1876.*

WITH reference to my previous despatch No. 41 of to-day's date, I am told by intelligent Hungarians that such an increase of the Slav influence as a policy of annexation might cause, would have a disastrous effect upon the position of the Hungarian nation. The darkest view is that the Hungarians, encircled by Slavs in increasing masses, must, sooner or later—and sooner rather than later—disappear as a nation. In any case, if the 12,000,000 Slavs to the south of Hungary became more united, it could not fail to be most prejudicial to them and to the duration of the Empire. At present, however, those Slavs, although little separated by dialect, differ in creed, whilst the Croats, Serbs, and Montenegrins dispute with each other the right to govern the united South Slav nation.

The Hungarian policy towards Croatia is now a compromise, Hungary will not interfere with the Slavs within her limits on the south, provided Croatia does not interfere with the Hungarian elements within her limits, and in Slavonia the squires are Hungarians.

But it is said that this policy would have to be changed, in case of a political change in the Herzegovina and in Bosnia, and that Croatia would be granted a freer autonomy, whilst the Magyars should deal as best they could with the Slavs in their kingdom.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. P. HARRISS-GASTRELL.

No. 652.

Mr. Harriss-Gastrell to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, April 24.)

(No. 45.)
Sir, *Buda-Pesth, April 19, 1876.*

THE Turkish Consul-General has informed me that the bands which have entered Bosnia from the Austrian military frontier were organised in Servia, had then proceeded separately to a given point on the Austrian frontier, and crossed during the night.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. P. HARRISS-GASTRELL.

No. 653.

Mr. Strachey to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 21.)
My Lord, *Dresden, April 20, 1876.*

BARON VON FRIESEN takes a somewhat gloomy view of the Turkish question. Without undervaluing the personal dispositions of the Emperor Alexander, he cannot, he says, forget history, so as to believe that after persistence for a century and a half in the policy inaugurated by Peter the Great, Russia has suddenly become a convert to a new course. I should observe that the Baron receives copies of the more important German diplomatic reports, but that his views of European affairs seem to be formed less from despatches than from newspapers.

On the other hand, the Minister of Justice, who has just returned from Berlin, tells me that the chronic fears of the Stock Exchange do not extend to political circles.

According to Herr von Abeken, Prince Bismarck is using very different language from the insinuations of the "Norddeutsche Algemeine Zietung," declaring, namely, that under no circumstances shall Germany be dragged into an Eastern conflict. Herr von Abeken admits, however, that such assurances are worth little, and that if Prince Bismarck says "March!" Germany must and will comply, without remark or remonstrance.

In the present calamitous industrial depression, it is natural that the Germans should think no price whatever too great for the prolongation of peace. Constantinople is no more to them than Merv. They are absolutely indifferent to struggles in the Herzegovina or Bosnia. Caring for none of these things, they desire to have nothing to do with them. Although hating Russia after their fashion, they do not consider that it is Germany's mission to stop her advance to the Bosphorus, or that anything short of actual danger to Vienna need implicate this empire in the troubles of Eastern Europe.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. STRACHEY.

No. 654.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 24.)

(No. 143. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Rome, April* 20, 1876.

IN an interview which I had this morning with M. Melegari, his Excellency spoke to me, with serious uneasiness, respecting the turn things were taking in regard to the affairs of the Herzegovina. He said it was becoming more and more evident that Russia had completely thrown over the programme laid down in the despatch of Count Andrassy; that she was now almost openly supporting the insurrection, or, at all events, acting in such a manner as to encourage the insurgents not to accept the terms of pacification, which, in consequence of the advice given by the Powers, had been offered to them by the Porte. His Excellency, in support of what he said, read me two telegrams, both dated the 17th instant, which he had received, the one from St. Petersburgh, the other from Constantinople. In the first, Count Barbolani reports that Prince Gortchakow had told him that all hope of the armistice or of pacification in the Herzegovina had vanished; that the Porte had given orders to renew hostilities with vigour; and that it became, therefore, more than ever urgent that the Powers should warn the Turkish Government of the dangerous course they were pursuing.

From Constantinople Count Corti telegraphs that the Russian Ambassador had informed the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs that the Russian Government did not share the views of the Austrian Cabinet that the Porte should resist the demands put forward by the insurgents, but, on the contrary, was of opinion that they should be taken as a basis for negotiation, and strongly advised the Porte to treat directly with the insurgents. The telegram, after entering into further particulars respecting the Russian communication, went on to say that the Turkish Minister had replied that the Porte had complied with the advice which had been given by Russia and the other Powers as to the terms to be offered to the insurgents; that these Powers had promised to endeavour to induce the insurgents to accept these terms; and that the Porte could not treat with the insurgents upon any other basis.

Count Corti adds that the Russian communication had produced the most painful impression upon the Turkish Ministers, and that the Austrian Ambassador appeared to be much embarrassed by it.

I said that I was surprised to hear this latter announcement, as it appeared, from telegrams which had been repeated to be from Sir Henry Elliot, that the Turks were under the impression that Austria and Russia were acting together in trifling with them.

M. Melegari would not, however, admit the possibility of this; after having drawn up the programme by which the Herzegovina was to be pacified, after having obtained the agreement of the other Powers and the assent of the Porte to this programme, it was out of the question to suppose, M. Melegari contended, that Count Andrassy would lend himself to intrigues for setting aside his own work. In his (M. Melegari's) opinion, Austria was much more likely to be the victim than the abettor of Russian policy in the East. What would be most interesting to know would be the views of the Berlin Cabinet in the present juncture. If there was an understanding between Germany and Russia, he should consider it of the utmost gravity; in fact, he should be apprehensive lest it might have a scope far beyond the affairs of the East.

His Excellency said that he had endeavoured to gain some light upon this subject by instructing the Italian Ambassador at Berlin to inquire what was the course which the German Cabinet intended to take under present circumstances, but he had not yet received any answer.

As far as the Italian Government was concerned, M. Melegari said all they desired was a cessation of hostilities and the maintenance of peace; but he could not see how the Powers, who had urged the Austrian programme on the acceptance of the Porte, could now turn round, after the Porte had shown every disposition to carry it into effect, and recommend something entirely different. He believed, he said, that the interests and policy of Her Majesty's Government and of the Italian Government were identical; that both desired the maintenance of existing territorial arrangements in the East, and the preservation of general peace in Europe. He should, therefore, be very glad to be informed of the opinion of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the new phase of the Herzegovina question, with the view to the two Governments acting in concert respecting it; and his Excellency begged me to communicate with your Lordship on this subject, and to acquaint him with the answer I might receive.

M. Melegari added that to the Turkish Minister who had called on him lately to draw his attention, by order of his Government, to the conduct of the Prince of Montenegro in allowing armed bands to issue from his territory in support of the insurrection, he had endeavoured to show that, in the state of the ferment prevailing in Montenegro, these inroads might possibly be taking place without the sanction of the Prince. He had, with a view of calming irritation, pointed out to the Turkish Minister, by referring to events which had occurred in Italy in former days, that when a country was in a state of revolution, it was often beyond the power of a Government to control the national impulse; but as it appeared from the latest public telegrams from Constantinople that, in a recent encounter between the insurgents and the Turkish troops, the former had been supported by a corps of 7,000 (the number might possibly be exaggerated) disciplined and well-equipped troops from Montenegro, it was no longer possible to acquit Prince Nicholas of having sanctioned the movement, and it was difficult to believe that he would have acted without the acquiescence of Russia.

M. Melegari informed me it was his intention to communicate also with the French Government on these matters.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 655.

*Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received April* 24.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April* 24, 1876, 1·15 P.M.

I HEAR by telegraph from Mr. Monson that Major Gome, who has proceeded on his own responsibility from Ragusa to Cettigné, entirely confirms, from personal observation and inquiry at Cettigné, Mr. Monson's despatches as to extent to which the insurrection is directed by Russian officers, and war virtually made by Montenegro; and also as to absolute submission of Prince to the guidance of the Russian Consul-General at Ragusa.

No. 656.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 24.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April* 24, 1876, 6·45 P.M.

A COMMUNICATION received to-day from the Prince of Montenegro gives Count Andrassy reason to hope that an arrangement may yet be made for revictualling Nichsich and renewing the armistice. His Excellency says, with reference to the Prince being under the guidance of the Russian Consul-General at Ragusa, that His Highness knows he cannot receive even a pistol from abroad without the permission of Austria.

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* Repeated to Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.

No. 657.

Musurus Pasha to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 24.)

My Lord, *Ambassade Impériale Ottomane, Londres, le 24 Avril*, 1876.

J'AI l'honneur de communiquer à votre Excellence la copie ci-jointe d'une dépêche télégraphique que je viens de recevoir de Son Excellence Rachid Pacha au sujet de la prétendue décision de la Sublime Porte de déclarer la guerre au Monténégro.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) MUSURUS.

Inclosure in No. 657.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 23 Avril*, 1876.

UN télégramme que nous venons de recevoir de Cabouli Pasha nous informe que le Prince Gortchakow ayant convoqué, au nom de l'Empereur, les Représentants des Grandes Puissances, leur a dit qu'à la suite d'un Conseil des Ministres, la Sublime Porte avait décidé de déclarer la guerre au Monténégro ; que la Russie seule ne pourrait conjurer un débordement général ; que la Sublime Porte, en prenant cette décision, aurait mis elle-même l'étincelle à la poudre ; qu'il craignait que la révolte ne se propageât aux autres parties de la Turquie ; que la Servie, la Grèce même ne fissent cause commune avec leur co-religionnaires, et qu'il proposait aux Grandes Puissances de s'unir à la Russie et de faire des démarches promptes et identiques pour faire revenir la Sublime Porte sur sa décision. Cabouli Pasha ajoute qu'en même temps le Prince Gortchakow a fait entendre à ces mêmes Représentants que la Russie ne consentirait pas à ce que le Monténégro soit attaqué. Tous les Représentants ont répondu que leurs Gouvernements prêteront leur concours à l'Empereur pour dissuader la Sublime Porte et maintenir le *statu quo* actuel de l'Europe et la paix générale.

Ainsi que je l'ai télégraphié à Cabouli Pasha, il est complètement inexact que la Sublime Porte a pris la détermination d'attaquer le Monténégro. Un bruit analogue ayant été répandu ici dans le public, nous nous sommes empressés d'informer de l'état réel des choses les Représentants des Grandes Puissances qui ont été complètement rassurés. En effet, Moukhtar Pacha ayant, dans sa marche pour ravitailler Nichsich, rencontré un corps de Monténégrins, le Gouvernement Impérial a dû, comme une mesure de précaution pour l'avenir, décider de réunir quelques troupes à Scutari d'Albani.

En dehors de cela, nous n'avons même pas délibéré jusqu'à présent sur une action quelconque dépassant cette mesure.

Veuillez communiquer d'urgence ce qui précède au Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, en ajoutant qu'il suffira aux Puissances, dont nous connaissons le sincère désir de contribuer à la pacification, d'empêcher strictement toute participation à l'insurrection de la part des Monténégrins pour qu'il n'y ait évidemment lieu à aucune mesure militaire de la part de la Sublime Porte.

No. 658.

Memorandum by Lord Tenterden.

THE Russian Chargé d'Affaires called and said that he was instructed by a telegram (received as I understood on Saturday), to ask Her Majesty's Government whether they would join Russia and the other Powers in advising the Porte to abstain from the attack on Montenegro which was believed to be contemplated.

I said that a telegram had been received from our Embassy at St. Petersburgh, reporting that Prince Gortchakow had convened a meeting of the Ambassadors, and had put a similar question to them, but that since then reports had been received here showing that any intention of attacking Montenegro, if ever it had been entertained, had been abandoned. Under these circumstances Her Majesty's Government had not taken any steps in the matter.

Various contradictory reports were, as he must know, constantly in circulation with regard to these affairs.

He remarked that the fact of any such report having arisen shewed the gravity of the situation, and that it was better to stop anything which was unadvisable at the outset.

Count Schouvaloff was expected to night, but he had thought it better not to lose more time in making this communication.

I told him that I would repeat to you exactly what he had said.

April 24, 1876.

No. 659.

Lord Tenterden to M. Barthelomei.

Dear M. Barthelomai, *Foreign Office, April* 24, 1876.

WITH reference to our interview of to-day Lord Derby requests me to inform you that a telegram was received on Saturday the 22nd, from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, reporting that he had received a positive assurance from the Minister of War that there is no intention to attack Montenegro.

Lord Derby understands that similar intelligence has also been received from the French Embassy by the French Government, and since my seeing you this afternoon the Turkish Ambassador has communicated a telegram from the Porte denying that any attack on Montenegro has been contemplated or anything even discussed at the Porte, beyond the assembling of some troops at Scutori in Albania.

Under these circumstances he presumes that the joint representations proposed by your Government will not be necessary.

Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople has been already made acquainted by telegraph of the meeting of Ambassadors convened by Prince Gortchakow at St. Petersburgh on the 22nd instant, and will now be told of the proposal having been repeated by yourself, and of Lord Derby having answered that under the circumstances the joint action of the Foreign Ambassadors at Constantinople did not seem to be called for.

Lord Derby at the same time desires me to thank you for the friendly communication of the views of your Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) TENTERDEN.

No. 660.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April* 24, 1876, 6·30 P.M.

HER Majesty's Government approve the language you held to the Grand Vizier, as reported in your Excellency's telegram of the 20th instant.

No. 661.

*The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.**

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April* 24, 1876, 11 P.M.

RUSSIAN Chargé d'Affaires has repeated to me proposal reported in Lord A. Loftus' telegram of April 22, to remonstrate with the Porte respecting contemplated attack on Montenegro.

I have informed him of positive assurance reported in your telegram of 22nd, that there is no intention to attack Montenegro, and said that, under these circumstances, Her Majesty's Government presume that the joint action of the Representatives at Constantinople is not called for.

No. 662.

*The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.**

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April* 24, 1876, 11·30 P.M.

WITH reference to my telegram of to-day, Musurus Pasha has communicated a telegram from the Porte denying intended attack on Montenegro, and saying

* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburgh.

that nothing beyond assembling some troops at Scutari had been even discussed at the Porte.

No. 663.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 25.)

(No. 23. Political.)

My Lord, *Ragusa, April 17, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation of the account given in the "Montenegrin Journal" of the 13th instant, of the meeting between General Rodich and the insurgent chiefs at Suttorina.

There is little doubt but that this account was drawn up at the Russian Consulate here after M. Yonine's interview with Baron Rodich, reported in my despatch No. 18 of the 8th instant; and this causes the reference to Russia, alleged to have been made by his Excellency, to be doubly curious.

The stress laid upon the persistence of the insurgents in their decision to parley only with Baron Rodich, as well as the details given of his Excellency's reception by them, have also a significance of their own.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure in No. 663.

Extract from the "Montenegrin Journal" of 13th April, 1876.

(Translation.)

RESPECTING the meeting between the insurgent chiefs and General Rodich, lately held at Suttorina, we have received the following account:—

As soon as the insurgent chiefs arrived at Suttorina on the 26th March General Rodich sent to them the Vice-Consuls of Austria at Trebigné, Vercevic, and Lazarevic, bearing with them the Andrassy Reforms. These gentlemen went to the Insurgents and said that they came in the name of Rodich, and by his orders to read to them the aforesaid Reforms. Lazara Socica replied that the Chiefs had been invited to the meeting by General Rodich alone, who desired to hold personal converse with them, and that on this understanding they had come to the meeting, and did not wish to listen to anyone but him. Both of the Envoys assented to this answer, and went to Rodich to tell him what they had heard from the Chiefs.

In pursuance of this General Rodich at once went to Suttorina; the Chiefs awaited him in solemnity; Socica sent two of his followers to meet him. General Rodich shook hands with each and saluted; then, as soon as they had seated themselves, the General spoke: he explained the Andrassy Reforms, and took care to minimize the hopes that the Insurgents might have from Russia and Montenegro. The sense of his speech was this: "Montenegro is not in a position to help, and as for Russia, you know that twenty years ago, when she made war against Turkey she was beaten, so that, except from Austria, you have no hope, and if you do not listen to Austria, the blood hitherto shed will have been shed in vain." The Chiefs replied to General Rodich "that they had understood every thing; to-day they must discuss among themselves, and to-morrow would give a reply; and if their reply were to be a moderate one, it would be owing to their love of Austria." General Rodich, satisfied with this, returned to Castelnuovo. The Chiefs accompanied him to the frontier. The next day, at the appointed hour, the Chiefs sent four commanders to General Rodich, as far as the frontier, to accompany him to the meeting place. The discussion began again. The Chiefs pictured in vivid colours the condition of the Herzegovina and their own wishes, finally they consigned to General Rodich a document containing their aspirations. (*Here follows an analysis of the six points demanded.*) This reply was signed by thirty chiefs. General Rodich received it, and having read it replied, "that he could say nothing to their demands, only that in the quickest way he would refer them to the Emperor, who was profoundly interested in their welfare; and as you do not choose to lay down your arms and return to your homes, you know what you are about; but no one will help you as long as you remain in arms." Thus ended the parley. All the Chiefs accompanied the General, and with mutual salutes they separated. General Rodich returned to Castelnuovo, the Chiefs remained at Suttorina till the morrow, and then returned to the Army.

This is in effect what we have received respecting this most important meeting. In an early number we shall speak of the Andrassy Reforms and of the Insurgent demands, and we shall show how, whether it is wished or not, it is necessary that the wishes of the Insurgents be granted if peace is desired, and this meeting is to have a beneficial result for the nation.

No. 664.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 25.)

(No. 24. Political.)

My Lord, *Ragusa, April 18, 1876.*

TELEGRAMS received late last night from Cettigné announce four days' fighting between Mouktar Pasha and the Insurgents in the Duga Pass. The fighting is stated to have begun on the 13th instant, to have been renewed on the 14th, and always with considerable loss to the Turks. On Saturday the 15th a sortie is said to have been made from Nichsich, which was repulsed by the Insurgents, and the Turks driven back into the town. Mouktar Pasha was still engaged with the Insurgents at the date of the last telegram, which declares that the Pasha is shut in, and that if the Insurgents had only powder and provisions, the Turkish forces would be altogether lost.

Mouktar Pasha's army is estimated by the Turks at 10,000, by the Slavs at 15,000 men. The Insurgents cannot certainly exceed 4,000 in number, but the Duga Pass which they occupy presents natural obstacles almost insurmountable.

Four battalions have returned to Trebigné; and the insurgent bands have disappeared from this neighbourhood, having been probably summoned to the Duga.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 666.

Memorandum communicated by Count Beust, April 25.

SUR une démarche faite à Constantinople j'en reçois la communication télégraphique que la Porte a abandonné l'idée d'attaquer le Monténégro. Elle a en même temps exprimé le désir que, dans le cas éventuel d'une suspension d'hostilités le Prince de Monténégro garantisse l'approvisionnement de Nichsich. Ce dernier s'est déclaré prêt à le faire et a fait savoir en même temps que les insurgents consentiraient, sous certaines conditions non encore précisées définitivement, à une nouvelle suspension d'armes. Comme Mouktar Pacha devait ouvrir demain sa marche contre Nichsich, pour le cas que le Monténégro ne se serait pas rendu au désir de la Porte, nous avons communiqué le télégramme du Prince de Monténégro à Constantinople. Nous espérons que la suspension d'armes aura lieu, et aboutira à des négociations entre la Porte et les insurgés. Faites en part au Cabinet de Londres.

No. 666.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 25.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 24, 1876.*

PORTE has requested the Austrian and Russian Ambassadors to inform their Governments that if the Prince of Montenegro will (consent to?) the revictualling of Nichsich from Scutari, the Turkish troops will abstain from endeavouring to force their way to the fortress. If this proposal is refused, it will be looked upon as a proof that the Prince was not sincere in the former agreement.

No operations will be undertaken by the troops before Wednesday, by which time it is hoped that a favourable answer from the Prince may be received.

No. 667.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 25.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April 24, 1876.*

THE Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs informed me to-day that satisfactory intelligence has been received from Constantinople. Sultan desists from the intention to attack Montenegro, and is pacific.

The Emperor is much gratified by the counsel given to the Porte by Sir H. Elliot, and by the energetic language of the Austrian Ambassador. It is hoped that the fortress of Nichsich will be provisioned, and negotiations resumed.

No. 668.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 25, 3:35 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April 25, 1876.*

"JOURNAL de St. Pétersbourg" of to-day contains official article to calm public opinion. It states that agreement of Great Powers for pacification of East has been confirmed again on occasion of reported decision of Porte to invade Montenegro. Imperial Cabinet immediately invited five Great Powers to instruct their Representatives to dissuade Porte from all aggression. Germany, France, Austria, and Italy have responded affirmatively. Cabinet of London has not yet replied, but doubtless will join to prevent serious crisis.

News from Constantinople more satisfactory. Sultan has charged Minister for Foreign Affairs to disavow formally all aggressive measures against Montenegro, and to give assurance that military measures at Scutari are purely defensive.

No. 669.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 26.)

(No. 11.)

My Lord, *Scutari, April 15, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to report that information has reached me that a body of Insurgents has burnt the Moslem village of Gratchenitza, in the district of Braui, where the insurrection in the Herzegovina first broke out, but where it had been believed the Turks had regained the mastery.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 670.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 26.)

(No. 154.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 20, 1876.*

I HAD an interview with Prince Gortchakow this day, and we had some conversation on eastern affairs.

His Highness considered that the negotiations hitherto carried on through Baron Rodich are exhausted; that the Porte, by the action of Moukhtar Pasha, had appealed to arms; and that the European Powers had only now to await the decision of the conflict.

Prince Gortchakow said, "la parole est aux canons, et il faut attendre une dizaine de jours pour savoir l'issue du combat."

I found Prince Gortchakow anxious to maintain the existing concert of the European Powers, and to avoid any complications which might produce discord among them. He stated very frankly to me that Russia had no interested policy; that she coveted no extension of territory (adding that she had already too much, and that he had always opposed her extension in Central Asia). All that Russia aimed at was the maintenance of peace in Europe and the amelioration of the condition of the Christian population of Turkey.

I am happy to inform your Lordship that the difference of opinion which had sprung up with Austria on the subject of the counter proposals of the insurgents has entirely been removed, and that a perfect understanding has been restored between the Imperial Governments.

Count Andrassy has recognized the force and justice of the views of Prince Gortchakow, and has acceded to them.

The intelligence received here from the Herzegovina is very contradictory.

The Turkish Ambassador informs me that, according to an official telegram he has received, there can be no doubt that Moukhtar Pasha has fulfilled his mission of victualling Nichsich, whilst the private telegrams received from the seat of the insurrection report that he has failed in doing so, and has been obliged to retreat in the opposite direction.

I consider the failure to victual Nichsich, on whomsoever the blame falls, is a most regrettable incident, for had that fortress been provisioned, there would have been less difficulty in obtaining from either side a prolongation of the armistice, and time would thereby have been gained for negotiation, while at present the door of negotiation is closed, and the possibility of an arrangement mainly depends on the fate of war.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 671.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 26.)

(No. 156)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 22, 1876.*

I RECEIVED a note this morning from Prince Gortchakow requesting me to call on him at 12.

On my arrival at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs I found assembled there the French, German, Austrian, and Italian Ambassadors.

Prince Gortchakow then informed me that he had convened us by order of the Emperor; he stated that he had received a telegram last evening from General Ignatiew reporting that, after a Council of War at Constantinople on the 20th instant, the Porte had decided to attack Montenegro as soon as the requisite force could be assembled at Scutari; that a portion of the Turkish forces now on the Servian frontier would co-operate in the attack on the Herzegovinian frontier; that the new Minister of War, Dervisch Pasha, had undertaken to reduce Montenegro, and to put down the insurrection, and the Sultan had consented to advance the necessary funds from his private purse.

This intelligence, the Prince said, had produced a most painful impression on the mind of the Emperor, and by His Majesty's orders he had instructed General Ignatiew to remonstrate with the Porte in the most energetic and peremptory language against a course which could only lead to the ruin of the Turkish Empire.

He had convened the Representatives of the Powers who had co-operated in the efforts which had been made for the pacification of the insurgent provinces in order to make this communication to them, and to request them to invite their respective Governments to send similar instructions to their Representatives at Constantinople.

His Highness observed that no time should be lost in giving due warning to the Turkish Government of the danger of the course they were about to take, and he hoped for the continued action of the European Powers with a view to avert it.

My colleagues and myself assented to the request of Prince Gortchakow, and stated that we should immediately report to our Governments the communication which His Highness had addressed to us.

I inquired whether any motive had been given for this unexpected, grave decision of the Porte.

Prince Gortchakow replied that none had been mentioned in the telegram of General Ignatiew, but that it had evidently arisen from the telegram of Moukhtar Pasha, which had reported that 7,000 Montenegrins had taken part with the insurgents in the late combat in the Herzegovina.

I took occasion to observe that, in justice to Turkey, an inquiry should be made as to the truth of the statement made by Moukhtar Pasha. Prince Gortchakow remarked that in those countries all peasants were dressed alike, and were always armed.

His Highness did not believe the statement of Moukhtar Pasha, and considered that it had been used as a justification of his defeat.

Prince Gortchakow then entered into an explanation of his late interview with Cabouli

Pasha, and of the sensation which the Pasha's telegram relating to it had caused at Constantinople, and read a letter he had addressed to General Ignatiew on the subject.

In that letter Prince Gortchakow informed General Ignatiew that, on being asked to support the advice given to the insurgent chiefs by General Rodich, viz., to refer their counter-proposals to the Turkish authorities, he (the Prince) had replied that he would willingly do so, provided that he was certain that the Porte would consent to receive those proposals, and to treat with the bearers of them. But the Porte had declined all negotiations, and had appealed to arms.

His Highness further stated in his letter that the Imperial Government had never, as stated by the Porte, given any promise that if the Andrassy note were accepted by the Porte the insurrection should be quelled. All that Russia had done was to promise that her best efforts should be given towards the pacification on the condition that the reforms accepted by the Porte should be faithfully carried out. He had therefore asked Caboull Pasha if he could cite one single instance in which any of the promises given by the Porte had been yet carried out. Not a single step, said the Prince, has yet been made by the Porte towards the fulfilment of those promises.

Prince Gortchakow then referred briefly to the question of the victualling of Nichsich, observing that the Turks had collected provisions for many months, and not for the sole period of the duration of the armistice, and that the Prince of Montenegro had been unable to send the provisions agreed upon from want of transport, none of the neighbouring peasantry consenting to aid him in doing so.

I here observed that the armistice had been concluded on the condition of the fortress being victualled, and that it was to be regretted that this condition had not been fulfilled.

The Ambassadors having each assured the Prince that they would immediately report to their Governments the communication His Highness had made, then retired.

I have only to add that the crisis is serious, and I could observe that Prince Gortchakow was evidently impressed with the gravity of the events to which it may lead.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 672.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 26.)

(No. 171.)

My Lord, *Berlin, April 23, 1876.*

ON receiving Sir H. Elliot's telegrams of the 20th and 21st instant from your Lordship, respecting the probable outbreak of hostilities between Turkey and Montenegro, I endeavoured to ascertain the opinion of the German Government on this new phase of the question, but hearing that the Chancellor and the Foreign Secretary were both unfortunately unwell, I had to seek for information elsewhere.

It appears that the German Government received the same news on the 20th instant from the German Ambassador at Constantinople as that sent by Sir H. Elliot, and on the following day a telegram from Prince Gortchakow to Berlin confirmed the report of this danger of a conflict with Montenegro on the authority of General Ignatiew.

Your Lordship received the same telegram on the 21st from Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburgh, stating that Prince Gortchakow considered negotiations to be for the present exhausted, and that Turkey would probably appeal to arms.

Later Prince Gortchakow also telegraphed that if Turkey attacked Montenegro, Russia could no longer be responsible for, or insist upon, the neutrality of Servia.

Under the present circumstances, I do not think the German Government will move in the matter at all, but will await further information from Austria and Russia, even though the Turks should really go to war with the Montenegrins, as reported from Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 677*.

Rüschid Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, April 26.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 26 Avril, 1876.*

MOUKHTAR PACHA vient de recevoir l'ordre de partir de Gatchka avec des forces suffisantes pour aller ravitailler la place de Nikchik.

Nos informations portent que le Prince du Monténégro concentre toutes ses forces de ce côté, et qu'il se prépare activement à prendre une part sérieuse à la lutte qui va s'engager dans les défilés de Douga. Les conséquences graves d'une telle participation de la part du Monténégro ne sauraient échapper à la haute sagesse des Puissances. Connaissant leurs dispositions bienveillantes et amicales, et surtout leur ardent et loyal désir de localiser la lutte, de l'apaiser et notamment de prévenir de nouvelles complications, en présence, enfin, de toute la déférence que nous avons témoignée jusqu'à ce jour en suivant de point en point leurs conseils et leurs suggestions amicales tendant à ramener au moment plus tôt l'ordre et la paix, nous nous croyons en droit de nourrir le ferme espoir qu'elles exerceront la plus énergique pression à Cettigné, et qu'usant de toute leur influence auprès du Prince, elles le détourneront d'un tel projet pour l'amener à observer une stricte neutralité.

Veuillez communiquer d'urgence ce qui précède au Cabinet près duquel vous êtes accrédité et me télégraphier sa réponse.

No. 673.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 26.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 25, 1876, 5·30 P.M.

THE threat reported by Sir Andrew Buchanan's telegram of the 23rd in reference to closing the Port of Klek was withdrawn by instructions from Count Andrassy to the Austrian Ambassador within a few hours after it had been communicated to the Porte.

No. 674.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 26.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 25, 1876, 5·40 P.M.

MINISTER of War says that Austria having now effectually guarded her frontier along the Save, the bands in the north of Bosnia have been dispersed, and tranquillity is restored in that district.

No. 675.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 26, 5·15 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 26, 1876, 5 P.M.

THE consent of the Prince of Montenegro for the passage of supplies for Nichsich from Scutari will not be sufficient unless some arrangement is made for the safe convoy between the Montenegrin frontier and the fortress.

A very large insurgent force is stated to be collected in the immediate neighbourhood of the fortress, and an engagement from the Chiefs not to attack the convoy after it leaves Montenegro appear indispensable, although the distance is only a few miles.

No. 676.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.[a]—(*Received April* 26.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April* 26, 1876.

BARON HOFMANN informs me that the Commander-in-chief will not leave Grako under any circumstances before to-morrow, and that meanwhile negotiations for provisioning Nichsich and renewing armistice are progressing favourably.

No. 677.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 26.)

(Telegraphic.) *Mostar, April* 26, 1876.

THE Commander-in-chief has profited by the concentration of the insurgents at Nichsich to revictual Pira.

It is said that Socitza was killed in the late combats.

No. 678.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(No. 168.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 26, 1876.

I HAVE to state to your Excellency that the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador called at this office and asked if Her Majesty's Government had heard anything regarding a second Austrian note, about which he had seen something in the newspapers, but of which he knew absolutely nothing, and did not believe existed.

[a] Repeated to Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Rome, and Constantinople.

His Excellency was informed in reply that Her Majesty's Government had received no information on this subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 679.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(No. 169.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April 26, 1876.*

WITH reference to your telegram of the 23rd instant, in which you inform me that Count Beust reports that I had entertained the view that territorial concessions to Montenegro might be impending, I have to state to your Excellency that no communication has passed recently between Count Beust and myself on the subject.

I have not given any support to the proposed cession of territory to Montenegro under present circumstances; not feeling sure whether any such proposal might not be regarded as a proof of weakness on the part of the Porte, and so encourage rather than disarm opposition; but I think it a question well worthy of consideration whether, in the event of peace being restored, the cession to Montenegro of some territory situated in the plain might not be advantageous.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 680.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 232. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, April 23, 1876.*

ON the receipt of your Lordship's telegrams of the 20th, 21st, and 22nd instants, reporting a threatened declaration of war by Turkey against Montenegro, I addressed the letters to Count Andrassy, of which I inclose copies herewith, and his Excellency having subsequently requested me to meet him to-day, he has acquainted me fully with his views upon the subject, and the language which the Austrian Ambassador at Constantinople had been instructed to hold upon it.

In the first place, his Excellency said he considered the complaint of Mouktar Pasha, that a large force of Montenegrins had taken part in the conflicts before Nichsich, as a calumny invented to cover his own inability to accomplish the object of his expedition, as his Excellency has not only received a positive denial from Prince Nicolas that no Montenegrin force acknowledging his authority had crossed the frontier to join the insurgents, but at the moment when Mouktar Pasha marched from Mostar, His Highness was endeavouring to arrange for the safe passage of a convoy of supplies to Nichsich, and was urging that no time should be lost in effecting a prolongation of the suspension of hostilities, as Mouktar Pasha was believed to be preparing for immediately resuming them.

The assertion, therefore, of the Prince, that he has strictly maintained his engagements, and that he intends to continue to do so, has been accepted here as trustworthy.

Such being the case, Count Andrassy said that, on learning that Dervish Pasha was advocating a declaration of war against Montenegro, he had instructed Count Zichy to represent strongly to the Porte the danger of such a measure, both in a political and a military point of view, for the same reasons on which Sir Henry Elliot appears to have recommended the Turkish Ministers to consider the certain and the probable eventualities which it would involve; and Count Zichy had also been instructed to intimate that, from information which had been received from Montenegro, Count Andrassy believed that nothing had occurred which could justify a declaration of war against the Principality, and that the Emperor would therefore look upon such a war as an act of aggression, which would entirely change the position of the Austro-Hungarian Government in the question, and under them unable to continue the facilities they have hitherto afforded to the operations of the Turkish army by keeping open the Port of Klek.

Whereas, if the Turkish Government continued to act as hitherto for the suppression of the insurrection in Bosnia and the Herzegovine, whilst assistance from without would be afforded to them, the Austro-Hungarian Government would do everything in its power to bring about a pacification of the insurgent provinces, on the basis of the reforms

promised by the Sultan and the provisions in Count Andrassy's note of the 30th December last.

I said that, as Prince Gortchakow has declared that a perfect understanding has been again established between the Austrian and Russian Governments, his Excellency had probably received some explanations of the recent language of the Russian Chancellor to Cabouly Pasha, if the programme originally agreed upon is to be maintained. His Excellency answered that, as he believed from the first, Prince Gortchakow had spoken to Cabouly Pasha without due consideration, but that, on reflection, he had not supported his language to the Turkish Ambassador by instructions to General Ignatiew; and the two Governments were now agreed to act together in availing themselves of any opportunity which may offer to bring about a suspension of hostilities, and to promote an arrangement on the basis established by the Porte's acceptance of the proposals in the December despatch. The insurgents will therefore, his Excellency said, be advised to communicate directly with the Turkish authorities, with a view to carrying out the reforms and concessions promised by the Porte; and their wishes with respect to details will be supported at Constantinople by the two Governments, as far as they may remain within the provisions of the despatch. His Excellency added that, in his opinion, a strict adherence to the agreement come to with the Porte is essential to a successful issue of the negotiations, and any symptom of a disposition to deviate from it would deprive the Powers of the confidence of the Porte, and increase the pretensions and obstinacy of the insurgents.

He then said that he regretted to learn that Count Beust appeared, from one of his late reports, to be under an impression that your Lordship was of opinion that it might be expedient to grant territorial concessions to Montenegro, with a view to securing Prince Nicolas's honest co-operation in any future measures which may be adopted for promoting a satisfactory arrangement.

Count Andrassy said he could not concur in this view of the case, not only because no cessions could be granted to Montenegro, which Servia would not immediately claim; but if once the possibility of territorial changes were admitted, the Croats would lay claim to Turkish Croatia, Roumania would have something to ask for, and Greece, whose neutrality was declared on the condition that no territorial changes should take place, would also come forward with her pretensions.

Besides, he said, that personally he could never be a party to an arrangement of the kind. To be trusted by those with whom he has to deal has always been, in his opinion, an essential to success, in private and in political affairs; and as it is alleged that Montenegro encouraged the outbreak of the insurrection to promote her own interests, he will not expose himself to the risk of being reproached by the Porte; that when he was asking the Sultan to adopt necessary reforms in the insurgent provinces, he was really looking forward to obtain from the Porte a cession of territory to Montenegro. Nor did he choose to be looked upon as the dupe of others, who may be alleged to have had such views. One or other of those alternatives, either that he had been disloyal to the Porte, or that he had been the dupe of others, would attach in the eyes of the world to his recommending a cession of territory to Montenegro; and he could not submit to either of them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 680.

Sir A. Buchanan to Count Andrassy.

Dear Count Andrassy, *Vienna, Friday evening, April 21, 1876.*

I THINK it right to acquaint you, though your Excellency has probably received the same information, that from reports which have reached Lord Derby from other sources, and one from Constantinople, dated to-day, there appears to be serious reason to fear that the Porte will declare war to Montenegro.

It is not only Mouktar Pasha who considers such a war expedient, but there is so strong and general a feeling in favour of it at Constantinople that there seems to be little chance of its being avoided, and the Sultan has already ordered troops to be despatched to Scutari.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 680.

Sir A. Buchanan to Count Andrassy.

Dear Count Andrassy, *Vienna, April 22, 1876.*

SINCE I wrote a few lines to you this evening reporting Sir Henry Elliott's hope that an immediate declaration of war by the Porte against Montenegro might yet be avoided, I have received the copy of another telegram which he addressed last night to Lord Derby, and, as I find that is expresses my own opinions, I have decided to send to you, as I may not have opportunity immediately of speaking to you on the subject.

Surely it will be monstrous if the peace of Europe is to be compromised in consequence of assistance being given from Montenegro to the insurrection in violation of Prince Nicolas's promise to Austria and Russia that the neutrality of the Principality would be strictly enforced, and I am very hopeful that you will yet devise some way of opening the road to Nichsich, and bringing the negotiations which you have conducted so far successfully to a satisfactory issue.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 681.

Memorandum by Mr. Bourke.

THE Russian Ambassador called here to-day, and said that he had been desired, by telegram from Prince Gortchakow, to call upon Lord Derby, and to say that they had heard from Constantinople that all the Powers had made representations to the Porte upon the subject of a contemplated attack upon Montenegro; but that they had since heard that England had not yet joined in making a representation upon the subject; and Prince Gortchakow fears that the abstention of England may be interpreted at Constantinople as indicating a difference of opinion on the part of England; and Prince Gortchakow further fears that if this abstention of England is so accepted, it will act as a discouragement to the efforts that are being made for the maintenance of peace.

Prince Gortchakow further understands that the concentration of the Sultan's troops towards Montenegro continues, and he looks upon this like a spark coming near to gunpowder.

Count Schouvaloff will be very much obliged if Lord Derby would indicate what answer he may give to his Government.

(Signed) ROBERT BOURKE.

Foreign Office, April 27, 1876.

No. 682.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 27.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 27, 1876.*

PORTE, considering the arrangement for victualling Nichsich through Montenegro too uncertain to trust to, has ordered Commander-in-chief, who guarantees the success of the operation, to force passage of the Douga Pass.

It is understood that language of the Russian Embassy, in insisting that the Prince could not answer for the safe convoy beyond his own frontier has greatly contributed to this decision.

No. 683.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 27, 1876.*

THE Russian Government state that they have heard from Constantinople that all the Powers have made representations to the Porte with regard to the contemplated attack on Montenegro with the exception of England.

Is it correct that all the other Ambassadors have done this, notwithstanding the denial of the Porte of intending an attack?

No. 684.

The Earl of Derby to Musurus Pasha.

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Foreign Office, April 27, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th instant, communicating a copy of a telegram from your Government denying the accuracy of the report that, in sending troops to Scutari, in Albania, they contemplated an attack on Montenegro.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 685.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 27, 1876, 6 P.M.*

YOUR Excellency will explain to the Russian Government that Her Majesty's Government had not declined to act in concert with the other Powers in this matter; but that, the Porte having denied any intention of attacking Montenegro, any remonstrances had been anticipated.

Her Majesty's Government believed that this was understood also by all the Governments to whom the Russian Government had appealed.

The telegram reporting that the Porte had no intention of attacking Montenegro was received from Constantinople on the 22nd, the same day as the telegram from St. Petersburgh announcing the proposal of Prince Gortchakow to the Ambassador.

Sir Henry Elliot has been kept informed, and will be told to explain, if necessary, that there was no such separation as Prince Gortchakow supposes might be believed to have arisen.

No. 685A.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 223.)
My Lord, *Vienna, April 24, 1876.*

IN forwarding to your Lordship a despatch from Mr. Monson No. 25, Political, of the 19th instant, which I received this morning under flying seal, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that Major Gonne, to whom it refers as having visited Montenegro, has done so entirely on his own responsibility and without instructions from me. I therefore inclose a copy of the instructions which I gave him on requesting him to convey a cypher to Mr. Monson; and I informed him verbally, on his expressing a wish to visit the Dalmatian coast as far as Cattaro, and to return to Vienna by Mostar and Banjaluka, that I saw no objection to his doing so, if he only took care not to expose himself to risks, which might cause embarrassment to Her Majesty's Government.

I offer your Lordship these explanations, as I believe that Sir Henry Elliot considered it inexpedient for any British agent to visit Cettigné under present circumstances, and I had consequently therefore refused to sanction a wish of Mr. Monson to go there.

I cannot, however, regret that Major Gonne has visited Montenegro, as he will be able to give Her Majesty's Government authentic information as to the part the Principality is taking in the Herzegovinian question; and your Lordship will doubtless regret to learn that he is already under an impression, from what he has seen and heard, that the insurrection is directed by Russian officers, that the war is virtually carried on by Montenegro, and that Prince Nicolas follows implicitly the guidance of the Russian Consul-General at Ragusa.

With respect to the numbers of insurgents who may have been engaged in the recent combats in the Douga Pass, and with reference to a statement published by a Vienna newspaper of the 20th instant, and reported in my despatch No. 223 of the 21st instant, estimating the strength of the insurgent bands, I beg to add that the statement in question

contained in detail the number of men furnished by each district, and the name of the chief by whom they were commanded.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 685A.

Sir A. Buchanan to Major Gonne.

Sir, *Vienna, April 7, 1876.*

I HAVE to request that you will proceed to Ragusa, as the bearer of a despatch-bag to Mr. Monson, which you will receive at Pesth, and deliver into his own hands.

Being in Dalmatia, you can collect any information which you may think of interest to the War Office.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 685B.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 27.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April 27, 1876.*

PRINCE of Montenegro having only undertaken to secure conveyance of provisions for Nichsich to the frontier, Count Andrassy addressed a telegram to him yesterday expressing his expectation that His Highness would arrange for the convoy not being attacked between frontier and the fort.

Sultan having ordered the Commander-in-chief to force pass immediately, I believe Count Zichy will be instructed to recommend delay.

No. 686.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 25. Political.)
My Lord, *Ragusa, April 19, 1876.*

THE usual contradictory telegrams have been received in Ragusa by the respective partisans of the Turks and the insurgents, with regard to the military events in the Duga Pass.

The Turks have shown no official telegrams stating that Moukhtar Pasha has telegraphed from Gatzko announcing the success of his operations; his having left the provisions for Nichsich at a fort distant four hours from that town; and his return to Gatzko, after six days' fighting with an enemy whose numbers he estimates at 14,000, with a loss of only 91 killed.

The insurgent sympathisers declare that Moukhtar Pasha has not yet extricated himself from the Duga Pass, and that he is still in extreme danger, without having attained his object, namely, the provisioning of Nichsich. Both sides speak of a truce having been demanded, without specifying by whom.

I write this more to show your Lordship the difficulty of arriving at any correct notion of military events in the Herzegovina, than with any idea that I am supplying information to Her Majesty's Government.

Major Gonne, the Military Attaché to Majesty's Embassy at Vienna, passed by Ragusa at two this morning, on his way to Cettigné direct. He told me that he should try to push on as far as Nichsich.

I said to him that as he would almost certainly see the Prince of Montenegro, I thought it would be advisable that he should take advantage of any opportunity that might present itself to speak to His Highness in the sense of Sir Andrew Buchanan's despatch to me of the 2nd ultimo, respecting the alleged language of Mr. Stillman, the "Times" correspondent. I thought that Major Gonne could do this, as a member of the Embassy

travelling in an unofficial character without any political mission whatever. Major Gonne assented to this suggestion, and I trust it will not be disapproved by your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 687.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 27.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April 26, 1876.*

PRINCE GORTCHAKOW expressed to me to-day his fear that the non-participation of England in the remonstrances made by the five Powers at Constantinople in regard to the reported intention to invade Montenegro, may be misconstrued and give a false impression of her separating herself from European concert. He hopes, therefore, that in some form Her Majesty's Government will convey to the Porte their participation in the views of the five Powers, and their satisfaction on learning that the Porte had no intention of attacking Montenegro.

Prince Gortchakow observed that the Porte had not abandoned the concentration of troops at Scutari, which he considered a dangerous measure.

No. 688.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 28.)

(No. 376.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 13, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of an official telegram published to-day by the Porte announcing the defeat near Kagach on the Save of a body of insurgents which has passed from the Austrian side of that river.

It is probable that the strength of this band is as usual exagerated in the official report: but as they have been driven back into Austrian territories it is to be hoped that they will be disarmed by the authorities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 688.

Extract from "La Turquie" of April 13, 1876.

UN télégramme en date du 30 Mars (11 Avril) de son Excellence Haydar Effendi, annonce à la Sublime Porte qu'à une heure de distance de Kayach, sur le Save, un combat de trois heures et demie a eu lieu entre les troupes Impériales et un millier d'insurgés, venus de l'autre rive. Les troupes ont eu trois morts et six blessés. Les insurgés, dont les pertes s'élèvent à 150 morts et autant de blessés, ont pris la fuite. Ayant été poursuivis par les troupes, une partie des insurgés ont repassé, par les barques qu'ils tenaient à leur disposition, sur la rive Autrichienne. Le reste de la bande s'est réfugiée dans les montagnes voisines. Le commandant de la station, le Lieutenant Akif Effendi, informe qu'il a expédié des troupes en nombre suffisant pour poursuivre et chasser les insurgés dispersés dans les montagnes.

No. 689.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 28.)

(No. 378.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April* 14, 1876.

THE report, mentioned in Sir Andrew Buchanan's telegram to your Lordship of the 12th instant, that Austria and Russia were negotiating at Constantinople for the prolongation of the suspension of hostilities in the Herzegovina does not appear to be correct.

Neither of the Ambassadors has, I understand, made any such suggestion to the Porte on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 690.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 28.)

(No. 380.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April* 14, 1876.

I RECEIVED late last night your Lordship's telegrams, transmitting one from Sir Andrew Buchanan, stating that Count Andrassy thought it might be useful if Count Zichy and myself united in urging the Porte to prolong the suspension of hostilities in the Herzegovina, and authorizing me to join my colleague in recommending it to the Turkish Government.

I called upon Count Zichy this morning, when I found that he had received no communication from his Government upon the subject, and we both considered that we should assume a very heavy responsibility if we were to follow the course proposed.

When the suspension of hostilities was agreed to by the Porte, it was upon the understanding that the fortress of Nichsich should be revictualled by the Prince of Montenegro, but it appears that, this engagement not having been carried out, its provisions are now reduced to a few days' consumption. Mouktar Pasha has therefore pointed out the necessity of making an immediate effort to throw in supplies.

If the place should fall before this can be effected, the Governments which urged upon the Porte the suspension of hostilities will be justly held, to no slight extent, responsible for the disaster; and when inviting your Lordship to join in urging on the Porte a prolongation of the armistice, Count Andrassy must have been ignorant of the critical position of the important place in question.

This may well have been, for the Government have never chosen to admit the failure of the last attempts to revictual the fortress; and the accounts which they published, if they did not assert, at least implied, that the operation had been successful, which is now known not to have been the case.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 691.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 28.)

(No. 382.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April* 17, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a Report from Mr. Saulnier of a conversation with Raschid Pasha respecting the breach of General Rodich's assurances in regard to the revictualling of the fortress of Nichsich during the late armistice.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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general suffering caused by the insurrection would have been a very different thing from confining the interest shown to those who had themselves produced it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 696.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(*Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, April* 28.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le* 26 *Avril*, 1876.

MON télégramme du 23 courant vous a fait connaître le peu de fondement des bruits qui ont circulé sur une soi-disant agression offensive de notre part vis-à-vis du Monténégro. Nous avons été d'autant plus surpris de voir qu'on ait pu ajouter foi à un pareil mouvement irréfléchi de la part du Gouvernement Impérial, que nos actes, et la ligne de conduite que nous nous sommes invariablement tracée jusqu'à ce jour, nous mettaient en droit d'être persuadés de la ferme croyance des Cabinets en notre prudence et en nos intentions loyales. En effet, qu'avons-nous fait jusqu'à présent qui ait pu démentir le moins du monde la confiance inébranlable que nous avons placée dans les promesses de co-opération morale qu'ont bien voulu nous donner les Puissances, en vue de la prompte pacification de nos districts insurgés, et les assurances que nous avons maintes fois reçues d'elles sur la parfaite et absolue neutralité du Monténégro vis-à-vis de l'insurrection? N'avons-nous pas en tout, et pour tout, témoigné de la plus grande déférence pour les conseils bienveillants des Gouvernements Européens, en adoptant leurs suggestions relatives aux réformes complémentaires applicables en Bosnie et dans l'Herzégovine, en nous conformant strictement aux mesures de pacification, et aux délais accordés aux rebelles qui nous ont été conseillés, en décrétant l'amnistie, pleine et entière, avec toutes ses conséquences, pour le bien-être matériel des insurgés qui se soumettraient, ainsi que toutes les facilités voulues pour le rapatriement, la réinstallation des réfugiés, en usant surtout de la plus éclatante modération dans toutes les péripéties de l'insurrection, et ce à l'encontre même de l'opinion publique, lasse enfin de toutes les atrocités commises par les bandes, et de la prolongation indéfinie d'une lutte dont elle considère la répression comme trop restreinte? Nous n'avons donc voulu, et ne voulons encore revendiquer nos droits incontestables dans toutes ces affaires, autrement qu'en nous appuyant sur les avis et le concours moral, mais "efficace," des Puissances pour le prompt apaisement de la révolte. Nous ne nous laisserons entraîner à aucune précipitation inconsidérée, à aucun acte de nature à mettre en doute notre confiance absolue dans les sentiments des Puissances à notre égard, mais aussi à aucune défaillance lorsqu'il s'agit de sauvegarder, dans toute son intégrité, le prestige et les droits souverains de notre auguste Maître. Et cependant, on voudra bien reconnaître avec nous que l'insurrection, loin de s'apaiser, semble relever la tête avec un cortége de prétentions littéralement inadmissible, et devenir de plus en plus intense. On ne saurait, en effet, nier d'après les rapports de nos Commandants-en-chef, que les bandes de rebelles n'augmentent en nombre, et que même des Monténégrins n'aient pris part à la lutte. A l'heure qu'il est nous recevons de tous côtés la nouvelle que des corps considérables d'insurgés, parmi lesquels encore des Monténégrins se concentrent autour de Nikchik, centre principal des opérations de nos troupes, et devant absolument être approvisionné en dépit de la promesse formelle du Prince Nicolas, de ne point laisser inquiéter le ravitaillement de cette place. En admettant même, ce qu'il nous serait difficile de supposer, qu'il puisse y avoir quelque exagération dans les rapports de nos Commandants, il n'en est pas moins vrai que la lutte tend à acquérir des proportions inquiétantes, et que surtout des montagnards y participent journellement. En présence, donc, de notre ligne de conduite que je viens de vous exposer, de la situation que nous voyons s'accentuer autour de nous, et des dispositions bienveillantes et inaltérables des Puissances, nous faisons un appel suprême à leur loyal concours moral pour mettre un terme à ces calamités, et aux crimes de lèse-humanité, qui sont quotidiennement commis par les rebelles farouches, au détriment de nos malheureuses et inoffensives populations; et tout ceci nous paraît indubitablement nous avoir mis en droit d'être convaincus qu'une action commune de la part des Grandes Puissances a dû, ou tout au moins est sur le point d'être exercée auprès du Prince de Monténégro, en vue de faire renfermer son Altesse dans les limites de la plus stricte neutralité, et de l'engager à agir avec vigueur, dans l'intérêt, non-seulement de l'apaisement de la révolte, mais aussi de la paix générale, pour empêcher la participation armée des siens à l'insurrection et pour assurer le ravitaillement de Nikchik.

Vous voudrez bien communiquer d'urgence cette dépêche à M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères et lui en laisser copie.

No. 697.

The Earl of Derby to Count Schouvaloff.

Dear Count Schouváloff, *Carlton Terrace, April* 28, 1876.

WITH reference to your interview with Mr. Bourke yesterday, I think it as well to clear up a misapprehension which seems to have arisen with regard to the proposal made to the Ambassadors by Prince Gortchakow, at St. Petersburgh, on the 22nd instant, and renewed by M. Bartholomei at the Foreign Office on the 24th, for a joint representation to the Porte respecting the attack supposed to be contemplated on Montenegro.

Her Majesty's Government did not decline to act in concert with the other Powers in this matter, but the Porte having denied any intention of attacking Montenegro, any remonstrances had been anticipated.

Her Majesty's Government believed that this was understood also by all the Governments to whom your Government had appealed.

The telegram reporting that the Porte had no intention of attacking Montenegro was received from Constantinople, as M. Bartholomei was informed from the Foreign Office on the 22nd, the same day as the telegram from St. Petersburgh, announcing the proposal of Prince Gortchakow to the Ambassadors.

Sir Henry Elliot has been kept informed and told to explain, if necessary, that there was no such separation as Prince Gortchakow supposes might be believed to have occurred.

Yours, &c.
(Signed) DERBY

No. 698.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 240.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, April* 28, 1876.

THE Russian Chargé d'Affaires called at the Foreign Office on the 24th instant, and stated that he was instructed to inquire whether Her Majesty's Government were willing to join the Russian and other Governments in counselling the Porte to abstain from making an attack on Montenegro which was said to be contemplated.

I informed the Chargé d'Affaires that Her Majesty's Government had received a report, by telegraph, from your Excellency of Prince Gortchakow having convened a meeting of the Ambassadors and made to them a similar proposal.

On the same day, however, the 22nd instant, a telegram had been received from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, reporting that he had received a positive assurance from the Minister of War that there was no intention of attacking Montenegro. I understood that like intelligence had also been received from the French Embassy by the French Government, and the Turkish Ambassador had communicated to Her Majesty's Government a telegram from the Porte denying that any attack on Montenegro had been contemplated, or anything even discussed at the Porte beyond the assembling of some troops at Scutari in Albania.

Under these circumstances I presumed that the joint representation proposed by the Russian Government would not be necessary.

I added that Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople would be told of the proposal made by Prince Gortchakow having been repeated to Her Majesty's Government, and of my having answered that, under the circumstances, the joint action of the Foreign Ambassador at Constantinople did not seem to be called for.

I at the same time expressed to the Russian Chargé d'Affaires my thanks for the friendly communication of the views of his Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 699.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April* 28.)

(Telegraphic.) *Pera, April* 28, 1876.

I CANNOT account for the statement of the Russian Government that I alone of my colleagues had abstained from protesting against an attack on Montenegro.

I was the first to do so. Two days later, and after it was decided that no attack would be made, General Ignatiew also protested, telling Raschid Pasha that he spoke in the name of all his colleagues, as well as for myself.

He told me that, knowing what I had myself said, he felt authorized in declaring that he expressed the opinion of all his colleagues.

The intended attack having been abandoned, I took no further step; but some, though not all, of my colleagues communicated to the Porte the instructions received from their Governments in consequence of Prince Gortchakow's declaration.

No. 700.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.†—(Received April 28.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April* 28, 1876, 4 P.M.

COUNT ZICHY was informed last night, by telegraph, that the Prince of Montenegro has assured Count Andrassy that, having full power to act for the insurgents, he will undertake to deliver provisions at Nichsich during proposed truce in the quantities agreed upon, and as he has been accused at the Porte of duplicity, he requests that an Austrian Commissioner may be sent to verify execution of his engagements; and he proposes to send an officer at the same time to the camp of the insurgents with a view to ensure more effectually their maintenance of the engagement he has made on their part.

Count Andrassy, in thanking the Prince, observes that he had never doubted that His Highness intended from the first to secure safe passage of provisions to the fort.

No. 701.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 144.)
My Lord, *Rome, April* 24, 1876.

M. MELEGARI informed me yesterday of a communication made within the last few days by Prince Gortchakow to the Representatives of the Great Powers at St. Petersburgh collectively, which concluded by a request that they would urge their respective Governments to join Russia in intimating to the Porte not to make war on Montenegro.

Your Lordship will have learnt through the Italian Chargé d'Affaires in London that the Italian Government, impressed with the gravity of the complications to which this act on the part of the Sultan's Government would give rise, had sent instructions to the Italian Minister at Constantinople to support the Russian representation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 702.

The Duc Decazes to the Marquis d'Harcourt.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by by the Marquis d'Harcourt, April 29.)

M. le Marquis, *Paris, le* 18 *Avril,* 1876.

M. LE CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES de Turquie à Paris m'a communiqué le télégramme dont vous trouverez la copie ci-joint, et qui a été adressée par la Porte Ottomane à ses Représentants auprès des différentes Puissances. Dans cette pièce, après avoir protesté avec beaucoup d'insistance de son constant désir de marcher d'accord avec les Cabinets et de se laisser conduire par leurs vues, le Gouvernement Turc fait appel à leurs concours

* Reported to Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome
† Repeated to Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Rome, and Constantinople

pour aplanir les difficultés que l'attitude de Monténégro oppose à une répression efficace de l'insurrection en Herzégovine et en Bosnie.

Tout en écartant l'idée d'une agression contre la Principauté, et en se déclarant résolu à se conformer strictement, sur ce point, aux conseils de modération qui lui ont été donnés, il se plaint des entraves que les habitants de la montagne apporteraient au ravitaillement de Niksich, en dépit des promesses faites par le Prince Nicolas, et il réclame l'action des Puissances pour modifier un état de choses qu'il considère comme irrégulier.

Je n'entrerai point ici dans l'examen de la réponse que comporte cette communication. J'ai cru utile de la porter sans retard à votre connaissance, mais, comme le même appel a dû être adressé à tous les Gouvernements, nous attendrons d'être instruits de leurs dispositions respectives avant d'arrêter notre propre jugement sur la suite qu'il conviendra d'y donner. Dès à présent, toutefois, une observation s'impose à mon esprit, et j'hésite d'autant moins à vous en faire part qu'elle m'avait frappé déjà. Devant les embarras sérieux que cause à la Turquie la ligne de conduite suivie par le Monténégro, il paraît plus évident que jamais que la Porte aurait dû s'attacher, dès le principe, à se concilier le bon vouloir des populations de la montagne, en leur créant des avantages ou en leur ouvrant des perspectives que la Cour de Cettigné poursuit manifestement aujourd'hui par une autre voie. De quelque manière qu'on eût désintéressé le Monténégro, c'eût été pour la Turquie un résultat capital que de le détacher de la cause de l'insurrection. Il est plus difficile, dans les circonstances actuelles, d'obtenir la solution amiable pour laquelle le Gouvernement Ottoman invoque notre appui, mais tout recours aux moyens violents conflicuerait si gravement une situation dont il est impossible de se dissimuler les périls réels, que les efforts des Puissances doivent tendre, en tout état de cause, et quelles que soient leurs résolutions définitives sur les demandes spéciales de la Porte, à maintenir de part et d'autre les esprits dans des dispositions conciliantes.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) DECAZES.

No. 703.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.[6]—*(Received April 29.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April 29, 1876.*

COUNT ANDRASSY'S telegram to Count Zichy. Arrangement made with the Prince of Montenegro for delivering provisions at fort not having arrived in time for counter-orders to be sent to Commander-in-chief. He marched on night of 27th to 28th, but nothing is yet known of the result of the fighting which has been going on since.

No. 704.

Mr. Adams to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 29.)

(Telegraphic.) *Paris, April 29, 1876.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, Minister for Foreign Affairs believes that fears of Turkish Ambassador are unfounded, and that, far from preparing a concentration of forces for the revictualling of Niebsich, Prince of Montenegro seems disposed to facilitate this operation under certain conditions. French Government have never ceased to preach to the Prince strict neutrality, and such are permanent instructions to their Agents. The efforts just made to avoid the danger to which Prince appeared for a moment exposed will allow of more authoritative pressure of advice upon him. Minister for Foreign Affairs is glad that in this serious matter the two Governments are agreed.

No. 705.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 29, night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Rome, April 29, 1876.*

I HAVE acquainted Minister for Foreign Affairs with your Lordship's telegram of 28th, and his Excellency is quite ready to urge neutrality on Prince of Montenegro, but he

[6] Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Rome, St. Petersburgh, and Constantinople.

read in a telegram from Italian Minister at Vienna, reporting that Count Andrassy had heard from Prince of Montenegro that he would insure the passage of supplies for Niebsich during the armistice, even through insurgent territory, and as a guarantee of his good faith, he requests an Austrian Commissioner may be sent to observe the operation. Count Robilant adds that thus Count Andrassy's action would seem to have been fully successful.

No. 706.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 30.)

(No. 239.)

My Lord, *Vienna, April 27, 1876.*

YESTERDAY'S "Political Correspondenz" states that a sortie of the garrison of Niebsich, for the purpose of reaching the stores at Fort Presjeka on Saturday last failed, but that the insurgents believe Niebsich can hold out for another fortnight.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 707.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 30.)

(Telegraphic.) *Mostar, April 30, 1876.*

GOVERNOR-GENERAL informs me that the Commander-in-chief has revictualled Niebsich. No details yet known.

This gives some hope of pacification.

No. 708.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 30.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 30, 1876.*

MOUKHTAR PASHA telegraphs that after having completely beaten the Insurgents and taken their positions he entered Niebsich yesterday.

No. 709.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.[8]*—(Received April 30.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 30, 1876.*

TURKISH Ambassador at St. Petersburgh reports that Prince Gortchakow's answer to the communication of the Porte, asking that Montenegro should be urged to be strictly neutral was not encouraging.

He said that Russia had done already more than could be expected in causing Servia and Montenegro to remain neutral, and that it now depended only on the Porte to obtain pacification by showing itself more disposed to make reasonable concessions.

The Prince appears to have intimated further that Russia would not allow Montenegro to be attacked.

No. 710.

Rashid Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, April 30.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 30 Avril, 1876.*

MOUKHTAR PACHA, après avoir complètement battu les insurgés et pris possession de leurs positions, est entré hier à Nikchik.

Détails suivront.

[8] Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

No. 711.

Ali Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(*Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, April* 30.)

(Télégraphique.) *Mostar, le* 30 *Avril*, 1876.

MOUKHTAR PACHA est entré hier victorieusement à Nikchik. La place est ravitaillée. J'informerai votre Excellence des détails, dès que j'en aurai reçu communication officielle.

No. 712.

Ali Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(*Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, April* 30.)

(Télégraphique.) *Mostar, le* 30 *Avril*, 1876.

SON Excellence Ahmed Moukhtar Pacha, par son télégramme du 28 courant, expédié du champ de bataille, annonce l'entrée victorieuse de l'armée impériale dans Nikchik, et le ravitaillement de cette place le lendemain de son départ de Gatzko. Le Maréchal nous apprend que, le jour même de son départ, il est arrivé à Zloslopp sans coup férir, et que le jour suivant il a eu à combattre la masse considérable des insurgés à Prechjeka, où, après avoir défait et dispersé leurs bandes, il s'est emparé des retranchements qui servaient à les protéger. Son Excellence a pu passer la nuit du 28 dans la ville de Nikchik.

No. 713.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 30.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April* 30, 1876.

A TELEGRAM from Mostar to the Russian Embassy reports Moukhtar Pasha's entrance into Nichsich.

No. 714.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.[a]—(*Received April* 30, *at night.*)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April* 30, 1876, 4 P.M.

YESTERDAY being Emperor's birthday, I was unable to see Prince Gortchakow, but I wrote a private letter, embodying the sense of your telegram of the 28th instant on appeal of the Porte to the European Powers to secure the neutrality of Montenegro.

I saw Prince Gortchakow this morning, and, in reply to my communication, he stated that, as the Porte had declined the proposals for the armistice and provisioning of fort, and had ordered Commander-in-chief to relieve the fort at all price; and as the attitude of the Porte continued menacing to Montenegro, he, Prince Gortchakow, could take no further steps, nor could he answer that the Prince of Montenegro may not be forced into action.

Prince Gortchakow, on the other hand, considers that the gravity of the situation demanded most energetic language on the part of European Powers towards the Porte.

Prince Gortchakow, on receiving the communication by the Turkish Ambassador of the same circular telegram, replied that he had no answer.

No. 715.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.[a]—(*Received April* 30, *at night.*)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *St. Petersburgh, April* 30, 1876, 4·20 P.M.

I HAVE reason to believe that Prince Gortchakow has urgently pressed on Count Andrassy necessity of closing Klek against the Porte, as a reply to the orders sent to the

[a] Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Constantinople, and Rome.

Turkish Commander-in-chief to march on Nichsich, while Austria was using her best efforts to bring about provisioning of fort and armistice.

He is much irritated against the Porte. He foresees, in consequence of the Porte appealing to arms, an extensive insurrection. He holds to principle of non-intervention materially. He says that, although he will neither incite, he can no longer restrain Servia or Montenegro from action, and Christian Europe will in the end have to interpose to arrest effusion of blood.

No. 716.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received May* 1.)

(No. 9.)
My Lord, *Mostar, April* 14, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch of the 14th April, addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, regarding certain propositions put forward by the insurgents as conditions of submission, an attack on Kolashin by Montenegrins, and other matters.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure in No. 716.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Mostar, April* 14, 1876.

THE efforts of General Baron Rodich to induce the insurgent leaders to lay down their arms do not appear to have had much success. They propose as conditions that the Christians are not to be disarmed; that the promised reforms be guaranteed to them under a Consular Commission; that they be exactly informed as to the means at the disposal of the Government for supporting the refugees and rebuilding their houses; that the troops be withdrawn into the fortified towns; and also, I have lately heard, that one-third of the lands of the Mussulman proprietors be granted to them.

On hearing these pretensions, Baron Rodich returned to Vara, and, probably, communicated them to the Austrian Government, and this is all that is as yet known here.

The Governor-General declares that the Turkish Government, after having accepted Count Andrassy's Note, considered that it had made every possible concession, and he does not expect that anything more will be accorded. He thinks that to allow the Christians to return armed would be to encourage strife between them and the Mussulman population, and does not seem to think it at all likely that this point will be conceded. I think that the occasion of a pacification would be an opportunity for disarming both parties, and that this would be the most desirable result; but I fear the Government is not bold enough or strong enough to do it; and there is no doubt that the Moslems would not agree to it unless they were absolutely forced to do so.

With regard to the two next points, his Excellency considers that the promises which the Great Powers of Europe have thought trustworthy should suffice for the insurgents.

The withdrawal of the troops into the fortified places would, his Excellency thinks, render it difficult, if not impossible, for the Government to properly protect the returning Christians from isolated acts of vengeance on the part of the Mussulmans, or to punish them should they unfortunately occur; and he is of opinion, moreover, that the Government could not accept the dictation of the rebels as to the disposal of its armed force.

The demand for a third of the property of the Mussulmans scarcely, I think, merits serious attention.

In these demands there is evidence of the profound distrust with which every promise of the Turkish Government is regarded, and I cannot say that they are without justification. The Christians are afraid to place themselves unarmed in the power of their old masters, whom they know they have irreparably injured. They are informed of the state of Turkish finances and are naturally anxious to know how they are to be fed, and given the means of cultivation, when they are aware that there is not money enough to pay the troops, zaptiehs, and other employés. They dread also the presence among them of the hungry and undisciplined soldiers, and my experience here also goes with them, for at Serajevo, in full peace, I remember that when the troops were encamped, during the summer, in the plain, the road after dark was not safe for the peasants, who were constantly robbed and ill-treated by the soldiers; and I often met the officers, who should keep them

in order, going to the camp perfectly drunk. I had several times occasion to complain to the Governor-General on this subject.

I believe that Baron Rodich is to have another meeting with the insurgents, after having received the instructions of his Government.

In the meantime it seems that the Prince of Montenegro has been unable, or as Ali Pasha thinks, unwilling, to recall Peko Pavlovich and the Montenegrins under his orders. Ali Pasha declares that His Highness has not fulfilled a single promise he has made; and yesterday news was received here from Novi Bazar, that on the 11th some Montenegrins had murdered a Turk of Kolashin, named Sinan, while cutting wood, and having decapitated him had exposed his head as a trophy. The Mussulmans of Kolashin, it seems, went to secure the murderers, when they were met by a 1,000 Montenegrins, who violated the frontier and attacked Kolashin, and were only held at bay by the guns of the fortress. It is not stated, however, whether the inhabitants of Kolashin first passed into Montenegro, which, if the case, would, perhaps, excuse the retaliation on the part of the mountaineers. This is a fresh complication.

The news from Bosnia is not reassuring. Fighting is still going on in the sandjaks of Bihach and Travnik, and Mr. Freeman reports that it is said a band of 400 strong had crossed the Save at Shamatz, and were raising the population. I do not imagine that the Turks will find it difficult to put down these movements provided they have sufficient troops, which I doubt, and if they had a more efficient and active Governor-General; but in the meanwhile all these incidents add to the ruin of the country and the misery of the inhabitants, and the expense to the Government.

Baron Rodich has not been able to keep his promise of revictualling Nichsich. I am told, however, that it is not by his own fault. Free passage was obtained, but mules were scarce, and when the contractors to the Turkish Government endeavoured to hire them, they were asked three Napoleons a load, which they could not pay. Ahmet Moukhtar Pasha is, therefore, again making an effort to revictual the place; with what success will be seen later.

Such is the situation of affairs at the present moment, and I cannot say it looks very satisfactory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 717.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 1.)

(No. 12.)

My Lord, *Scutari, April 18, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith, for your Lordship's information, the copy of a despatch this day addressed by me to Sir Henry Elliot, with particulars about occurrences in the Herzegovina, and expressing an opinion to his Excellency as to the result of the so-called neutrality of Montenegro.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

Inclosure in No. 717.

Consul Kirby Green to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Scutari, April 18, 1876.*

WITH reference to my despatch to the Earl of Derby of the 15th instant, forwarded to your Excellency in my despatch of the same date, I have the honour to report that I am told the insurgents succeeded at the same time as they burnt Gratchenitza, to blow up a small fort, together with its garrison.

The Christian inhabitants of the district of Brani belong to the Vassoevitch clan, which has its stronghold in the north-eastern extremity of Montenegro. This clan, early last summer, aided its brethren on the Turkish side of the frontier to raise the standard of revolt; but the warfare carried on has been of a desultory character, entirely dependent on the activity of the insurgents, who, as long as they remain in the mountain fastnesses, appear to be safe from the attacks of regular troops. The Vassoevitchs, from the peculiar position of their district, have not been able to join the movement in the other parts of Herzegovina; but they can at any moment create a diversion in its favour by threatening

to invade the narrow strip of country which separates them from the Servian frontier, and which is the only line of land communication of the Turks in Bosnia and the Herzegovina with Albania and Roumelia.

I have been informed by the Governor-General of Scutari, that the attempt to revictual Nichsich from Risano in the Bocche di Cattro has not proved more successful than that made from this place, notwithstanding the promises of Montenegro and the so-called armistice, and that Moukhtar Pasha telegraphed to him four days ago, that he had renewed his military operations, in order to effect the relief of the besieged town.

Within the last week a number of light pieces of cannon, existing in the military depôt here, have been forwarded to the Turkish forts on this side of Montenegro.

I trust I am not exceeding my duty in expressing to your Excellency my conviction that it is entirely beyond the power of Turkey to suppress the existing insurrection in the Herzegovina, as long as the fiction of the neutrality of Montenegro has to be maintained and respected. On the other hand, there is no doubt that Montenegro has placed herself in a most efficient state of defence, and that she not only possesses large stores of ammunition and arms, but is also well provided with money.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 718.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 1.)

(No. 12. Political.)

My Lord, *Bosna Serai, April 21, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the insurrectionary movement in the north-west of this province seems to be steadily extending and gaining strength, and the greater part of the Sandjaks of Bihach, Banialuka, and Travnik may now be said to be in a state of revolt. The total number of insurgents in these districts is probably not less than 10,000 or 12,000, and of these 4,000 to 5,000 are armed with breech-loading rifles. The most important band occupies the country between Unnatz and Livno, and consists of about 3,000 men, all said to be well-armed and under the command of a former brigand named Golub Babich. There is also a considerable band in the neighbourhood of Krupa, about 2,000 strong, and more or less well armed; and the remainder are scattered over the hilly parts of the country in small detached bands. A few days ago also several hundred armed men crossed the Save, and entered Bosnia at Svinjar, and have gained the Motaïza mountain unopposed.

Skirmishes are stated to have taken place in several directions, and, as usual, the official reports assert that the Turks have been invariably victorious, and have inflicted great losses on the insurgents, while their own have been insignificant. I hear, however, from a trustworthy source, that about twelve days ago a very sanguinary conflict occurred in the mountainous district of Hrisovatz, near Bihach, in which the Turks were defeated with a loss of 600 men, but that the victory was gained at a heavy cost to the insurgents, their losses probably exceeding 200.

In the three disturbed Sandjaks above mentioned large bodies of Bashi-bazouks have been enrolled, and I have been confidentially informed that the Mussulman population of all the frontier districts will shortly be armed with breech-loading rifles.

The Commissioner of Control for the execution of the reforms, of which Haidar Effendi is President, has finally been constituted, and will hold its first sitting to-morrow. It consists of four members, two Mussulmans and two Christians, all inhabitants of Serajevo, and the choice of persons has been tolerably judicious. No one, however, including the members themselves, seems to anticipate any important results from the formation of this Commission; and the impression made upon me during conversations I have lately had with Haidar Effendi and others, is that their sole idea is to tide over matters as best they can until the inevitable and expected crisis in affairs shall arrive.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 719.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 1.)

(No. 26. Political.)

My Lord, *Ragusa, April 22, 1876.*

AT a moment when the insurrection in the Herzegovina is attracting the attention of Europe to the attitude of the various populations of Slav nationality living under the control of the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish Empires, a brief notice of the state of parties in Dalmatia, and of the relations of the Province with Austria, may not be out of place.

The Dalmatians are broadly divided into two political parties, the Autonomists and the Nationalists; and these parties are generally termed in Austria and in Hungary the "Italians" and the "Slavs," a more opposite generic nomenclature than the other. It is true that of pure Italians there are probably not more than 6,000 in the whole of Dalmatia; but the Italian party is composed of those who maintain that the prosperity of the country depends upon the extent to which it profits by its maritime advantages; and that the development of those advantages is materially enhanced by the continued cultivation of a language not only rich in tradition and in literature, but especially the commercial language of the Mediterranean and the Levant. The Italians or Autonomists are by no means backward in reproaching the Government for the neglect with which Dalmatia has been heretofore treated, and of which the whole Province regards the Imperial visit of last year as the tardy recognition. But they would be satisfied with an increase of consideration at Vienna; whereas the National, or Slav, Party have aspirations towards the reconstruction of that Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia, the historic rights of which were asserted in the debates on the Address to the Crown at the opening of the Croatian Diet last autumn. The Nationalists look to Agram for sympathy; and to absorption into a Slav Federation for the salvation of Dalmatia. The Italians argue that they would gain nothing by such a transfer; and that the natural configuration of the country would reduce it, under such circumstances, to the impalpable importance of a comet's tail. The Slav language is not the language of commerce, nor are the Slavs a commercial race. Dalmatia, with her extent of coast and her numerous magnificent harbours, is debarred by the aridity of the soil from agricultural pursuits, while the mountainous character of the country must always be an obstacle to the development of the means of internal communication. Her more intimate political connection with Croatia and Slavonia would therefore bring her no material advantage, and would inevitably increase the burden of taxation.

Perhaps the most exact definition of the difference between the two parties would be to term the one the "practical," the other the "theoretical" party." Count Joseph Zichy told me that, when Governor of Fiume, his experience of the population of the Littoral was that the energetic, industrious, and educated portion were the Italians; that the trade and commerce of the country were almost exclusively in their hands; and that in the interests of Austria it was desirable to prevent their absorption into the Slav element. Something of course must be allowed for the anti-Slav prejudices of a Hungarian, but it seems to be true that the Slav has no positive ideas upon material prosperity, and that his politics are but vague dreams of the grandeur of Panslavism; he would find it hard to explain what actual advantages the realisation of these dreams would bestow upon him.

It has been, nevertheless, the invariable policy of the Government at Vienna to support the National as against the Autonomist party, partly, perhaps, because the former is the most numerous and the most noisy, and because a certain dread and jealousy of Magyar preponderance has made such a course seem to be expedient; and partly, also, from an idea, which is apparently a mistaken one, that the Autonomists look "outside" the Empire for their future; and that they secretly cherish aspirations of eventual annexation to Italy. The "Dalmata" of Zara of the 15th instant contains a well-written article explaining the fallacy of this view, and pointing out that Austria is now reaping the fruit of her unwise policy of encouraging the Slavs and discountenancing the Italians in the defiant attitude assumed by the former throughout the whole of Dalmatia.

At the commencement of the insurrection these two parties were divided in their sympathies, or perhaps it would be more correct to say that the Italian party gave no active countenance to the insurgents. Recently, however, they have somewhat abandoned their passive attitude, and have begun to show a disposition to join the Slavs in denouncing the policy of the Government at Vienna. The arrest of Italian volunteers by the Austrian authorities, when no difficulty was made with other amateur insurgents—an example which the Prince of Montenegro was adroitly persuaded by the Russians to follow—has much contributed to this change; and the arbitrary action of the Government in repeatedly confiscating one of the newspaper organs of the party (the "Auvenire" of Spalato) for articles uncomplimentary to Baron Rodich, has embittered the situation.

As for the Slavs, their antagonism to the measures recently announced for withholding aid and comfort from the insurgents is so pronounced, that I am assured that the authorities in the towns of the Bocche di Cattaro have not dared to placard the orders issued at Zara on the 5th instant; and in Ragusa, where all the principal authorities are members of the Slav party, the mission of Baron Rodich, and the declarations of the Government of its intention to use every effort to persuade the insurgents to agree to a pacification, are characterised as acts of national dishonour.

I believe that both parties would unite in asserting that the policy of the Austro-Hungarian Government, in its dealings with the insurgents since the outbreak of the rebellion, has greatly contributed to—if, indeed, it is not solely responsible for—this deplorable state of affairs. It is not for me to canvass the motives which have induced Austria to act as she has done. I can only record the opinions expressed by well-informed and moderate men, who have had many years' experience of this country, and recollect the policy pursued in former times in reference to similar outbreaks. Their view is that had Austria at once increased her military force in Dalmatia—hitherto, by General Jovanovich's repeated admissions to me, utterly insufficient to maintain a strict observance of neutrality along the frontier—and had the Government given it to be clearly understood that its officials were, under pain of dismissal for disobedience, required to execute literally the orders issued to them, the contraband trade in arms and munitions of war carried on through Montenegro by Russian agents and Russian money would have been prevented, and the insurgents would have been forced to submit to the Turkish troops from sheer lack of means to carry on the struggle.

Instead of a decided policy in this sense, Dalmatia has been left with an inefficient military force, perhaps through representations that an increase of that force would give rise to suspicions of Austria's ultimate intentions, and with officials of high civil and military rank, who make no attempt at concealing their sympathies with the insurgents, and their delight at the disasters of the Turks; and who, even if they obey the base letter of the orders received from Vienna, take care to show, by the manner in which they execute them, that they do so against their own inclinations. At the same time, every encouragement has been shown to the Slav party in Dalmatia; the Slav schools are protected to the detriment and prejudice of those of the Italians; Slav officials are preferred, to the exclusion of those of the other nationality; and every post and piece of patronage is being made use of to secure the advancement of the "Nationalists."

Such, at least, are the opinions which have been expressed confidentially to me by the Bishop of Ragusa, by other ecclesiastics, and by some of the legal authorities. Making allowance for the antipathy of the Roman Catholics to those of the "Orthodox" faith, I cannot doubt, but that there is much foundation for the bitterness with which they speak; and without taking upon myself to endorse all their opinions, I cannot withhold my belief in the general correctness of their estimate of the degree to which the Herzegovina insurrection has been kept alive by the licensed sympathies of Dalmatia.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 720.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 1.)

(No. 103.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 25, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a précis by Mr. Michell of articles from the "Russki Mir" and "Golos" on the Herzegovinian question.

The former Russian organ advocates strongly the cause of the insurgents, and evinces a very adverse feeling to Austria.

In one article it reverts to the disparaging language which General Rodich was reported to have used towards Russia, and maintains the correctness of the intelligence which it had received from its own correspondent and to which it had given circulation.

The "Golos" is more in harmony with the views and policy of the Imperial Government, and while advocating strongly the amelioration of the condition of the Christian population in Turkey, it considers that it should be accomplished by peaceful negotiation,

and that war would be the greatest calamity to Russia, and to provoke it by bravado and petulance a crime towards the Russian people.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 720.

Digest of Opinions of the Russian Press, by Mr. Michell.

THE HERZEGOVINA.—The "Russki Mir" of the $\frac{1}{13}$th, in an article on this subject, expresses the opinion that the pacification of the disturbed province can only be effected under the following conditions: the Christians must be allowed to retain their arms; their families must be enabled to return to their former homes without incurring the risk of dying of hunger or falling victims to Turkish bloodthirstiness; the Bashi-Bazouks must be withdrawn from the interior of the country, and the Turkish troops concentrated only at some points, where there would be two representatives of the States most interested in the preservation of peace in the East.

As regards the disparaging language alleged to have been used by Baron Rodich with respect to Russia, the "Mir" asserts that the bare denials of the occurrence which have appeared in some Austrian journals, are of no value.

In the opinion of the "Mir" Baron Rodich should formally repudiate the language attributed to him, or failing that, the Austrian Government must formally censure him.

The "Golos," in an article on the subject of the recent interview between General Rodich and the insurgent chiefs, repeats its previously expressed opinion that the only possible way in which Bosnia and the Herzegovina can be pacified is by means of an European Commission, as Russia has always been the disinterested protectress of the Christian subjects of Turkey, she should take the initiative in the matter. With respect to the alleged language used by Baron Rodich, the "Golos" refuses to believe in the authenticity of the information.

Inclosure 2 in No. 720.

THE following telegram appeared in the "Russki Mir" of April $\frac{2}{14}$, 1876, from its correspondent at Ragusa:—

At the first interview at Suttorina, three correspondents were present, of the "Weiner Tagblate," "Weiner Zeitung," and myself. Five minutes after the interview Socica, Melenti, and Zimonic, communicated for transmission the words which appeared verbatim in the "Neues Weiner Abendblath."

Moreover the leading article of that journal endeavoured to tone down the meaning of the expressions used with regard to Russia. At the second interview I was personally present, and can vouch for the accuracy of each word.

(Signed) P. PELROFF.

Inclosure 3 in No. 720.

Précis of Article in the "Russki Mir" of April $\frac{1}{13}$, 1876.

THE "Russki Mir" of the $\frac{1}{13}$ April, 1876, makes the following reflections in an article on the Policy of Peace in the East:—

"The peace of Europe would be of no account were it not that the Austrians had their views on the natural inheritance of the unhappy Christians of the Balkan. But as these subtle views cannot be realised in view of the comparative weakness of the Austrian monarchy, and in view of the opposition shown on the point by other powers, the danger of an infringement of the peace of Europe by the emancipation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, can appear possible only to those credulous public writers who accept for truth the artful and clever assurances of Austria-Hungary.

"There is no ground for effacing ourselves before the Austrians, and for assisting them in their special objects in Eastern affairs, for the sake of the maintenance of peace which for Austria-Hungary is quite as important and necessary as it is for Russia."

Inclosure 4 in No. 720.

Précis of Article in the "Golos."

THE HERZEGOVINIAN QUESTION AND THE RUSSIAN PRESS.—The "Golos" devotes a leading article to this subject, and reviews the manner in which the matter has been treated by the different organs of the Russian Press.

"All the Russian papers," it observes, "have been unanimous in expressing their sympathy for the oppressed Christians in the East, and all have one common object in view—the amelioration of the condition of the unfortunate rayahs.

"It is only in the choice of means for securing the end that the different organs of the Russian press differ among themselves. One party would improve the position of the Christians by peaceful negotiations, while the other section would assist their co-religionists in the East at all hazards,—even by having recourse to war not only with Turkey, but also with Austria, Hungary, Germany, &c.

"While regarding" observes the "Golos," "the legitimate aspirations of our brethren in the East with the deepest respect, we nevertheless can never lose sight of the vital interests of Russia, to which we have always, and under all circumstances, given pre-eminence over all other considerations. We remain firmly convinced that war at present would be the greatest calamity for Russia, and that to provoke it by bravado and childish petulance would be a crime towards the Russian people.

No. 721.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 1.)

(No. 167.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 26, 1876.*

M. DE GIERS, Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs, called on me yesterday, and informed me that Prince Gortchakow had received intelligence of a satisfactory nature from Constantinople, that the Porte denied any intention of attacking Montenegro, and that the Sultan was more pacific.

His Excellency further informed me that satisfactory replies had been received from Austria, Germany, France and Italy to the communication which Prince Gortchakow had requested the Representatives of those Powers to address to their respective Governments.

As yet no reply had been received from the Russian Chargé d'Affaires in London, but he stated that the Emperor had been much gratified by the advice given to the Porte by Sir H. Elliot, which had been reported by General Ignatiew, and by the energetic language of the Austrian Ambassador at Constantinople.

M. de Giers expressed a hope that the negotiations would be resumed under the Austrian direction, and that the fort of Nichsich would be provisioned.

If this latter could be effected an armistice could be agreed upon, and hopes might be entertained of a peaceful arrangement.

I have, &c
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 722.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 1.)

(No. 171.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 26, 1876.*

I HAD a short interview with Prince Gortchakow this morning.

I informed his Highness that your Lordship had informed the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at London, of the positive assurance received from Sir H. Elliot, that the Porte had no intention to attack Montenegro, which had been subsequently confirmed by Musurus Pasha, who had stated, on official authority, that nothing beyond the assembling of some troops at Scutari for defensive purposes had been discussed at the Council held at the Porte; your Lordship had consequently presumed under these circumstances that the joint action of the Representatives at Constantinople was no longer called for.

Prince Gortchakow, while entertaining no doubt of the pacific intentions of Her Majesty's Government, and gratified by the language and counsels of Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, still considered that in the eye of Europe, as well as of the

Turks, the non-active participation of England in the remonstrances made by the Five Powers at Constantinople, against a reported intention of Turkey to invade Montenegro, might give rise to misinterpretation and misconstruction, and that a false impression might be deduced from the apparent silence of England, that she separated herself from the European concert.

His Highness begged me therefore to express to your Lordship by telegraph his hopes that in some form Her Majesty's Government will convey to the Porte their participation in the opinion of the Five Powers on the occasion in question, and their satisfaction on learning that the Porte had no intention of attacking Montenegro.

Prince Gortchakow observed that the Porte had not abandoned her intention of concentrating a force at Scutari, and he considered this measure as one of a dangerous nature, for, said his Highness, "c'est une étincelle près d'une poudrière."

In conversing on the present attitude of affairs in the Herzegovina, Prince Gortchakow was of opinion that the negotiations could not be carried on (as Count Andrassy apparently hopes) on the basis or within the scope of the proposals accepted by the Porte.

Prince Gortchakow remarked that the Porte could not carry out the engagements she had taken; it was impossible for her to do so.

"But," I observed to Prince Gortchakow, "the European Powers could not possibly say to the Porte, 'we have asked you to undertake an impossibility.'"

"That is true," replied the Prince, "but at the time those proposals were made, we conceived that the Porte had more resources, more vitality; that she was not so powerless as she has since proved herself to be."

His Highness here cited to me confidentially certain proofs that he had had lately brought under his notice of the utter prostration of the Turkish Exchequer.

He expressed a hope that an armistice might be arranged, and that time would then be gained for negotiation; and he seemed to entertain an idea that the insurgents should be brought to treat directly with the Porte.

On my endeavouring to elicit from His Highness an opinion as to the future arrangements which might be come to, he said at once "that he could not look into the future; all he could do was to guard against the dangers of the moment."

I could perceive that, although there is a cordial wish, and, moreover, a decided intention to act and co-operate with Austria in these eastern complications, there is no harmony of views in regard to the mode or basis on which such an arrangement can be come to.

Count Andrassy appears to hold an arrangement within the limit of his note accepted by the Porte.

Prince Gortchakow seems to think that this Andrassy note should be adapted and harmonized as far as may be possible with the demands of the insurgents; and it is no doubt on this account that he considers it advisable that the insurgents should treat directly with the Porte, without the intervention of the Powers.

But, as I observed to the Prince, in the present excited state of the two conflicting parties, I did not see the possibility of any direct arrangement being come to between them.

In my opinion, the Powers of Europe could alone act as Umpires, and with combined action they have the power to enforce their decision on either party.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 723.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 1.)

(No. 241.)

My Lord, *Vienna, April 28, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit, herewith, to your Lordship the inclosed despatch which has been addressed to me by Major Gonne, Military *Attaché* to this Embassy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 723.

Major Gonne to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir, *Cettingé, April 22, 1876.*

AFTER delivering the cipher to Mr. Monson the night of the 18th instant, I arrived at Cattaro on the 19th. Permit me to correct my estimate of the Austrian strength in Dalmatia in two particulars. I under estimated it by two Jäger battalions, one at Ragusa the other at Budua, and I over estimated the Landwehr. This fraction of the army is not a success in Dalmatia, all attempts at mobilising it have failed. The men are ready to fight, but in their own way, and they cannot be made to understand discipline. There is no conscription south of Castel Nuovo, in fact, the Dalmatian is a little better than a muscular, intelligent, but indolent savage, on a par with the natives of Central India, and civilisation is on an increase from the south to the north, and decreases from the sea shore, inland.

The inhabitants of the disturbed Turkish provinces are yet lower in the scale of progress from having been less in contact with civilising influences; and are decidedly more indolent. The idea of the Herzegovinians being capable of self-government in their existing condition is preposterous, but in Montenegro one sees the change this race is capable of undergoing. When one mentions that a Montenegrin's great delight is to dress in the most fantastic costume* and carry two huge silver-mounted flint and steel, and often bejewelled and pistols, besides a long knife in a waist sath, whilst he is shod with grass made sandals,† too much will not be expected of the less favoured ones.

The Montenegrin, however, has many fine qualities. He is a splendid specimen of a man,‡ and reaps the reward which a good use of the Creators's gifts have placed in his grasp. On the 20th April I rode to Cettingé with a general in the Montenegrin Army, likewise a senator, a cousin of His Royal Highness Prince Nicholas, and the Prince's medical attendant (a French doctor).

There are parts of this extraordinary country which may be called productive, but this is not the case with the portion my road, or rather path, passed, and one was at a loss to understand how the people existed, with a good harvest the corn grown suffices for the inhabitants. This winter they have to purchase, and the General had been to treat for this purpose. The capital, Cettingé, contains about 500 inhabitants; the chief buildings being a good house, where the Prince, his wife, and seven children reside (one son only),§ a prison, a powder magazine, a building where cartridges are filled, a prison, the residence of the Bishop, and a girls' school. There is one small street which might be compared to a very small Irish village, and just outside the town is an hospital, where an ambulance has been established by the Russians—eight Russian officers being in charge; the school mistresses were also Russian, and one may say that everything which cost money owed its existence to Russia. The hotel was entirely taken up by the Russian officers, and one had to find a room in the street.

A few hours in Cettingé made me acquainted with all the senators, generals, and employés of Prince Nicholas; and the frank, open nature of this tribe of warriors immediately made one master of the political situation so thoroughly that one is almost ashamed of taking advantage of this situation.‖

To all intent and purpose Montenegro is fighting the Turk, and the warriors complain that they receive but slight help from the Herzegovinians. Up to this moment 3,000,000 cartridges have been supplied from this for the insurgents, and the pouches emptied last Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, 12th, 13th, and 14th, have already been replenished from this. The so-called battle, which ended in an insurgent triumph, was in this wise:—

After the ridiculous sham of revictualling Nichsich, when, as a matter of course, the Montenegrins refused to lend a single mule or to carry a single load during the armistice, Moukhtar Pasha started from Gatko with between 9,000 and 10,000 men, representing twenty-two battalions, as a convoy to a provision train.¶

This road passes through a long defile, so thoroughly commanded by the mountain slopes on either side that previous experience caused the Turks to erect block houses, in addition to a fort, in which are garrisons of about 100 men. On the Friday the Turkish column was first interfered with, but with slight loss they reached the second block house.

* The only distinction of class in Montenegro is dress, hence it happens that a peasant who makes a little money spends it in dress.

† Necessary to obtain a footing on the rocks.

‡ Men reach the height of 6ft. 11 in., and are still of a square solid build.

§ Two daughters are being educated at St. Petersburgh.

‖ I told Prince Nicholas that his subjects were frank to a fault.

¶ Mountain guns?

On Saturday they forced their way past all, except one, but they were surrounded by "guerillas," and the defile was blocked both front and rear by insurgents.

It was now that the Montenegrin powder did good service. The very number of the Turks was against them; and, hampered by beasts of burden, the troops (or their commander) made up their minds to retreat, not without confusion, but covering their "train." I am informed on good authority that 500 "heads"* were secured on this occasion. On Sunday the Turks made good their retreat to Gatko, more or less harassed: but the insurgents were without ammunition.

"The insurgents numbered about 2,500, but most of the work was done by Peko, at the head of 400 Montenegrins." Two Herzegovinian Chiefs gained some "kudos." The insurgent loss was—Friday, 3 killed, 17 wounded; Saturday, *70 hors de combat*." † The wounds are probably slight in most instances, as only a half-dozen men have arrived at the ambulance. One Herzegovinian conversed with my companion to-day, and explained his reason for seeking a day or two's repose, viz., that he had fired away all his cartridges. This man spoke of the Turkish horse artillery as having been formidable; if so, it must have covered the retreat. Meantime, the garrison of Nichsich made a sortie, but they were a long way off the fight, and they returned, after buying some grain from natives of Herzegovina, who could not resist the temptation of a good price.‡ I hear the Montenegrin peasants cannot resist a good offer,§ but from the spirit of the people I would not have believed it of them. The garrison of Nichsich is two battalions and about 900 landwehr.

From the conversation I had with the Chiefs in Cettingé, I think that, although elated by this last success, and though confident that Nichsich will fall, yet they have little expectation of Herzegovina throwing off the Turkish yoke because of the strict way Austria keeps the frontier.‖ A Montenegrin went down to raise the rebellion in Bosnia, but they are not pleased with his success.

There is no question whatever but that Prince Nicholas could extinguish the flame at this moment, but, as one of his officers said to me to-day, "Why should he?" The Powers have asked him to use his good offices, but they have made him no offer of any return. His debt of gratitude to Russia, whose spoilt child he may be called, would doubtless oblige him to listen to an earnest request from this quarter; but a joint note does not prove the earnestness of one of the signataries when not accompanied by a private hint.

On Saturday a branch of the Ambulance takes the field, and is to be established on Montenegrin territory.¶ The officers of this Ambulance must have kept the Russian Government *au fait*.

The captain of the Austrian Lloyd steamer told me that in his last voyage the Russian Consul from Ragusa landed at Cattaro with 25,000 gulden, and he pointed out the Consul's servant on board *en route* for Montenegro.

At Castel Nuovo Herzegovinians came on board to beg, and complained that the Committees distributing money, either had none or spent it on themselves. A barber was one of the Committee men.

Prince Nicholas might be bribed in two ways. Nichsich stands on an angle of Turkish territory infringing on Montenegro. If this became Montenegrian territory the capital could be moved to the banks of the Zetta. (?) Unquestionably the policy of the Prince aims at obtaining Nichsich by hook-or-by-crook, and when the place falls, which I quite believe will soon be the case, peace would not be dearly bought at this price. Undoubtedly the insurrection would be manageable if the Montenegrin element were withdrawn.

The second way is an old story, viz., a commercial port** Free permission to navigate the Scutari Lake and the River Bojana would meet the need and be of more service than Austrian waters, because it would open out a trade in timber from the north by means of river communication. At present fine forest trees are left to waste. It may be said this country has no trade, a mere nominal revenue is raised by a land and cattle tax, and the Government could not be carried on without Russian pecuniary aid. That Prince Nicholas is a worthy successor and a most providential selection of Prince Daniel's is self-evident, and he deserves encouragement. He is giving proof of what education and enlightenment can do for a fraction of the Slav race. The country is still, so to say, barbarous,

* The term "heads" must be taken to mean *hors de combat*.
| This assertion, coming from a Montenegrin source, must be accepted with reserve.
† About 2s. per bushel.
§ Cattle have been sold, but the delinquents were caught by Landwehr.
‖ I think that Montenegrin ambition goes no further than the taking of Nichsich.
¶ This branch will be established near Gralovo where the wounded are to be collected.
** Danilogra, a new settlement not marked on maps.

because the educational system is of but eight years' standing. Youths of twenty can read and write, but this is not the case with men of thirty.* One thing the Prince has failed in, viz., to prevent the utter want of thrift which pervades the whole population. It is considered *infra dig.* to use the spade, or for a man to use the needle. The women are treated very badly, and are beasts of burthen.

It was observed to me to-day that the Prince was the only man who would be seen walking with his wife. It may be said there is no native industry, though the women do make a rough cloth for home use.

A curse of this little-favoured mass of rock is the absence of water. From "the capital" every bird migrates in summer.

Considering the snow which falls in winter, this want could doubtless be in part supplied, if the revenue sufficed for public works. Towards the † one road in the course of construction Austria subscribed 60,000 guldens, but it is not nearly complete.

The geological features of the rock formation hold out little prospect of mineral wealth. A grey limestone is invariable.‡ Traces of iron, copper, and coal have been found, but the utter want of transport would prevent an expenditure of money on the part of any foreigner, be he ever so speculative.

I have thus tried to describe the most promising of the provinces now engaging diplomatic attention, and it will be seen that in it a naturally-gifted race § is anxious to lay claim to the title of progression after centuries of slumber. Every earthly obstacle is in their way, yet there success under difficulties is sufficient to create a conviction that it must be one day dominant. I can trace no difference in the Montenegrins and the Herzegovinians. In the latter, with leaders, such as the present and the last Princes of Montenegro, the germ of intellect, which has not yet shown signs of vitality, would soon burst into vigorous life; that this can never be the case under Turkish rule and example, is, I fear, too evident. It may or may not be a wise policy to fight against nature,‖ and a moribund race to hold dominion over one which, sooner or later, must take its revenge, but of this I feel sure. The energy of the mountaineers will be carried into the heart of the comparatively low lands, and if the Turks conquer the Christians this year a more serious rising with better organization will work out Slav emancipation on a very early opportunity.

I was presented to Prince Nicholas in due form, and explained that my visit was one of curiosity, and in no way instigated. I was received with the utmost kindness.

A few days will carry to your Excellency an account of a supreme effort on the part of the Turks to save Nichsich. If my information is correct the attack will be made by over 15,000 men on more than one line of operations. This will be met by 6,500 Christians, including not a few Montenegrins, and, to my certain knowledge, six Russian officers. I venture to predict a Christian victory, and am, yours, &c.,

(Signed) M. S. GONNE, *Major 17th Lancers, Military Attaché.*

P. S. I re-open my letter to convey to your Excellency the views of a Secretary to Prince Nicholas, lately replaced by a Swiss, and who smarts under the pain of dismissal. I was only able to speak with this gentleman in private on the eve of departure.

The Prince has no will of his own in foreign affairs; he acts under the guidance of the Russian Consul at Ragusa. If possible, he takes advice from this quarter before acting; if not, he immediately submits his action for approval. Prince Nicholas listens in no way to Austria; he is beholden to Russia for everything, and considers himself bound to do the Czar's will.

A princess was to have come over from St. Petersburg to stand godmother to the last born child. It is now thought this would attract attention, so the child will remain unbaptized for a time.

The Russian ambulance serves to cover and account for Russian officers in Montenegro.

Of the six now with the insurgents, the senior is Lieutenant-Colonel Kousminski, who recently served with distinction in Samarcand, received the Order of St. George, and an

* The males of an age to carry arms number 25,000, say an effect of 20,000. There are 8,000 good breech-loading rifles in the country, and a factory for converting arms. As the cartridge cases have to be bought, it is advisable to have some muzzle-loaders which fire any ammunition. The Austrians have of late laid an embargo on arms bought in Italy. Mountain guns, presented by Servia, are carried by men.
† Cattaro to Cetenge, which passes over a range 2,500 feet high.
| Dolomite.
§ As regards inhabitants, not products.
‖ Only wise if it be wisdom to defer the inevitable.

estate from the Emperor of Russia. This officer arrived with papers from the Consul at Ragusa, and was with the insurgents the last battle. The other officers arrived with "passis" from Russia, and are on leave. They all wear fancy uniforms (I saw one whose object seemed to be to pass for Garibaldi).

Russia's policy is to draw the last drops of blood from Turkey by war, in a remote quarter of the Empire, after the example of the allies in the Crimea. She has no wish to see Nichsich fall at present, but she wants the Turks "employed."

The Secretary told me that Andrassy, who is responsible for the present policy, is positively the only man in earnest in a desire to stop disturbance. He thinks, however, General Rodich dare not do otherwise than obey his orders.

M. J. G.

No. 724.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received May* 1.)

(No. 242. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, April* 28, 1876.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 241 of this date, forwarding a letter which had been addressed to me by Major Gonne from Cettigné, I have the honour to inclose herewith a copy of some extracts from that letter, which I allowed Baron Hofmann to read this morning, and which, at his request, I left with him in strict confidence, in order that he might communicate them to Count Andrassy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 724.

Major Gonne to Sir A. Buchanan.

(Extract.) *Cettigné, April* 22, 1876.

A FEW hours at Cettigné made me acquainted with all the Senators, Generals, and employés of Prince Nicholas, and the frank nature of this tribe of warriors immediately gave me an insight into the political situation of the country.

To all intents and purposes Montenegro is fighting the Turk, and the warriors complain that they receive but little help from the Herzegovinians. Up to this moment 3,000,000 cartridges have been supplied from hence to the insurgents, and the pouches emptied on the 12th, 13th, and 14th have already been replenished from hence.

The insurgents in the late battles numbered about 2,500, but (according to Montenegrin accounts) most of the work was done by Peko at the head of 400 Montenegrins.

* * * * *

From the conversation which I had with the Chiefs at Cettigné, there is no question whatever but that Prince Nicholas could extinguish the rebellion, but, as one of his own officers said to me, "Why should he? The Powers have asked him to use his good offices, but they have made him no offer of any return."

* * * * *

In a few days your Excellency will learn of a supreme effort on the part of the Turks to save Nichsich, and, if my information is correct, the attack will be made by over 15,000 and more than one line of operations, and it will be met by 6,500 Christians, including not a few Montenegrins, and, to my certain knowledge, six Russian officers.

Of these officers, the senior is Lieutenant-Colonel Kousminski, who recently served with distinction in Samarcand, and received the Order of St. George and an estate from the Emperor Alexander. This officer arrived with papers from the Consul at Ragusa, and was present at the last battle, and the other officers arrived with passes from Russia, and are on leave. Russia's policy, therefore, seems to be to draw the last drops of blood from Turkey by an exhaustive war in a remote quarter of the Empire, after the example of the allies in the Crimea.

* * * * *

The Prince has no will of his own in foreign affairs, and acts under the guidance of the Russian Consul at Ragusa from whom my informant states that he seeks advice before acting, and, if he cannot do so, he immediately submits his action for approval.

My informant also stated that Count Andrassy is the only man in earnest in a desire to stop the disturbances.

No. 725.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received May* 1.)

(No. 180.)
My Lord, *Berlin, April* 28, 1876.

ON receiving your Lordship's telegram of this day respecting the re-victualling of Nichsich, it was too late to see Herr von Bülow, so I wrote his Excellency a private note, explaining the communication made by the Turkish Ambassador to your Lordship, and stating that Her Majesty's Government considered the representation of the Porte to be just and reasonable, and trusted that the other Governments would concur in this opinion, and would advise the Prince of Montenegro strongly accordingly.

I shall endeavour to see Herr von Bülow as soon as possible about it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

P.S. *April* 29.—Since writing the above, Herr von Bülow has called here to say that Prince Bismarck has directed him to telegraph your Lordship's communication at once to Vienna and St. Petersburg, but that he regrets his inability to communicate direct with the Prince of Montenegro, the German Government not having a Consular Agent at Cettigné at present.

No. 726.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received May* 1.)

(No. 181. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Berlin, April* 29, 1876.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 171 of the 23rd instant respecting the news received on the 21st instant from the foreign Representatives at Constantinople that an attack by Turkey on Montenegro was in contemplation, I have the honour to report further that the German Government received with satisfaction the announcement telegraphed from St. Petersburgh that the Russian Government had at once invited the Great Powers to join in sending instructions to their Representatives at Constantinople to remonstrate against the attack supposed to be intended by the Porte on Montenegro.

On the 24th instant the Turkish Ambassador called on Herr von Bülow, and read his Excellency a telegram from his Government conveying the most positive assurance to the German Government that no such intention was ever entertained by the Porte, and that the rumour was therefore totally unfounded.

On the 25th the Austrian Ambassador received instructions from Count Andrassy to inform the German Government that the Austrian and Russian Governments had agreed to make further attempts to promote a pacification on the base of his note of December last, and that they would give their support on that basis to the insurgents, who would be invited to communicate henceforward with the Turkish authorities.

The German Government appear content to give a passive support to their Austrian and Russian allies without committing themselves to any more distinct or positive line of policy of their own, and they will probably adhere to their principle and leave the pacification of the insurrection to be accomplished by Count Andrassy and Prince Gortchakow.

I have been very confidentially informed on good authority that the convocation of the Representatives of the Great Powers at St. Petersburgh by Prince Gortchakow to solicit the co-operation of their Governments in arresting the outbreak of hostilities between Turkey and Montenegro was due to the conviction that the Turkish army would undoubtedly beat the insurgents—the Montenegrins and the Servians, I allowed to go to war with them, a contingency which would imperil the pacification of the Russian and Austrian Governments in the interest of the Christians in European Turkey.

I notice a growing impression here that the encouragement thereby practically given to the insurgents and their friends will tend to strengthen their position and increase their pretensions, whilst the independent action of the Porte becomes more and more limited.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 727.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Monson.

(No. 1.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, May 1, 1876.*

I APPROVE your language to Major Gonne respecting his recent visit to Cettigné, as reported in your despatch No. 25 of the 19th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 728.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 1.)*

(Telegraphic.)
(Private and Confidential.) *St. Petersburgh, April 30, 1876.*

I AM privately informed it is the idea and intention of the Emperor and Prince Gortchakoff to have a conference of the six Powers on Eastern affairs at Berlin during His Majesty's stay there. Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs will meet Prince Gortchakow at Berlin.

It is likely that this may be the prelude to a more formal conference of the six Powers on Eastern complications, either at Berlin or some other central point.

No. 729.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.†—(Received May 1.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April 30, 1876.*

SINCE forwarding my telegram *en clair* to-day, I have seen Count Andrassy. He had not received any information from Austrian Agents respecting Turkish success, or the effect it had produced in Montenegro, but though the Prince had placed two battalions in observation on the frontier with his Excellency's knowledge and consent, he feels assured that he will not violate his promise to remain neutral.

No. 730.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(No. 179.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, May 1, 1876.*

I HAVE to express to your Excellency my approval of your proceedings with regard to Major Gonne's visit to Cettigné, as reported in your Excellency's despatch No. 233 of the 24th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 731.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.‡—(Received May 1.)

(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, May 1, 1876.*

I HAVE been confidentially informed that Prince Gortchakow has invited Count Andrassy to meet him at Berlin on the 11th of May, to hold a Conference with Prince Bismarck on Eastern affairs.

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* Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Constantinople, and Rome.
† Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Rome, St. Petersburgh, and Constantinople.
‡ Repeated to Paris, Vienna, Rome, St. Petersburgh, and Constantinople.

No. 732.

Raschid Pasha to Musurûs Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurûs Pasha, May 1.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 30 Avril, 1876.*

SUITE à mon télégramme d'aujourd'hui.

Voici traduction du télégramme que Muktar Pacha nous a fait parvenir par la station de Gatchka en date du 28 Avril:

"Parti de Gatchka hier, nous sommes arrivés sans incident au fortin de Zlastop que nous avons quitté à l'aube pour Priessica. Là nous avons rencontré les insurgés en nombre considérable; après un combat très vif, les troupes Impériales les ont complètement dispersés et pris possession de toutes leurs positions. Ce même jour, Vendredi, le convoi de vivres et de munitions est entré à Nikchik, où je passerai moi-même la nuit."

No. 733.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 1, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, May 1, 1876.*

MOUKHTAR PASHA reports that the insurgents having endeavoured to cut off his return from Nichsich to Gatchka, have been defeated with very heavy loss.

No. 734.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 2.)

(No. 10.)
My Lord, *Mostar, April 20, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch dated to-day, addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, regarding the failure of the expedition to revictual Nichsich, the conduc of Montenegro and the Governor-General's opinion of the necessity of war with the Principality, and other matters of interest at the present moment.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure in No. 734.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Mostar, April 20, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that Moukhtar Pasha has returned to Gatzko without having been able to succour Nichsich. He reported having had six encounters with the insurgents whom he reckons to have amounted to 7,000, aided by as many more regular Montenegrin troops. Ali Pasha has received telegrams also from Trebigné and Ragusa informing him that bodies of Montenegrins had marched to assist the insurgents, so that it would appear to be certain that some thousands of Montenegrins really did take part in the opposition offered to Moukhtar Pasha, though I imagine the number of 7,000 to be exaggerated. Ali Pasha thinks that Montenegro desires to acquire Nichsich and its rich plain; but he says that, if she gains her object, Turkey would not be able to retain or occupy the Duga Pass, and that the Herzegovina would, in future, be at the mercy of the Principality. He seems to think the pacification of the Herzegovina will not take place without war with Montenegro as in 1861. Unfortunately, Turkey is not in the same situation as she was then. She has no generals of any mark, she has no money, she requires more troops; it is doubtful if the Roumelian redifs would join their standards, seeing so little prospect of pay; and lastly, would Russia quietly allow a declaration of war against Montenegro?

Dervish Pasha is the only general whose name would inspire the insurgents and Montenegrins with the slightest fear. The mistake of removing him at the commencement of hostilities has never been remedied, and if warlike operations are to be continued and extended there seems little chance of success unless he is re-appointed Commander-in-chief with his own choice of subordinates.

Ali Pasha declares, with truth, that the chiefs of the insurgents are nearly all

inhabitants of the quasi-independent districts of Piva, Banlani, Zapzi, and Montenegrins, who do not represent the sentiments of the real inhabitants of the Herzegovina, and of whose interest and desires they are entirely careless. These individuals who have nothing and who side entirely with Montenegro are those to whom Baron Rodich vainly counsels submission, but the masses of the poor, destitute, refugee inhabitants of Sievatine, Trebingné, Stolaez, Bilekia, Lubinie, and other places, have no voice and no opportunity to declare their wish to return to their homes.

Why is it asked, did the practically independent people along the Montenegrin frontier join the rebellion? Why have they, in conjunction with Montenegro, done all the fighting? Why will they not lay down their arms? The universal reply is because they obey Montenegro. In fact, all seems to depend on Montenegro, and it becomes more and more evident, in spite of all declarations to the contrary, that the Prince sheltering himself behind protestations of neutrality, is in reality, playing a most treacherous part and rendering pacification hopeless.

It is now thought that Baron Rodich's failure to keep his promise to revictual Nicksich was intentional, and that he purposely allowed molestors to ask impossible remuneration. Whether this is true or not I cannot say, but it is the impression here.

I continue to hear reports of the undisguised action of Russian agents against pacification, of whom the principal seems to be Wesselitski Bozidarovich, and Ali Pasha has received telegrams to the effect that numbers of the Crivoschi, Austrian subjects, have joined the insurgent bands.

Reports from Bagusa state that Moukhtar Pasha lost half his provisions and nearly a thousand men in his attempt to revictual Nicsich, and I am afraid this is nearer the truth than his own report which only admits thirty killed and sixty wounded. The official telegrams sent to Constantinople by Moukhtar Pasha are not worthy of the slightest credit.

From the commencement of the struggle up to the present moment the troops have done nothing further than attempting to carry supplies to the different garrisons in the Herzegovina, and have never yet sought to attack the insurgents.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 735.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received May 2.*)

(No. 245.) *Vienna, April 29, 1876.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship the enclosed despatch, which has been addressed to me by Major Gonne, Military Attaché to this Embassy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 735.

Major Gonne to Sir A. Buchanan.

Ragusa, April 25, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report my intention of visiting Mostar for the purpose of obtaining reliable information regarding the Turkish troops. As already mentioned, a concentration has been ordered by Moukhtar Pasha in order to relieve Nicsich. The corps will consist of 24 battalions, 8 of which only are of full strength, but the ensemble will number 16,000 men with 2 batteries of mounted guns. Field-Bazouks will be used as rock skirmishers. The advance is supposed to begin on Tuesday, when the troops from Trebingé will have joined. The absence of these troops prevents my visiting Trebingé.

It appears that the Turks have suffered very severely during the past winter. On good authority I can place their loss from sickness at 6,000 men, whilst no less than 7,000 horses and pack animals died.

It is remarkable that no officer of rank has been killed, and the inference is that the Turks are badly led.

It is unfortunately my duty to point out that chances of pacification are very remote.

It is too late to derive any result from sentiment or principles. To order a starving

population to return to a wasted wilderness is loss of precious time. The fugitives will have to be fed when they do return. Austria must be aware of this fact, meantime the evil is daily on the increase.

No seed is sown either in Herzegovina or Bosnia, nor is the land prepared to receive seed. Not only the fugitives, but the whole population must hereafter cry to the three Emperors for help.

In Bosnia the desperate condition of affairs causes not only the Christian, but the whole Slav race, to show their natural instincts of barbarity, regardless of consequences.

Haider Pasha makes no secret that there is not a coin in the Government treasure chest.

The practical deduction to be made from this dark, but not overdrawn picture, is simply this:—

Peace can only be obtained by an expenditure of money in the first instance, and there is no time to lose; if no seed is sown the cost to those whose interest it is to buy peace, will be enhanced.

No overtures are of any use which do not hold out a promise of something tangible.

I have little hopes of the Turks being more fortunate in their supreme effort than in previous essays. And if they do relieve Nicksich I consider a declaration of war against Montenegro as certain. This makes a further complication, as I have proved that Montenegro acts under Russian dictation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) M. S. GOSNE, *17th Lancers, Military Attaché.*

No. 736.

Raschid Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(*Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, May 2.*)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 1 Mai, 1876.*

MOUKHTAR PACHA vient de rentrer à Gatzko, après avoir ravitaillé Nikchik et battu complètement sur toute la route les nombreux insurgés qu'il a rencontrés. Le Maréchal nous signale de brillantes victoires.

No. 737.

*Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received May 2.*)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, May 1, 1876.*

FOLLOWING received from Mostar, dated this evening. "It appears certain that during combat on 29th, garrison Niksich was able to bring in small quantity of provisions left by Mouchtar on previous occasion, but by latest apparently trustworthy accounts fighting continued in Douga Pass. Turkish force had not succeeded in passing, and Mouchtar's position was very critical."

No. 738.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.†—(*Received May 2.*)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, May 2, 1876.*

GENERAL IGNATIEW says that he has positive information that it is not true that Turkish Commander-in-chief or any of his soldiers reached Niksikh, but that during the fight inhabitants were able to carry in a small quantity of provisions deposited in neighbouring block-house.

No. 739.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.†—(*Received May 2, 1876 p.m.*)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, May 2, 1876.*

IT is not true, as assumed by Prince Gortchakow, that the Porte refused an armistic proposed by Austria.

* Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Rome, St. Petersburgh, and Constantinople.
† Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

Neither Austrian nor Russian Ambassadors could guarantee that the insurgents would agree to it, and with this uncertainty Porte could not leave fort without supplies.

The language of General Ignatiew declaring that Prince of Montenegro could not be answerable beyond his own territory contributed more than anything else to this decision.

No. 740.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 2.)*

(Telegraphic.)
(Private and Confidential.) *Berlin, May 2, 1876.*

M. DE BULOW says that he has not heard whether Count Andrassy (means ?) to accept Prince Gortchakow's invitation to meet him at Berlin.

He has heard nothing of a Conference, and Prince Gortchakow only thinks that his presence at Berlin would be convenient for a personal exchange of views with Count Andrassy and Prince Bismarck about suppression of insurrection.

No. 741.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 2.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Vienna, May 2, 1876.*

WITH reference to Lord A. Loftus' telegram of 30th April, it is true that the Russian Ambassador has urged Count Andrassy to close Klek in consequence of renewal of hostilities, but his Excellency, who has told this to me in strict confidence, positively declined to do so unless Montenegro was attacked.

No. 742.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.†—(Received May 2.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Vienna, May 2, 1876.*

I HAVE had some conversation with Count Andrassy respecting your Lordship's opinions, stated in your despatch No. 169 of the 26th ultimo, on the subject of wish of Montenegro to obtain territorial concessions. His Excellency repeated arguments against it, reported in my despatch No. 232 of the 23rd ultimo, but I suspect he also objects from an unwillingness to give Montenegro access to the coast, which would enable Principalities to receive arms and supplies from Russia without control of Austria.

No. 743.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 240.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, May 2, 1876.*

THE Italian Chargé d'Affaires called upon me on the 24th instant, and read me a telegram from Rome stating that the Italian Government had been informed that Prince Gortchakow had summoned a meeting of the Representatives of the Treaty Powers at St. Petersburgh, and urged them to impress upon their Governments the necessity of counselling the Porte to refrain from the very serious and grave measure of attacking Montenegro, which the Porte was believed to contemplate.

The Italian Government desired to know what instructions Her Majesty's Government had given in the matter.

I said that Her Majesty's Government had also received a report by telegraph of a meeting of the Representatives at St. Petersburgh, but that this had taken place some three days or so ago, and that since then it had appeared by subsequent telegrams that the Porte did not intend an attack on Montenegro.

In view of the conflicting reports, Her Majesty's Government had not taken any

* Repeated to Paris, Vienna, Rome, St. Petersburgh, and Constantinople.
† Repeated to Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Rome, and Constantinople.

action in the matter, and I said I did not doubt that if anything were done the Italian Government would be informed of it.

M. Martino asked me when this reassuring news had been received.

I said that the reports on all sides in these affairs were contradictory, and that I was speaking according to the latest news we had, but that I could not undertake to say what further reports might be on their way, or give more than this general answer.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 744.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 241.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, May 2, 1876.*

I HAVE received, and laid before the Queen, your Excellency's despatch No. 143, marked Confidential, of the 20th ultimo, reporting a conversation you had had with M. Melegari on the state of affairs in Herzegovina and Montenegro.

I have to request that your Excellency will take an early opportunity of thanking M. Melegari cordially for his frank communication of the views of the Italian Government.

In reply to his Excellency's request to be informed of the opinion of Her Majesty's Government on the present position of affairs, in order that the two Governments may be able to act in concert, I should wish you to assure M. Melegari that Her Majesty's Government sincerely share his desire for concerted action, and will be glad to find that the line of policy pursued by the two countries is identic. At this moment, however, the state of affairs seems so unsettled and changes so rapidly, and the information received is of so partial and confused a character, that it seems difficult to form a positive opinion as to any course of action which would be productive of good results.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 745.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Adams.

(No. 435.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, May 2, 1876.*

THE French Ambassador called at this Office on the 24th ultimo, and said that having met the Russian Chargé d'Affaires he had read to him an extract of a despatch which he had that morning received from the Duc Decazes, which he had brought also to show to me.

His Excellency then read the extract to the effect that the Porte, believing that a division had arisen between Austria and Russia, had had the audacity ("avait l'audace") to declare war against Montenegro, and also, as the French Ambassador at Constantinople believed, against Servia; but that, thanks to the efforts of Sir Henry Elliot and of General Ignatiew, the Porte had been dissuaded from carrying this intention into effect, and the Sultan had been compelled to content himself with sending a corps of observation to the Montenegro frontier—a measure which had been decided upon some weeks ago.

The Marquis d'Harcourt added that he understood from the Russian Chargé d'Affaires that Her Majesty's Government had received the same intelligence.

I said that I was glad that he had mentioned to the Russian Chargé d'Affaires the receipt of the news that the Porte did not intend an attack on Montenegro. The report which Her Majesty's Government had received was not quite the same as that which he had read to me. The Porte had not declared war against either Montenegro or Servia. A rumour had, indeed, reached St. Petersburgh that such an attack was contemplated, but we had heard that if any such attack had ever been intended, the intention had been abandoned.

There were, I said, a number of contradictory reports flying about, as was usual in regard to warlike operations in such countries.

The French Ambassador said that this was so, and he remembered having seen in some Consular Report that the insurgents and the Montenegrins dressed alike, and the Turks often mistook one for the other. This probably had given rise to the story of the

7,000 Montenegrins who had taken part in a recent conflict. In any case, his Excellency added, the Turks no doubt greatly exaggerated the numbers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 746.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 2, 6 P.M.)

Vienna, May 2, 1876, 3·30 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

NO official information from Dalmatia having yet been received of the recent Turkish operations, Baron Hofmann considers this as a proof of the authenticity of the Turkish reports, which represent Commander-in-chief to have passed a night in the fort, and to have afterwards returned to Gasko. His Excellency said also that nothing had yet reached the Department in confirmation of Prince Gortchakow's unsatisfactory language reported in your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, relative to Servian and Montenegrin neutrality.

No. 747.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 2, at night.)

Vienna, May 2, 1876, 8 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

AN invitation to meet Russian Chancellor at Berlin has been accepted by Count Andrassy, and his Excellency intends to arrive there before the Emperor Alexander.

No. 748.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 2, at night.)

Vienna, May 2, 1876 8·45 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

I TRANSMIT the following figures sent for your Lordship by Mr. Monson:—

Russian Consul-General tells Major Gonne that Prince of Montenegro is anxious for an armistice and for European intervention. He is clearly in great dread of war by Turkey.

No. 749.

Mr. Adams to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 3.)

(No. 288. Confidential.)

Paris, April 29, 1876.

My Lord,

ON receipt yesterday evening of your Lordship's telegram of 3·15 P.M., I addressed a letter to the Duc Decazes, giving its substance, and stating in effect that the Turkish Ambassador in London had informed your Lordship that the Porte had learnt that the Prince of Montenegro threatened hostilities; that it appealed to the Powers to make His Highness preserve a strict neutrality; and that Her Majesty's Government considered the Porte's request to be reasonable, and hoped that the other Governments would concur in this opinion.

This afternoon I received an answer from the Duc Decazes, marked "Confidentielle," the substance of which I at once telegraphed to your Lordship.

The Duke states that he had reason to hope that the fears of the Turkish Ambassador were unfounded, that the Prince of Montenegro was not concentrating his forces to prevent the revictualling of Nicksich, but was disposed to facilitate this operation on certain conditions, that the French Government have never ceased to enjoin on the Prince the strictest neutrality, and have given to their Agents permanent instructions to do so; and that the effort just made to avert the danger with which the Prince had been threatened will allow the French Government to press their advice more authoritatively upon His Highness.

The Duke adds his satisfaction at the two Governments being agreed upon a question of such general interest.

I have the honour to inclose, herewith, copies of my letter to the Duc Decazes, and of his Excellency's answer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 749.

Mr. Adams to the Duc Decazes.

My dear Duke, *Paris, April 28, 1876.*

I HAVE received a telegram from Lord Derby to the following effect:—

"The Ottoman Ambassador in London states that Moukhtar Pasha is ordered to start for Gatchko with sufficient forces to revictual Nichsich, and that the Porte learns that the Prince of Montenegro is concentrating his forces on that side, with a view to take an active part in the fight in the Douga.

"The Porte considers that, after its deference to the advice of the Powers, they should use their influence with the Prince to prevent him from executing this project, and to make him observe a strict neutrality.

"Her Majesty's Government consider that the Porte is reasonable in making this representation, and they trust that the other Governments will concur with them in this opinion, and will strongly advise the Prince of Montenegro to act accordingly.

"Her Majesty's Government consider that, as the Porte has disclaimed any idea of attacking Montenegro, the latter ought to be called upon to observe an efficient neutrality.

"I should be glad if your Excellency could inform me if the French Government share the views of that of Her Majesty and will act accordingly."

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 749.

The Duc Decazes to Mr. Adams.

Mon cher Ministre, *Paris, le 29 Avril, 1876.*

JE reçois votre billet d'hier au soir.

J'ai tout lieu d'espérer que les craintes que l'Ambassadeur de la Sublime Porte a manifestées à Lord Derby ne sont pas fondées et loin de préparer une concentration de forces pour empêcher le ravitaillement de Nichsich il m'a paru que le Prince de Monténégro serait disposé à faciliter cette opération sous certaines conditions.

Nous n'avons pas, du reste, cessé un seul jour de lui prêcher la plus stricte neutralité et ce sont là des directions permanentes que nous avons données à nos agents.

L'effort que nous venons de faire pour détourner le danger dont le Prince Nicolas a paru un moment menacé nous permettra d'insister auprès de lui avec plus d'autorité pour renouveler nos conseils.

J'ai donc la satisfaction de penser que cette fois aussi nos deux Gouvernements se trouveront en accord sur une question qui préoccupe à juste titre tous les esprits.

Vous me savez, &c.
(Signé) DECAZES.

No. 750.

Raschid Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, May 3.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 2 Mai, 1870.*

J'AI l'honneur de confirmer, de la façon la plus positive, la marche victorieuse de Moukhtar Pacha vers Nichsich. Cette expédition a pleinement réussi, et le but a été entièrement atteint. Notre Commandant-en-chef, après avoir repoussé et battu les insurgés qui avaient massé toutes leurs forces dans les défilés de Douga pour empêcher le ravitaillement de la dite place, et occupé une à une leurs positions, a fait entrer les convois de vivres et de munitions à Nichsich où il a passé lui-même la nuit. Au retour, les bandes des insurgés s'étaient réunies, et, ayant attaqué de nouveau les troupes Impériales, ont été, à deux nouvelles fois, battues et complètement dispersées, après avoir essuyé pertes considérables. Ayant ainsi rempli avec un succès complet leur mission, les troupes Impériales sont rentrées victorieuses dans leurs quartiers à Gatchko.

No. 751.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 3.)

Constantinople, May 2, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

A TELEGRAM from Moukhtar Pasha, published this evening, states distinctly that the convoys of provisions were conducted victoriously to Nichsich on Friday. The principal fighting occurred on Saturday and Sunday on the return of the troops, and he calculates the number of the insurgents at 16,000 but states that his success was complete.

No. 752.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 9.)

Vienna, May 3, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

MAJOR GONNE telegraphs from Spallato, that a witness says the Turks held complete command of the road to Nichsich on Friday, and that the fighting was in returning to Gatchko.

No. 753.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 3, night.)*

Vienna, May 3, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

MR. MONSON telegraphs to-day as follows, for your Lordship :—

"I hear that Russian Agent who arrived yesterday from front admits presence of Austrian subjects in recent combat. He praises skill and courage of Turkish Commander-in-chief."

No. 754.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 4.)

St. Petersburgh, April 24, 1876.

(No. 174.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship two articles from the "Agence Russe" on the affairs of the East.

The former refers to the action of the European Powers in regard to the renewal of the armistice for the revictualling of Nicksich, and for negotiation between the local Turkish authorities and the insurgent Chiefs on the guarantees they demand. It refers to the military measures for the provisioning of the fortress and to the military preparations on a great scale, although of a declared defensive character, for the concentration of troops at Scutari; and, it adds, that hopes are still entertained by diplomacy that this decision of the Porte will not bring about local complications of a still graver nature.

It further denies certain reports current that the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh meditated the proposal of granting autonomy to the Herzegovina and Bosnia, and states that Russia holds scrupulously to the programme adopted in common by the Powers, namely, on the one hand, the political *status quo* in Turkey; and, on the other, the amelioration of the condition of the Christian populations duly guaranteed.

As these articles emanate from an official source, they are deserving of attention.

The second article gives a précis of an article from the "Golos," the Russian newspaper most favourable to the policy of the Imperial Government, on the possible invasion of Montenegro by the Porte, and the measures which should be taken in view of that eventuality.

It is here stated that Russia could not permit the occupation of Servia by any Power, but that, in the event of an attack on Montenegro by the Porte, Servia should be allowed complete freedom of action, or, in other words, that Servia should no longer be restrained from joining the insurgents.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

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* Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Rome, Constantinople, and St. Petersburgh.

Inclosure 1 in No. 754.

Extract from the "Agence Russe" of April 14/26, 1876.

St. Pétersbourg, Jeudi soir, le 14/26 Avril, 1876.

LES Puissances continuent leur action commune pour obtenir le renouvellement d'un armistice de quelque durée, qui permette au Prince Nicolas de ravitailler Nichsich et aux autorités locales Turques d'aviser avec les Chefs des insurgés sur les garanties qu'ils réclament. La Porte, néanmoins, paraît faire une question de point d'honneur militaire du ravitaillement de Nichsich à tout prix et par la force. A cet effet de grands renforts de troupes sont envoyés à Moukhtar Pacha, et les préparatifs militaires, quoique déclarés défensifs, sont continués sur une grande échelle, et concentrés à Scutari. La diplomatie ne perd pas cependant l'espoir de parvenir à empêcher que cette décision de la Porte n'entraîne de plus graves complications locales.

Des dépêches privées d'agences étrangères arrivées aujourd'hui, parlent pour les démentir, il est vrai, de bruits qui prêteraient au Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg l'initiative d'une proposition d'autonomie pour l'Herzégovine et la Bosnie. Ces bruits n'ont aucun fondement. La Russie s'en tient scrupuleusement au programme adopté en commun, et qui consiste, d'une part, dans le *statu quo* politique en Turquie, de l'autre dans l'amélioration du sort des Chrétiens sérieusement garantie.

Inclosure 2 in No. 754.

Extract from the "Agence Russe" of April 14/26, 1876.

LA CRISE DANS LA CRISE.—A titre de complément à son dernier article que nous avons résumé dans notre dernier numéro, le "Golos" consacre un long article de fond à l'examen des conséquences et des chances de succès qu'offrirait une attaque de la Turquie contre le Monténégro. Cherchant avant tout la cause déterminante du vertige qui semble s'être emparé du Divan, ce journal l'attribue à l'influence croissante du parti de la guerre et au désir secret de provoquer la discorde entre les grandes Puissances par l'invasion du Monténégro. Malgré les efforts tentés par la diplomatie, en vue de localiser l'incendie et de sauvegarder la paix en Europe et malgré les droits que le Prince Nicolas s'est acquis à la protection des Puissances, la "Voix" n'ose pas pourtant espérer que la Turquie prête l'oreille aux sages conseils des Cabinets. Bien que les nouvelles télégraphiques de Constantinople infirment l'intention d'attaquer le Monténégro, cette feuille est d'avis que l'influence croissante de Houssein Avni Pacha parviendra à renverser Mukhimoud Nédime, et que les remontrances des Puissances, à moins que celles-ci ne se décident à prendre des mesures énergiques, seront impuissantes à empêcher la Turquie de hâter son suicide. Partant de ce point de vue qui dévance les événements, le "Golos" se demande quelle peut être l'issue de l'agression projetée contre le Monténégro? Les éléments délétères qui constitue l'état de décomposition intérieure de la Turquie et la démoralisation de son armée, donnent la certitude à ce journal que les agissements téméraires de la Porte auront une issue défavorable pour elle. Il rappelle à cet effet les efforts suprêmes qui ont dû être employés en 1862 par Omer Pacha pour parvenir à rompre la résistance de fer de ces intrépides enfants de la Montagne Noire. "Et," ajoute-t-il, "Moukhtar Pacha est loin, bien loin d'être un Omer Pacha!" Le "Golos" apprécie alors les forces envoyées à Scutari et calcule que réunies aux troupes de l'ex-corps d'observation de la Serbie, aujourd'hui rappelées, et à celles qui se trouvent en Herzégovine et en Bosnie, elles ne forment ensemble guère plus que 50,000 ou 60,000 hommes. Ce chiffre, dans les conditions où se trouvent les soldats Turcs, mal-soldés et démoralisés, lui paraît insuffisant pour s'emparer du Monténégro et pour faire face à la Serbie et à l'Herzégovine. Le "Golos" est si convaincu de ce qu'il avance et si sûr que les Serbes ne pourront pas se tenir à l'écart de la lutte, qu'il va jusqu'à dire que dans le cas où la Turquie mettrait ses menaces à exécution et effectuerait son coup de tête, la carte politique de l'Empire Ottoman courrait grand risque de subir une modification. Le "Golos" envisage alors l'attitude que devraient assumer les grandes Puissances en présence de l'invasion du Monténégro. Il démontre que l'Europe, et principalement la Russie et l'Autriche, ont l'obligation d'écarter du Monténégro le danger qui le menace, et que dans le cas où elles n'y parviendront pas, elles ont un devoir d'honneur à remplir envers le Prince Nicolas, et ce devoir c'est de rendre à la Serbie toute sa liberté d'action et d'abandonner la Turquie à son propre sort. "Ce n'est pas," dit-il, "pour livrer plus sûrement le Prince Nicolas aux caprices belliqueux de la Porte que ces deux Puissances l'ont obligé de risquer sa Couronne

en contenant l'ardeur du sentiment national de ses sujets!" Le "Golos" relève les services rendus par le Prince Nicolas aux Puissances en se soumettant à la neutralité qu'elles lui ont recommandée et l'injustice que l'Europe commettrait en le livrant après cela à son ennemi implacable. Après avoir fait remarquer que la Russie ne saurait tolérer que la Serbie fût occupée par n'importe quelle Puissance, le "Golos" exprime l'opinion que le danger qui menace le Monténégro ainsi que la paix en Europe peut être écarté par une franche et cordiale entente entre les grandes Puissances. "Au besoin," ajoute-t-il, "l'Autriche n'aurait qu'à fermer à la Turquie le port de Kleck." En conclusion, la "Voix" forme le vœu que les négociations directes entamées par le Prince Gortchakow avec les Représentants des Grandes Puissances amènent l'entente désirée.

No. 755.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(No. 194.)

Foreign Office, May 4, 1876.

Sir,

THE Austrian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, and placed in my hands for perusal a despatch which he had received from his Government.

The purport of the despatch was to state that there is an entire agreement between the Governments of Austria, Germany, and Russia, as to affairs in the East; and that any reports that may have been circulated to the contrary are simple inventions.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 756.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 4.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, May 4, 1876.*

AN insurrectionary movement is reported among Bulgarians near Philippopoli, beyond Adrianople.

It is known that arms and ammunition in considerable quantities have latterly been introduced into the province where revolutionary committees have also been working actively.

No. 757.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 5.)

(No. 175.)

St. Petersburgh, April 30, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship a leading article from the "Agence Russe" of this morning, bearing evidently the stamp of official inspiration.

This article gives a very clear and accurate account of the views entertained here in official circles on the present Eastern complications, and may be said to represent fully the opinion of the Imperial Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

P.S.—I also annex the *précis* from the "Agence Russe" of an article from the "Russki Mir" (or "Monde Russe"), relating to a programme for the arrangement of the affairs of Herzegovina and Bosnia, according to intelligence received from Germany, which consists of forming of Bosnia and the Herzegovina vassal States of the Turkish Empire under the joint protection of Austria and Russia.

A. L.

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* Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

Inclosure 1 in No. 757.

Extract from the "Agence Russe" of April 17/29, 1876.

St. Pétersbourg, Samedi soir, le 17/29 Avril, 1876.

NOUS avons à constater aujourd'hui la déclaration faite à Constantinople par l'Angleterre qu'elle ne se separait pas des autres cinq Grandes Puissances et qu'elle appuyait le langage que leurs Représentants avaient été chargés d'y tenir. Si cette déclaration a subi quelque retard, cela provient de l'absence de Londres de Lord Derby, appelé en toute hâte, comme nous l'avons annoncée, auprès de sa mère gravement malade. En même temps que cette déclaration de l'Angleterre, d'autres Puissances faisaient parvenir à la Porte des représentations sur ce qu'elle avait recours à la force au moment même où ces Puissances étaient parvenues à obtenir du Prince de Monténégro le ravitaillement de Niksich. La Porte a motivé sa décision par la nécessité où elle se trouve d'empêcher que cette forteresse ne soit pas réduite par la famine imminente à capituler. Il est donc plus que probable qu'à l'heure où nous écrivons, Moukhtar Pacha ayant commencé son mouvement par le défilé de Douga, une rencontre aura déjà eu lieu entre les insurgés et les Turcs. Cela serait d'autant plus regrettable que le même résultat, c'est-à-dire le ravitaillement de Niksich, pouvait être obtenu sans effusion de sang. Le Prince Nicolas qui, par suite de la rupture de l'armistice par les Turcs, avait dû consulter les insurgés sur le ravitaillement de Niksich, était en effet parvenu à obtenir le consentement des chefs, lesquels n'y avaient mis d'autres conditions que l'accord d'un nouvel armistice, l'ouverture de négociations sur la base des propositions de garanties connues et l'engagement de ne point augmenter les troupes Turques pendant l'armistice, ainsi que cela avait eu lieu pendant la dernière trêve.

Ces demandes qui attestaient, il faut bien le dire, le désir sérieux des Chrétiens d'arriver à une entente que leur permît de déposer leurs fusils, ont été, comme on le sait, repoussées par la Porte. Avant d'entamer de nouvelles négociations, elle a voulu, par point d'honneur militaire, recourir, avec de nouvelles forces, au sort des armes, espérant qu'il lui serait cette fois plus favorable.

A quelque point de vue qu'on se place, cette décision est souverainement à regretter.

Il est à craindre en effet que, battus ou victorieux, les Turcs ne mettent, par cette décision, l'étincelle aux poudres et ne provoquent la conflagration dans toute la péninsule du Balkan, que les Puissances s'étaient précisément donné pour but d'empêcher et qui, sans cette résolution, pour le moins téméraire, de la Porte, aut été prévenue. Si Moukhtar Pacha a encore une fois le dessous, l'amour propre militaire de la Porte ne lui conseillera-t-elle pas à plus forte raison de poursuivre plus loin sa revanche, et de mettre cette fois à exécution son projet de l'autre jour d'envahir le Monténégro? Si les insurgés, par contre, sont battus, le Prince Nicolas sera-t-il assez maître de la situation pour empêcher ses fiers Monténégrins de se ruer au secours de leurs frères massacrés; et si le Monténégro donne, les Serbes pourront-ils être maintenus spectateurs immobiles de la lute? Et dans ce cas—surtout si l'Albanie d'en mêle—quel sera le rôle de le Turquie, qui aura provoqué, en dépit de l'Europe, l'embrasement de toute la péninsule? Quel sera son sort!

Quoi qu'il en soit de ces appréhensions, que nous souhaitons ardemment ne pas voir se confirmer, il est un point, certain celui-là, qui doit empêcher l'opinion de s'effarer et de prendre peur; c'est la ferme résolution des Puissances de maintenir intact leur parfait accord. La nouvelle, qui a déjà provoqué à la Bourse de Berlin une hausse sensible, que le Comte Andrassy assistera à l'entrevue de Berlin, est la meilleure preuve de cette résolution et de cet accord.

Inclosure 2 in No. 757.

Extract from the "Agence Russe" of April 17/29, 1876.

LE "Monde Russe," dont on connaît les tendances, prend au pied de la lettre les nouvelles venues d'Allemagne sur un nouveau programme des Puissances par rapport à l'Herzégovine et à la Bosnie, et s'exprime ainsi:—

"Après avoir plus d'une fois fait de vains efforts pour une prompte solution de la question d'Orient, la diplomatie paraît revenir à des vues normales et envisager la situation d'une manière plus sérieuse et plus pratique, sans se laisser entraîner à de nouveaux écarts diplomatiques, ayant pour objectif un *status quo* impossible. Les journaux officiels d'Allemagne nous donnent à tous lieu de croire que les Puissances, ayant reconnu l'inutilité des efforts qu'elles ont faits jusqu'ici pour la pacification de l'insurrection au moyen de

réformes sérieuses de la Porte, songent actuellement à un remaniement radical de ces réformes acceptable par le Gouvernement Turc. La presse Berlinoise, qui s'est toujours montrée très-raisonnable et très-condescendante à l'endroit de la Turquie, regarde ce projet comme le seul moyen de sortir des difficultés actuelles, de mettre un terme à tous les débats, et rassurer les esprits. L'opinion Russe pense absolument de même, et, si elle a laissé percer un instant son mécontentement contre l'Autriche, c'est parceque celle-ci a usé de la triple alliance pour son profit particulier, au détriment du plan qui n'avait en vue que les améliorations sérieuses du sort des Chrétiens. Comme il paraît, le séjour et la prochaine entrevue des Monarques à Berlin vont donner lieu à d'importantes transactions, qui tendront à instituer la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine en principautés vassales sous la protection de la Russie et de l'Autriche-Hongrie. L'Europe n'a aucune raison de s'opposer à l'émancipation des rayas, et le succès de ces transactions ne peut être douteux, s'il y a entente entre la Russie et l'Allemagne. Il ne faut pas que les intérêts tout personnels d'une des trois Puissances viennent troubler ceux du reste de l'Europe."

No. 758.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Adams.

(No. 447.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, May 5, 1876.*

THE French Ambassador called here on the 29th ultimo, and asked what answer he was to give to an inquiry he had received from his Government as to the representation which had, he understood, been made to all the Powers by the Porte.

His Excellency was good enough to leave the note, a copy of which is herewith inclosed, upon which he had acted in making this inquiry, and he added that the French Government were anxious to take the same course in the matter as Her Majesty's Government.

I informed his Excellency, in reply, that Musurus Pacha communicated on the 27th ultimo, the Circular from the Porte with regard to Montenegro, and on the 28th a telegraphic despatch was sent to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at the Powers instructing them to state that Her Majesty's Government considered that the representations of the Porte were just and reasonable, and that they trusted that the other Governments would concur with them in this opinion, and advise the Prince of Montenegro strongly accordingly. As the Porte has disclaimed attacking Montenegro, the latter should be called upon to observe an efficient neutrality.

I added that you had executed this instruction on the 29th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 759.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Adams.

(No. 448.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, May 5, 1876.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 299 of the 29th ultimo, inclosing a copy of the note which you had addressed to the Duc Decazes on the subject of the alleged intention of the Prince of Montenegro to commence hostilities against Turkey, together with a copy of his Excellency's answer; and I have to acquaint you that I approve the terms of your note.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 760.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 5, at night.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, May 5, 1876.*

MONSON telegraphs as follows for your Lordship to-day:—

The rumour that Moukhtar Pacha is to be removed from the command of the troops in the Herzegovina gives much pleasure to insurgent sympathisers here. But as the

* Repeated to Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.

Russians now admit the Pacha's military skill, and that he gained a substantial victory last week, the Porte would seem ill-advised in recalling him.

No. 761.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 6.)

(No. 14.)

My Lord, *Scutari, April 25, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, the copy of a despatch this day addressed by me to Sir Henry Elliot, and conveying to his Excellency the intelligence of military preparations being made by the Governor-General of this province for the massing of a large force on the southern frontier of Montenegro.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

Inclosure in No. 761.

Consul Kirby Green to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Scutari, April 25, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that Achmed Hamdy Pasha, the Governor-General and Commander-in-chief of this vilayet, told me two days ago that he had received orders from Constantinople to proceed at once to Podgoritza and Spuz, and the other Turkish garrisons in this district on the Montenegrin frontier, and there prepare supplies and quarters for 30,000 men that are to be forwarded without delay from Smyrna, Syria, Candia, and Southern Albania. Achmed Hamdy Pasha consequently left this yesterday morning for Podgoritza, accompanied by a number of the principal functionaries of this vilayet.

His Excellency also told me he hopes that he has secured, should active operations be undertaken against Montenegro, the effectual assistance of the Mirdites and the other Roman Catholic mountain tribes of North Albania. Achmed Hamdy Pasha is, however, perfectly aware that these tribes are apt to follow what they may fancy are the wishes of Austria or France, and that, above all, they are not beyond monetary influences.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 762.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 304.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 19, 1876.*

I AM informed that although the last attempt made by Moukhtar Pasha to relieve Nichsich has evidently been unsuccessful, the Commander-in-chief was able to leave the provisions intended for that fortress at a blockhouse within three hours march of it, under the guard of two battalions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 763.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 400.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 20, 1876.*

UPON going to the Porte this afternoon, I learnt that the Sultan was greatly incensed by the report received from Moukhtar Pasha of the part taken by Montenegro in opposing the expedition sent to the relief of Nichsich.

His Majesty had at once ordered troops to be despatched to Scutari with a view to the adoption of immediate operations against the Principality; even whilst I was with the Grand Vizier an Aide-de-Camp arrived from the Palace with a message reiterating

His Majesty's previous orders, and a military council was about to be held to deliberate upon the position of things.

Mahmoud Pasha having asked my opinion upon the course that should be followed, I said that he must bear in mind that war with Montenegro meant war with Servia as well; that the movement might easily spread to other Christian provinces of the Empire and to Crete, in which case the attitude of Greece was not to be depended upon.

I likewise reminded him that some months ago Russia had declared that she would not permit an attack upon Montenegro.

My strong and decided opinion, therefore, was that, whatever provocation that Principality had given, he would be inexcusable if he advised the Sultan to desire an attack to be made upon it, unless the Minister of War could guarantee to His Majesty that the men and money at his disposal, and the general organisation of the army, were such as to enable him successfully to face such extended calls upon them.

His Highness said that my views entirely coincided with his own, and he would express them at the Council to which he was just going.

From all that we have seen during the progress of the insurrection, it can hardly be doubted that the Turkish Government are at present incapable of conducting military operations on any extended scale, and if they attempt it a disastrous collapse is almost inevitable.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 764.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 403.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 21, 1876.*

AMONG all classes of the public, as well as among many of the members of the Government, the feeling for war with Montenegro has become so strong that it looks at this moment as if there is little prospect of its being avoided.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 765.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 405.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 21, 1876.*

AFTER making every allowance for the exaggerations contained in the Turkish official reports, the active participation of Montenegro in the last attack upon the troops proceeding to the relief of Nichsich cannot well be doubted; and, if such proceedings continue, it will not long be possible to restrain the Porte from adopting measures against the Principality which may lead to a general conflagration.

Each fresh instance that occurs adds to the strength of those who are for energetic action, and Raschid Pasha is looked upon as having been so much duped by the Austrian and Russian Governments that he now is scarcely listened to if he ventures to recommend a persistence in a prudent policy.

The acceptance by the Porte of Count Andrassy's proposals upon assurances that a pressure should be applied to Montenegro which would ensure its neutrality and speedily bring the insurrection to a close, seems to have placed the Austrian Government under a moral obligation towards that of the Sultan to ensure the neutrality of the Principality.

The demonstration of an Austrian force in the immediate neighbourhood of the Montenegrin frontier, with an intimation to the Prince that the Austrian Government was resolved that neutrality should be observed, would in all probability have the desired effect; and it appears to be the only means now left by which it will be possible to avert the attack on the Principality by Turkey, which a continuance of the assistance given to the insurgents will almost inevitably provoke.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 766.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 407.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 21, 1876.*

THIS morning the Minister of War sent his Secretary to me, to say that his incessant occupations, since his nomination three days ago, had made it impossible for him to call; but as he was convinced that it was only from Her Majesty's Embassy that the Porte received really disinterested advice, he was anxious to have my opinion upon the present emergency.

I repeated the language I had held yesterday to the Grand Vizier upon the imprudence of any precipitate action against Montenegro.

In the afternoon the Secretary came again, and said that he had conveyed my opinion to the Minister (who was yesterday understood to be in favour of immediate hostilities), and he was now inclined to avoid any attack upon Montenegro, and had spoken in this sense to the Sultan.

I have arranged to see his Excellency to-morrow morning, and shall endeavour to confirm him in the more prudent disposition which he now appears to be showing.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 767.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 409.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 22, 1876.*

WHEN I called upon the Minister of War this morning he gave me the most positive assurance that there is no intention of attacking or declaring war against Montenegro.

Considerations of prudence have now produced their effect upon those who advocate immediate war, among whom the Seraskier was understood to be one of the foremost.

He informed me that another attempt would be made to relieve Nichsich, and ten battalions were on their way to reinforce Moukhtar Pasha, who would then have twenty-five battalions available for the purpose, two more having been left at the blockhouse where the supplies were deposited at his last expedition.

The Minister says that the strength of the battalions may be computed at from 600 to 800 men, which is greatly in excess of what other accounts would lead me to believe.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 768.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 410.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 23, 1876.*

AMONG the despatches of which copies were forwarded to me by your lordship's despatch No. 211 was one from Mr. Monson, reporting the opinion of M. Vassilitsky upon the conditions on which the insurgents would consent to a pacification.

The date of this despatch—the 21st of March—renders it valuable, as throwing light upon the negotiations shortly afterwards undertaken, which resulted in demands being brought from the insurgents almost identical with those which M. Vassilitsky had said should form the basis of the pacification.

The negotiations of General Rodich, on behalf of the Austrian Government, and of M. Vassilitsky, for that of Russia, were evidently not carried out as had been intended by Count Andrassy, and the insurgents seem rather to have been invited to put forward new demands than to consent to the conditions offered.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 769.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 412. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 23, 1876.*

LORD AUGUSTUS LOFTUS reported to your Lordship by his telegram of the 20th that Prince Gortchakow considers the negotiations with the insurgents at an end, and that, as Turkey had appealed to arms, Europe must now await the issue of the conflict.

The expression conveys a very inaccurate statement of the case.

A suspension of hostilities had been agreed upon, on the understanding that an important fortress should be revictualled, and, had this agreement been carried out, there is no reason for supposing that the Porte would have objected to its being prolonged; but, as this was not done, it became necessary for the Turks to endeavour themselves to throw in the supplies.

When the truce expired, they undertook no offensive operations, but the insurgents, who had been profiting by it to organize their preparation for resistance, opposed the passage of the convoys.

I would mention confidentially to your Lordship that, when I spoke to General Ignatiew of the expression used by Prince Gortchakow, he said that it only showed the ignorance which prevailed at St. Petersburgh upon the true state of the case, but for his own part he fully admitted that the Turks could not have acted differently, or have accepted a prolongation of the truce, without some security that Nichsich would really be revictualled.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 770.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 414.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 23, 1876.*

I AM informed by General Ignatiew that he had called the attention of Prince Nicholas to the statement of Moukhtar Pasha of the part taken by the Montenegrins in the late fights between Gatzko and Nichsich.

He had received in answer the most categorical denial of the truth of the accusation from the Prince, who invited an European investigation of the charge made against him.

The Minister of War, on the other hand, while he admits that there may be much exaggeration in the estimate of the numbers of Servians and Montenegrins engaged, declares that there can be no doubt of their having taken a leading part in the combats, the insurgents being, he asserts, commanded by the father-in-law of the Prince of Montenegro himself.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 771.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 416. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 23, 1876.*

GENERAL IGNATIEW tells me that the Prince of Montenegro has sent him the whole of the correspondence which passed between him and General Rodich in reference to the revictualling of Nichsich during the late armistice.

The Prince had suggested that the supplies should be sent from Scutari by Podgoritza, and General Rodich had insisted that they should go from Risnuo or some point in the Austrian territory in the Gulf of Cattaro.

From thence they would pass through Grahovo within the Principality, but it was not any difficulties met with there that prevented the operation being carried out.

General Rodich alleged that he had found it impossible to obtain horses or mules

for the transport of the supplies; but this was not the fault of either the Prince or of the Turks, as it was General Rodich who had fixed upon an Austrian port as the point from which they should be forwarded.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 772.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 419.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 24, 1876.*

RASCHID PASHA tells me that he has informed the Austrian and Russian Governments that if the Prince of Montenegro will allow the revictualling of Nichsich, Moukhtar Pasha will abstain from making another expedition for the relief of the fortress.

If this proposal is not acceded to, it will be taken as a proof that the Prince was not sincere in regard to the last agreement, and the Porte will have to consider what measures it may be necessary to adopt.

It is hoped that a favourable answer may be received before Wednesday, and no operations will be undertaken by Moukhtar Pasha before this period has elapsed, but the necessities of Nichsich are too imperative to allow of further delay.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 773.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 422.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 25, 1876.*

I LEARN from Count Zichy that, although the communication which he was instructed by Count Andrassy to make to the Turkish Government contained, as reported by Sir Andrew Buchanan's telegram of the 23rd, an intimation that the port of Klek would be closed if Montenegro was attacked, that threat was withdrawn by a second instruction sent a few hours later.

The first instruction having already been communicated, Count Zichy requested that the part of it above alluded to might be regarded as cancelled.

The communication, after stating that the Austrian Government would continue its efforts for the re-establishment of tranquillity, ended by a declaration that, if the Porte attacked Montenegro, Austria must decline all responsibility for any consequences that may ensue; but what responsibility she accepts if the Porte continues, as it has latterly done, to follow her advice, is not very clear.

An attack upon Montenegro would have been imprudent and ill-advised; but, in stating that it would be a war of aggression, as there has been no breach of neutrality on the part of the Principality, Count Andrassy used an argument totally at variance with ascertained facts.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 774.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 424.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 25, 1876.*

THE last accounts from the north of Bosnia are entirely satisfactory.

Raschid Pasha says that the Austrian frontier being now efficiently guarded, the bands of insurgents had been easily dispersed, and tranquillity is restored in that district.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 775.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 425. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 25, 1876.*

GENERAL IGNATIEW having called upon me the day after I had spoken to the Grand Vizier deprecating an attack upon Montenegro, I told him exactly the language I had been holding, in which he entirely concurred.

The following morning he saw Raschid Pasha and the Grand Vizier, and spoke in the same sense, adding that he did so for himself and for his colleagues, and the former asked Mr. Sandison if he knew whether the General had been deputed to speak for me, and whether he was to regard this as a collective communication.

Mr. Sandison answered very properly that, although General Ignatiew seemed to have expressed exactly the same opinion as I had done two days before, he was convinced that I had not joined in anything like a collective communication.

This occurred before anything was known of a proposal at St. Petersburgh for a collective action of the Representatives here.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 776.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 427. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 25, 1876.*

RASHID PASHA had an audience of the Sultan three days ago, at which he seems to have laid fairly before his Majesty the many objections to the adoption of hostilities against Montenegro.

The Sultan, who had been strongly inclined to vigorous measures, listened to him with patience, and seemed to recognize the force of his arguments.

His Majesty's whole anxiety seemed to be centered in the fate of Nichsich, and he insisted that no efforts should be spared to insure its being relieved.

He would be quite satisfied if this could be done by sending provisions through Montenegro, but otherwise it must be accomplished by Moukhtar Pasha.

This is the second recent occasion upon which Rashid Pasha has, by a personal communication with the Sultan, exercised a marked influence over him, and it seems to confirm the truth of what is often said that, if His Majesty frequently takes ill-advised resolutions, it is because the present Grand Vizier never ventures to oppose him, or to inform him fully of the objections to the course His Majesty proposes to take.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 777.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 428.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 26, 1876.*

THE statement of Count Andrassy, reported in Sir Andrew Buchanan's telegram of yesterday, that the Prince of Montenegro could not receive so much as a pistol from abroad without the permission of Austria, is, however true, a strange one to have fallen from an Austrian statesman, considering how great a proportion of the arms and military supplies by which the insurrection has been kept alive were passed through Montenegro.

That this has been systematically going on is not a question that admits of doubt, and Count Andrassy's statement that it could not take place without the permission of the Austrian Government, is a confirmation of the opinion held here, and of the legitimate grounds of complaint which the Porte has against the neighbouring Power.

Count Andrassy is unwilling to admit that the influence of the Russian Agents can

be as great as those of Austria, but upon that point it may be feared that he deceives himself.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 778.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 431.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 26, 1876.*

ALTHOUGH it has been intimated to the Porte through the Austrian Embassy that the Prince of Montenegro would permit the passage of provisions for Nichsich through the Principality from Scutari, the operation could not be attempted until some arrangement is made to insure the safety of the convoy over the short distance that separates the fortress from the Montenegrin frontier.

During the earlier period of the insurrection a convoy of provisions had been sent that way with the permission of the Prince, but upon arriving at the frontier, and within sight of the fortress, it was found that it would not be allowed to reach it, and the supplies had to be sent back to Scutari.

A repetition of a similar failure would now seal the fate of the place, and although Prince Nicholas may engage that the convoy shall not be attacked within his own territory, and may thus keep up the semblance of neutrality, no confidence can be felt that he would attempt to restrain his own subjects or exert his influence over the insurgents to prevent it from being seized as soon as it passed the frontier.

He might then plead that he had fulfilled his engagement, and that he could not be held responsible for anything that occurred beyond his own limits.

Moukhtar Pasha reports that a very large insurgent force is collected in the immediate neighbourhood of Nichsich, and the Porte hesitates to allow the fate of the place to depend upon their forbearance if they have the opportunity of cutting off the unprotected supplies sent from Scutari.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 779.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 432. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 27, 1876.*

I HAVE informed your Lordship that the decision of the Porte to order Moukhtar Pasha to attempt the revictualling of Nichsich, instead of waiting for an arrangement under which it could be accomplished through Montenegro, was greatly attributable to the language of the Russian Embassy.

I designedly speak of the Russian Embassy rather than of the Russian Ambassador, for the language of General Ignatiew, and that of his first Dragoman, have been so different as greatly to perplex the Turkish Government.

While the Ambassador, acting no doubt under the instruction of his Government, was expressing to Raschid Pasha the hope of an arrangement being come to by which the safety of the convoy might be secured to the fortress, the Dragoman was continually representing that the Prince of Montenegro could not be expected to answer for anything that occurred beyond his own frontier.

The Porte therefore became convinced that the object of the Embassy was to encourage the hope that the revictualling could ultimately be effected from Scutari, and at the same time to show that there were difficulties that had to be removed which would require time.

By prolonging the delay, which the Embassy could easily do, the forced capitulation of the place could then be calculated upon.

The distrust of Russia, whose influence over the Prince is known to be absolute, is so great that it was therefore decided, at all hazards, that the revictualling must be attempted by the Commander-in-chief.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 780.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 436.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 27, 1876.*

ALTHOUGH no immediate intention is now entertained of attacking Montenegro, preparations for military operations on an extended scale continue to be pushed forward.

I learn from Her Majesty's Consul at Salonica, that orders have been received there to enrol twenty-eight battalions of redifs of the 3rd corps d'armée, and orders were this morning sent from the Palace to the Admiralty to provide transports for thirteen battalions from Trebizonde, and for seventeen from Beyrout.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 781.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 438.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 28, 1876.*

THE statement which has reached the Russian Government, alluded to in your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, that all the Representatives here except myself had made a representation to the Porte on the subject of the contemplated attack upon Montenegro is so much at variance with the facts, that I am at a loss to account for it.

I was, as it happened, the first to do so, it having been on the 20th that I strongly urged upon the Grand Vizier the objections to the proposed course.

On the 21st it was decided that the attack should not be made, and on the following day, as I have reported to your Lordship in another despatch, General Ignatiew went to the Grand Vizier, and Rashid Pasha, and speaking in his own name and in that of all his colleagues, expressed himself precisely as I had done two days before.

In mentioning this to me, the General said that he had considered himself warranted in speaking in the name of his colleagues, for although I had not authorized him to do so for me, he knew that I had already expressed the same opinion.

None of us had at that time received instructions consequent upon Prince Gortchakow's invitation; and when these instructions arrived, they had, in fact, not only been executed, but had become unnecessary, as the apprehended eventuality was avoided.

Some of my colleagues, although not all of them, communicated those instructions to the Porte, but I took no further step in the matter after I was satisfied that the necessity for it was past.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 782.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 439.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 28, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a confidential Report from Mr. Sandison, in reference to the measures taken for the relief of Nichsich.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 782.

Mr. Sandison to Sir H. Elliot.

(Confidential.)

Sir, *Pera, April 27, 1876.*

IT being considered most important to provision Nichsich without loss of time, the Council of Ministers, in preference to accepting the offer made by the Prince of Montenegro through the Austrian Government, decided yesterday, as your Excellency is already

aware, on directing Moukhtar Pasha to reattempt the revictualling of the place through the Douga Pass.

Moukhtar Pasha has accordingly left Gatchko at the head of twenty-seven battalions, and is expected to reach Nichsich by Sunday next, but not without encountering serious opposition from the insurgent forces concentrated in large bodies on the positions commanding the most difficult part of the Douga Pass, which extends for half-an-hour's march towards Nichsich from the blockhouse at Preishka, where the convoy of provisions was last left by Moukhtar Pasha.

Much anxiety seems to be felt in the Turkish official circles as to the result of the expedition, inasmuch as the information received at the Porte from various reliable sources states that military preparations on a pretty large scale are being actively pushed on by Montenegro on its frontier near Nichsich, in view of Moukhtar Pasha's arrival there.

Rashid Pasha has, under the circumstances, thought proper to represent the matter to the European Cabinets through the Turkish Ministers abroad, with the request that they should bring their influence to bear upon Prince Nicholas, with the view of insuring the observance of neutrality on his frontier, in common justice to the Porte, who offers no provocation to Montenegro, and which has never refrained from any just concessions conducive to the pacification of the insurgent provinces.

To all appearance the patience of the Government is not likely to give way even in presence of a still more provoking state of things, and the general conviction that Russia is and has been playing a double game from the very commencement of the insurrection. But though Mussulman public feeling has not yet attained any marked degree of development, at this juncture those who know best what the consciousness of danger for national existence and religion generally means, are not at all sure that the over-conciliatory policy of the Government will not be resented by a large majority of the Mussulman public, in proportion as the notion gains ground that the unchecked aggressions of Montenegro, coupled with the Slav movement in the insurgent provinces, are but a prelude to the establishment of a Slav Confederation in European Turkey.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. SANDISON.

No. 783.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 440.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 28, 1876.*

IF the attempt to relieve Nichsich fails, affairs will become very serious; for, even should Montenegro not openly join the insurgents, it will probably require the united pressure of Europe to prevent the Porte from attacking the Principality.

In order to avoid an imminent danger to the general peace it may be justifiable and proper to apply such pressure, but if the allied Governments interpose their authority to prevent Turkey from adopting what she holds to be the only means of suppressing the insurrection, they will, I believe, as a necessary consequence, be forced to take the settlement of the whole Bosnian and Herzegovinian question into their own hands, and to insist upon its being referred to a European Conference.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 784.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 7.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, May 7, 1876, 11·41 A.M.*

REPORTS of the Bulgarian movement are conflicting. We have no Consular Agent in the neighbourhood. Austrian Ambassador tells me that his agent reports that five villages have been burnt by the insurgents.

Russian Ambassador says positively that there is nothing political in the movement, and which is merely got up by workmen for their arrears of wages.

Russian Vice-Consul at Philipopoli is a Bulgarian, who has been long known to be

* Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

an active agent of the Revolutionary Committees. About five thousand troops have been despatched from here, and although General Ignatiew is anxious to prevent too much importance being given to it, I believe that, unless very promptly suppressed, the movement is likely to become excessively serious.

The impression here is that Russia is at the bottom of it.

No. 785.

Mr. White to the Earl of Derby.[a]—(*Received May* 7, 11·30 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Belgrade, May* 7, 1876, 10 A.M.

SERVIAN Ministry has been replaced by a new one, consisting of M. Ristitch, and also almost all those of his colleagues who were removed in August last on account of their supposed warlike tendencies.

No reason to think that any immediate danger will accrue from their advent to office.

No. 785[a].

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received May* 8.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, May* 7, 1876, 10·58 P.M.

THE irritation of the Turkish population has become so great that little is required to put all Christians in great jeopardy.

The Porte shows readiness to do all that is required by the Representatives respecting the Salonica catastrophe, but it is essential to avoid everything that may add to the excitement.

If decisive result to be come to at Berlin with regard to Herzegovina, great care should be taken to ask for nothing that the Turkish Government cannot accept and engage to carry out.

Europe might enforce its decisions, but could not do so without frightful massacres of Christians.

No. 786.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received May* 8.)

(No. 243.)

My Lord, *Vienna, April* 28, 1876.

BEFORE I received your Lordship's telegram of this date, in which it is stated that Her Majesty's Government consider that the representation of the Porte is just and reasonable, that as it had disclaimed any intention of attacking Montenegro, the Great Powers should strongly advise Prince Nicholas to observe a strict neutrality, Count Andrassy had informed me that His Highness had given him positive assurances (in which his Excellency placed entire confidence) that he would act in conformity with the wishes of the Powers, and remain strictly neutral in the contest which is taking place on the frontiers of the Principality.

As I nevertheless thought it expedient that his Excellency should be made acquainted with the views of Her Majesty's Government on this subject, I transmitted to him the substance of your Lordship's telegram, in a letter, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy herewith, for your Lordship's information.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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[a] Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

Inclosure in No. 786.

Sir A. Buchanan to Count Andrassy.

Dear Count Andrassy, *Vienna, April* 28, 1876.

ALTHOUGH you believe the information received at Constantinople as to the intentions of the Prince of Montenegro to assist the insurgents in resisting Moukhtar Pasha's march to Nichsich through the Duga Pass to be unfounded, I nevertheless transmit to you herewith the copy of a telegram on the subject of the appeal made by the Porte to the Six Powers to use their influence with Prince Nicholas to induce him to observe a strict neutrality, as the opinion which Lord Derby expresses upon it was evidently sent to me for communication to your Excellency.

Believe, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 787.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received May* 8.)

(No. 256.)

My Lord, *Vienna, May* 2, 1876.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 169 of the 26th ultimo, I have had some conversation with Count Andrassy, relative to your opinions as to the expediency of granting territorial concessions to Montenegro, and from his Excellency's language on the subject, there appears to be little probability of his ever being disposed to recommend such a measure to the Porte. He says that the negotiation now pending for accomplishing the pacification of the Herzegovina was based on the clear understanding that no territorial changes were to take place, and that the territorial *status quo* was to be maintained with such ameliorations as it might be possible to effect in the administration of the Turkish provinces, and in the social position, and the material interests of their Christian inhabitants.

As yet his Excellency said this programme had been maintained, but if it is to be departed from, the deviation cannot be made in favour of only one State. If Montenegro is to be satisfied, Servia must be so likewise, and Austria-Hungary will have to support the claims of her own Croats in Turkish Croatia; and, in other words, the scramble for Turkish provinces will begin, and it will be impossible to prevent or postpone eventualities which are to be expected from a dissolution or dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire.

This may have been merely an exaggerated way of stating his Excellency's opinion, that any concession to Montenegro will whet its appetite for others, and to excite the ambitious designs of Servia; but it is also possible that his Excellency may have in view the special interests of Austria-Hungary, when he objects so decidedly to consider the expediency of satisfying the wishes of Prince Nicholas and his people, as, were access to the coast granted to the Principality, the influence which the Austro-Hungarian Government can now exercise upon its policy would be greatly diminished, and it might receive material support and assistance from Russia, independently of Austria, in furtherance of its own ambitious views, or of Russian policy in the East; whereas at present, as I reported in my despatch No. 232 of the 23rd ultimo, Count Andrassy observed to me some some days ago that the Prince of Montenegro knows that he can receive no material assistance, and not even a pistol from abroad, without the consent of Austria.

As I said that I believed Ali Pasha had recommended the Prince's wishes to the favourable consideration of the Porte, his Excellency rejoined that, if Ali Pasha had done so, it could only have been from from a short-sighted and provincial view, as to what might be of immediate and local advantage, and without his having sufficient breadth of vision to discern the many great and serious consequences which would inevitably follow any exception to the principle of the maintenance of the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, by which the relations of European Powers with the Porte are at present regulated.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

No. 788.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 8.)

(No. 257. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, May 3, 1876.*

AS Count Andrassy was engaged yesterday at the Conference between the Austrian and Hungarian Ministers, under the presidency of the Emperor, I called upon Baron Hofmann, and communicated to him the Memorandum, of which I inclose a copy, of the substance of the telegrams from Lord Augustus Loftus and Sir Henry Elliot, of which your Lordship forwarded to me copies yesterday, reporting that Prince Gortchakow was believed to be urging Count Andrassy to close the port of Klek, and that his Highness had held unsatisfactory language to Caboully Pasha, and also to Lord Augustus Loftus, as to Russian influence continuing to be exercised at Belgrade and Cetigné, with a view to promoting the maintenance of the neutrality of Servia and Montenegro.

With respect to Klek, Count Andrassay had already informed me, in strict confidence, as he did not wish it to be generally known, that the Russian Ambassador had urged him to close the Gulf as a means of rendering the Turkish authorities more disposed to negotiate an arrangement with the insurgents, but that he had positively declined to do so, while the Turks continued to respect the territory of Montenegro.

I referred, nevertheless, to the statement in the inclosure, in order to give more importance to the apparent impatience and dissatisfaction of Prince Gortchakow at finding that the Porte would not submit quietly to the safety of Nichsich being compromised by ambiguous and dilatory arrangements for revictualling it from Montenegro, or meet his Highness' wishes as to the pretensions put forward by the insurgent chiefs at their interview with General Rodich.

In making this communication to Baron Hofmann, I also observed that Prince Gortchakow appeared to me to be either unacquainted with, or to have forgotten the understanding on which Her Majesty's Government had given their support at Constantinople to Count Andrassay's despatch of the 30th of December last.

Baron Hofmann said that he understood Prince Gortchakow had shown some symptoms of excitement at the incidents which had recently occurred in the question, but that no telegraphic intelligence had been received from Baron Langenau confirming the information in my Memorandum, probably because his Excellency had preferred doing so in despatches, which are daily expected from St. Petersburgh.

He requested me, however, to leave the Memorandum with him for Count Andrassay's confidential information, which I readily did, as I considered it important that his Excellency should consider seriously before he meets Prince Gortchakow at Berlin, which he has agreed to do, the probability that he will then be urged to promote more radical changes in the future organization and administration of Bosnia and the Herzegovina than those already agreed to by the Porte, in deference to the suggestions submitted to it by his Excellency, and supported by the general assent of the great Powers.

As it appeared to me to be also of importance that there should be no doubt as to the Porte having been fully justified by the circumstances in ordering Moukhtar Pasha to force the Duga Pass, though Count Andrassy was negotiating an arrangement with the Prince of Montenegro for revictualling Nichsich, I this morning communicated confidentially to Baron Hofmann a copy of a Memorandum, containing the substance of Sir Henry Elliot's telegram of yesterday on that subject.

His Excellency said he was glad to receive it, as affording some explanation of the source from which the Porte had obtained the information, which led it to believe that Prince Nicholas, on first agreeing to allow a convoy of provisions for Nichsich from Soutari to pass through Montenegro, only proposed to secure its safety to the frontier, whereas Count Andrassay never doubted that His Highness had always intended to guarantee its safe arrival at the fortress.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 788.

Substance of Telegrams from the Earl of Derby, May 1, 1876.

LORD AUGUSTUS LOFTUS telegraphs confidentially that he has reason to believe that Prince Gortchakow is urging Count Andrassy to close Klek in consequence of the renewal of hostilities by Moukhtar Pasha for the relief of Nichsich, and that his Highness

speaks of intending neither to incite nor to restrain Servia and Montenegro from taking an active part in support of the insurgents.

Sir Henry Elliot also telegraphs that Caboully Pasha reports Prince Gortchakow to have stated, with reference to the Porte's representation in favour of the Great Powers inducing Servia and Montenegro to remain neutral, that Russia had already done more than could be expected of her; and with reference to Lord Derby's expressed opinion that the representations of the Porte are just and reasonable that Montenegro should be called upon to observe a strict neutrality, the Porte had disclaimed any intention of attacking the Principality, Lord A. Loftus reports that Prince Gortchakow had said that the Porte continues to maintain a menacing attitude to Montenegro, and that he can take no further steps or answer for Montenegro not being forced into action.

Inclosure 2 in No. 788.

Substance of a Telegram from Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby, dated May 2, 1876.

PRINCE GORTCHAKOW is mistaken when he assumes that an armistice proposed by Austria was refused by the Porte, for neither the Austrian nor the Russian Ambassador could guarantee that the insurgents would agree to a suspension of hostilities, and it was impossible for the Porte under such circumstances, and with this uncertainty, to leave Nichsich without supplies. Besides General Ignatiew mentioned that the Prince of Montenegro could not be answerable for the safety of a convoy beyond his own frontier, and the language which his Excellency held in this sense contributed more than anything else to deciding the Porte to order the fort to be revictualled from Gasko by Moukhtar Pasha.

No. 789.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 8.)

(No. 258.)
My Lord, *Vienna, May 3, 1876.*

COUNT ANDRASSY, whom I met this afternoon, confirmed a report which has been in circulation since yesterday, that he has been invited to meet Prince Gortchakow at Berlin, and he said he proposed to leave Vienna for that capital in time to be present at the arrival of the Emperor Alexander.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 790.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 8.)

(No. 259. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, May 4, 1876.*

THE Turkish Ambassador having called upon me yesterday, we had some conversation on the subject of Moukhtar Pasha's recent successful operations, and on the influence which they may have on the negotiations for the pacification of the Herzegovina, I observed that I hoped the Porte would use the opportunity to show its readiness to fulfil its promises to the insurgents, and Arifa Pasha having therefore asked my opinion as to who should take the initiative in new negotiations, I said it appeared to me that the natural course would be for his Excellency to be authorized to inform Count Andrassy that the Porte, notwithstanding its recent successes, is willing to grant a suspension of hostilities with a view to the submission of the insurgents still in arms, and to communicate with the Austrian authorities as to the measures which may be expedient for effecting the immediate return of the refugees.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 791.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 8.)

(No. 260.)

My Lord, *Vienna, May 4, 1876.*

WITH reference to Mr. Monson's telegram to your Lordship of yesterday's date, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that a Vienna journal this morning reports, from a Slav source, that at the beginning of the fighting Moukhtar Pasha's army, led by 5,000 Arnauts, a first-rate force ("eine wahre Elitetruppe"), broke through the centre of the insurgents, formed by the band of Sotschitza, which retreated with a loss of 200 men. On this, both flanks of the insurgent army, under the brothers Peko and Peter Pantowitch, were driven back; and meanwhile the escort, consisting of twelve battalions, of the convoy of provisions, effected its junction with a sortie of the garrison of Nichsich.

The fortress was thus revictualled for fourteen days; but Moukhtar Pasha, it is pretended, never left the entrance of the Doga Pass, where, with a view to his return, he had entrenched himself. On the 29th he was attacked there by the insurgents, and repulsed them in a brilliant manner. On the 30th, however, after the insurgents had been reinforced by 5,000 men, of whom 700 were Austrian subjects from Krivoscia, Mouktar was again attacked, and obliged to retreat to Gasko, after the insurgents had committed great slaughter among his troops.

Mr. Monson's telegram had also reported the Austrian subjects alleged to have joined the insurgents as belonging to Krivoscia; but as there was a difficulty in decyphering the name of the district they had come from, the figures were omitted in the copy forwarded to the Foreign Office.

In these combats the loss of the insurgents is estimated at 400 dead and 800 wounded.

A telegram from Ragusa, however, published this morning by a journal friendly to the insurgents, pretends, on the authority of the correspondent of a Belgian newspaper, who had arrived there from the insurgent camp, that all the wounded have died in consequence of the Turks using the explosive bullets proscribed in the armies of civilized States.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 792.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 8.)

(No. 266.)

My Lord, *Vienna, May 5, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship the inclosed despatch, which has been addressed to me by Major Gonne, Military Attaché to this Embassy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 792.

Major Gonne to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir, *Ragusa, April 30, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to report my return from Mostar, and to submit the information I have been able to gather from Turkish sources. Both Ali Pasha (the Governor General) and Ali Pasha (the Divisional Commander) rendered me every assistance in their power. It so happens that the administration of the Turkish army is very defective, and with the very best intentions, these officers were unable to render anything like a detailed "return." I know more of the recent battles in the Douga Pass, the numbers engaged, and the losses sustained, than either of those responsible officials, for the simple reason that Moukhtar Pasha had not reported accurately, for reasons best known to himself.

The Turkish army has made a very deep impression on my mind. I pronounce the Mussulman soldiers in these provinces to be physically the finest in Europe, and they also possess qualities which others can lay no claim to.

The Turkish soldier has no nationality, but a very strong provincialism, he is intensely domestic, and is as thrifty as a Scot. A Turk requires no tent, and can live on rice and grease; he will undergo any hardship, and has no fear of death, provided that his relatives receive beyond all doubt his hardly-gained wage. These soldiers may be

(I do not say are) perfectly disciplined and trained,* and they will fight anywhere, against anyone.

The Mahomedan in India takes a lively interest in any matter touching the Sultan's interest, as being the head of the faith. The Mahomedan soldier in Europe, under Ottoman rule, never thinks for a moment of his, so to say, disreputable taskmaster.

The soldiers are in arrears of pay, ranging from nine to fourteen months.† This has the very worst effect on them, and when one adds the fact that the officers are not only corrupt, but also that they neither drill nor lead their men, your Excellency will understand why the army has of late figured so badly.

If England finds herself forced hereafter to draw the sword in settlement of the Eastern question, let her not forget this material ready to hand.

With British artillery and British officers I verily believe the Turks would render a good account of the best Continental army, nor would this result falsify Turkish tradition. Against what other infantry was it ever found necessary to raise *chevaux-de-frise* in the open field?

At this date the Turks are thus posted in Herzegovina:—

Gasko	..	25 battalions made up to 600 strong, equal to	..	..	..	..	15,000
		2,000 Bashi-Bazouks from Albania		„	..	..	2,000
		6 batteries mountain guns.					
Trebinje	..	1 battalion made up to 550 strong	..	..	..	..	550
Mostar	..	1 „ „ 500 „	..	..	..	..	500
Kleck	..	2 battalions „ 600 „	..	..	..	..	1,200
							19,250

One regiment of cavalry broken up for orderly duty

Two ships with troops and one battery of field-guns from the 2nd Corps. Numbers unknown.‡

In Bosnia there are sixteen battalions, eight being Nizam or standing Army, and eight Redif or Militia. Bosnia is not included in the same vilayet as Herzegovina at present, but as available for service in Bosnia may be included twenty battalions at Novi-Bazaar.

There are thirty battalions concentrated at Niseli to hold Servia safe, and sixteen battalions at Veddin.

Ali Pasha informed me that the existing battalions were to be made up at once to 400 strong each, but he wished for more men so as to scour the country with "flying columns."§ There seems to be no brigade formation, though, doubtless, brigades and divisions are formed where a concentration takes place, such as at Gasko.

In estimating the exact numerical strength available to put down the insurgents, it is necessary to know how many Redif battalions are included, for these are the strongest, being little short of 1,000 men per battalion. The one in Nichsich, for instance, is still 900 strong; it must be remembered that Redif can only be obliged to serve in their own country.‖

The Bashi-Bazouk is another unknown quantity; he is no soldier, but is armed and supplied by the landlord on Government requisition, and must serve where required. In accordance with the Feudal Law existing, the landlords forfeit their land on failing the Government at time of need.

I take this occasion of mentioning that the opinion of those in a position to know seems exclusively to the effect that the agrarian question is the only one at the root of Herzegovinian and Bosnian discontent. Religious liberty is a mere excuse. I find that at Mostar for years the Christians have been allowed church bells. I find also that at Serajevo the bells were stopped at the request of the Christians, who were disappointed at finding the Turks took no notice of their demonstration. The repeal of the 1851 and 1862 agrarian changes would, I am told, content the people, in the absence of professional agitators. I find, also, that the autumn seed was sown in a great part of Herzegovina, which accounts for a mass of the "fugitives" wishing to return.¶ They require two necessities: firstly, protection from the violence of their own countrymen; secondly, a sum of money to start with or food in kind.

* On the contrary, I saw signs of very lax discipline. The officers were to my eyes a disgrace to the force.

† Full pay up to date was sent to Moukhtar Pasha last week for seventeen battalions, in order to secure a goodwill in the coming fight.

‡ In camp at Scutari as a threat to Montenegro. Orders are issued to collect supplies for 30,000 men.

§ The Governor-General has no power over the troops, and it seemed to me that he showed no inclination to interfere with Moukhtar Pasha.

‖ The General Ali Pasha could not tell his Redif strength not having the books.

¶ Five hundred families have applied to the Austrians for help to reside round the district of Stagno near Kleck.

The Turkish Government understands perfectly that if the flame burning so brightly round the Montenegrin frontier be forcibly extinguished, other sparks will fail to kindle. Therefore, they have massed troops for the relief of Nichsich at the cost of the general safe-guard. They care not the least for Servia; against this province the Turkish soldiers would fight with a will; but the Montenegrins have established a dread, and troops under this condition must be led, not sent. Fortunately for Turkey the very worst feeling exists between Montenegro and Servia, though, for a special object, they may make common cause.

At the time I write a battle is going on in the Douga Pass; it began on Friday. The result, when known, shall be telegraphed.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOS. GONNE,

Military Attaché, Major 17th Lancers.

Inclosure 2 in No. 792.

Details of the Second Attack of Moukhtar Pasha on the Insurgents blocking the Duga Pass.

THE information is received by telegram from Cettingé, and arrived there by word of mouth viâ Ostrog. All that can be reported is the progress of the fight.

Thursday night.—The Turks left Gusko.

Friday.—A few distant shots were fired.

Saturday.—At 9 A.M. the Turks* were advancing and carried all before them till they came within sight of the last fort, "Brisika," this they were also able to pass by noon. (In this fort it is said that the greater part of the provisions carried on the former occassion were stored).

12 *o'clock (noon).*—The battle had arrived at the spot where the Turks were finally repulsed before. The road was blocked and entrenchments covered by inclosed stone (earth?) works, closed the defile. The left wing of the insurgents seemed to give way.

2 *o'clock, p.m.*—The Turks fight on the same ground, and make no progress.

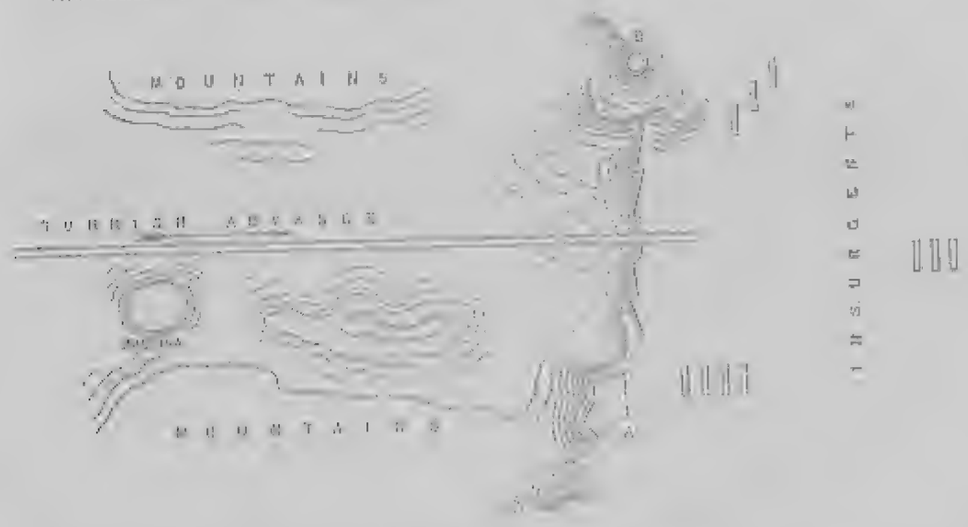
Sunday (this day).—The battle rages at the same place as it left off yesterday; no progress.

Note.—From a detailed account I am able to report that the last battle ended as follows:—

It will be understood that the real fighting was all on one day, though skirmishing went on for six days.

"An entrenchment commanding the pass made by the insurgents was taken and retaken twice, but in the end was in the hands of the insurgents. This was masked, and Moukhtar marched on, passing Brisika, the last fort, in which he placed part of his 'Iram.'"

The defile was now found as follows:—



* Strength:—Turks, 30 battalions, 9 batteries, 2,500 Bashi-Bazouks; total, 17,000. Insurgents, little 5,000.

It is said that Fort A was taken by the Turks, who then saw how strong the position was, but in leading an attack in person Moukhtar's horse was shot under him. The Turks made this an excuse to rush to his assistance, and the insurgents attacked advancing over their line entrenched with stones. The Turks retreated.

(Signed) THOS. GONNE.

No. 793.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 8.)

(No. 27. Political.)

My Lord, *Ragusa, April 30, 1876.*

ON the 25th instant I started for Mostar with Major Gonne, being desirous of profiting by that gentleman's companionship to accept a pressing invitation given me by Ali Pasha during his stay at Ragusa.

Major Gonne has reported by this mail to Sir Andrew Buchanan the information he obtained as to the Turkish force in the Herzegovina. Very few troops were to be seen either at Klek or at Mostar, Moukhtar Pasha having summoned every available man to join him in the second expedition for the relief of Nichsich. Wassa Effendi complained to me that this concentration of all the troops in the south of the province was a serious hindrance to him in arranging for the return of the refugees, whom he could not undertake to protect unless a small military force is placed at his disposal. He assured me that the Austrian authorities at Metcovich reported that there were many families anxious to return. Both he and Ali Pasha thought that at least two-thirds of the province were in their normal state of cultivation, and they continue to be of opinion that it is only terror of the vengeance which would be wreaked upon them by the insurgents that prevents a general repatriation of the emigrants.

Wassa Effendi said to me that he believed that he had done some good at Mostar, principally in causing justice to be more equitably administered; and in reforming the gaol system. He makes a weekly inspection of the prisons in person.

Ali Pasha listened with profound interest to all that Major Gonne thought himself at liberty to tell him respecting the state of affairs at Cettigné. His Excellency is clearly of opinion that the only way to deal successfully with the insurrection is to adopt a more decided policy against Montenegro, and on the 27th instant he telegraphed to the Porte in terms identical with those employed by me in the telegram which, on the 24th instant, I addressed to Sir Andrew Buchanan for communication to your Lordship.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 794.

Mr. Harriss-Gastrell to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, May 8.)

(No. 52.)

Sir, *Buda-Pest, May 2, 1876.*

IT may not be without interest at the present moment to notice a communication to the "Pester Lloyd," mentioning the recent journey of the Serdar Montanovich from Montenegro to Russia.

It states that the Serdar has just returned, after visiting the Prince's children in Moscow, and after giving a verbal report in the proper quarter in St. Petersburgh, of the situation in Montenegro. This report turned upon a complaint against Turkish military measures in Albania, and upon the assurance that for two months the frontier had been so strictly kept, that no Montenegrin had crossed to the insurgents, and was rewarded by the most tranquillizing assurances on the part of the Czar.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. P. HARRISS-GASTRELL.

No. 795.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 8.)

(No. 188. Confidential.)

Berlin, May 5, 1876.

My Lord,

THE Czar and the Emperors of Austria and Germany having agreed to a meeting of their Ministers to discuss the best means of bringing about a pacification of the insurrectionary movement in Herzegovina, Prince Bismarck, by order of his Sovereign, has invited Count Andrassy to Berlin, as the Russian Chancellor had already done last week; and Count Andrassy, in accepting the double invitation, has announced his arrival at Berlin for Tuesday next the 9th instant.

The Czar and Prince Gortchakow, however, will not be here before Thursday morning, the 11th, and His Majesty's departure for Ems is fixed for Saturday next, 13th instant.

In reply to my inquiries Herr von Bülow told me that the Andrassy note was the basis on which it was hoped to effect the pacification. It remained to be seen, however, from the impending discussion in what manner Prince Gortchakow and Count Andrassy proposed to bring about a practical agreement between the insurgents and the Porte.

The German Government, having no special interest beyond the maintenance of peace in the matter, would be willing and glad to give their moral support to any pacific solution of the question their Russian and Austrian allies might agree upon.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 796.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 270.)

Foreign Office, May 8, 1876.

My Lord,

THE Russian Ambassador called upon me on the 4th instant, and entered into a long and interesting conversation on the state of matters in the East.

The following are the most important of the observations which he was charged to make.

His Government, he said, thought badly of the turn which events were taking; it was evident that the Austrian note had hitherto produced no effect in bringing about a pacification, and it did not seem likely that it would do so. The question would, therefore, arise, What further steps ought to be taken? He assumed that it was not contemplated by any Power to allow the war to go on indefinitely, without an attempt to prevent its spreading. It seemed that two alternatives only were possible: the one, an occupation of the disturbed districts by Austrian troops; the other, a fresh proposal made to the insurgents of terms which they might be induced to accept. To the policy of an Austrian occupation many objections occurred. It was not desired by the Austrians themselves; it might lead to difficulties and complications not at present foreseen; and though it might restore peace temporarily and provisionally, it effected nothing towards a permanent settlement of the questions at issue. The other alternative seemed more feasible; the insurgents had been moderate in their demands, they had not asked for independence or for any concession incompatible with the maintenance in its integrity of the Turkish Empire; it remained to be seen whether something might not be done to meet their views.

Count Schouvaloff then referred to the intended meeting of Prince Gortchakow, Prince Bismarck, and Count Andrassy at Berlin, in the course of next week, and said that it was the earnest desire of his Government that whatever course of action was to be decided upon, should be the result of agreement, not among three Powers only, but among six.

I said that I had heard this last expression of opinion with much satisfaction, and entirely concurred in it. As to the course which should be pursued by the Powers, it seemed premature to attempt to lay it down. There appeared, I said, to be a general agreement that something ought to be done; but no agreement, or approach to agreement, as to what it should be. I was disposed to concur in his objections to the plan of an Austrian occupation—not the least of them being the reluctance of the Austrian Government itself to take that step. I thought it too soon to despair of the success of Count Andrassy's plan of pacification, and pointed out briefly the difficulty of asking the Porte to

make further concessions, after the unreserved acceptance by the Sultan of those formerly proposed, and the rejection of them by the other party to the quarrel. I spoke of the active part taken by Montenegro in encouraging the insurrection; and expressed to Count Schouvaloff my opinion that since the Powers had combined to protect Montenegro from attack by Turkey, they were bound to see that the security thus guaranteed to the Prince and his people was not abused. After some further discussion, Count Schouvaloff observed, that he was not authorized to say more than what was contained in his previous remarks; but that speaking in a private and unofficial capacity, he was disposed to believe that no concessions short of local autonomy, such as is enjoyed by Servia, would satisfy the insurgent leaders.

I have thought it worth while to note this remark, notwithstanding its merely personal character, because it appeared to me to be thrown out with a view of ascertaining what the views of Her Majesty's Government would be in the event of such a proposal being made.

In a similarly unofficial manner, Count Schouvaloff stated his belief that if the Montenegrins were by any means induced to separate themselves from the cause of the insurgents, the movement would speedily collapse.

I did not think it expedient to offer an opinion on either of these two points.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 797.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 8.)

(No. 26. Political.)

Belgrade, April 4, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of my despatch marked Confidential, of this day, addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, with remarks on the overtures supposed to have been made by the Prince of Servia to the Greek Consul-General here.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 797.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

(Confidential.)

Belgrade, April 4, 1876.

Sir,

WITH reference to your Excellency's telegram of the 22nd ultimo, by which you kindly informed me that you were told in strict confidence of certain overtures made by the Prince of Servia to the Greek Consul-General here, to which the latter is said to have returned a discouraging answer, for which he has been fully approved by his Government, I beg leave to mention to your Excellency what I happened to know about the matter.

In February last, when it became evident that Servia was pushing on her preparations with renewed vigour, as reported in my despatch of February 5, 1876, to the Earl of Derby (copy of which was sent to your Excellency), my Greek colleague, M. Doseos, had several interviews with the Prince of Servia.

From what I could learn at the time it appeared to me that there was a mutual desire on both sides to learn something of each others plans. My colleague wished to find out what Servia contemplated, and the Prince to ascertain how far Greece was disposed to assist in a general rising of Eastern Christians against Turkey.

So far the result of these interviews must have been discouraging for the Prince.

I was not aware, however, that actual stipulations had been either proposed by the Prince or rejected by the Greek Consul-General, and certainly I would not be disposed to credit that part of the proposal in which the Prince is said to have spoken of securing the independence of Servia, for I have reason to believe that his ambition lies in quite in that direction, and that he and all parties agree in deprecating such a result as greatest danger instead of being a boon to Servia.

My own impression from what I heard of these interviews was that there was a good deal of oriental finessing on both sides, and that the Prince and my colleague in treating

of the turn of disturbances in different Provinces of European Turkey, addressed each other somewhat in the way (though in a different sense) related in a famous anecdote of one of our great battles with the French—"Après vous, messieurs."

My Greek colleague has often spoken to me of the way in which the Servians had kept aloof from all participation during the Cretan insurrection, and he has frequently repeated to me that the lesson of 1867 has not been lost on his Government, which had no reason to disturb their good relations with the Porte, and would certainly discourage by every means, any disturbance in Turkish Provinces largely inhabited by Greeks, unless they saw first the Slavs fairly committed and the conflagration assuming a general character and one presenting a reasonable chance of success.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 798.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received May* 8.)

(No. 28. Political.)
Belgrade, April 15, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of my despatch of the 11th instant, addressed to Sir Henry Elliot on the insult offered by a mob to the Austrian Consulate-General at Belgrade.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 798.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Belgrade, April 11, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that a most unpleasant occurrence took place here on Sunday last, in front of the Austro-Hungarian Consulate-General.

About 9·30 A.M. a rabble assembled there, accompanied by a musical band, consisting of Hungarian gypsies, and a variety of disharmonious noises and uncouth sounds emanated from them. Two stones were also thrown against the gate of the house, after which the mob separated.

Prince Wrede reported the matter home to his Government by telegraph, and was at once instructed to demand immediate and complete satisfaction; and, in case of non-compliance, to strike his Consular flag, and to take his departure, together with all the officers of his Consulate.

It is to be regretted that the Servian Government did not anticipate this demand by offering of their own accord ample reparation for the insult.

I have ascertained that Prince Wrede is of opinion that any steps on the part of his colleagues to bring about an arrangement are uncalled for, and I have therefore abstained from proferring my services.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 798*.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received May* 8.)

(No. 29. Political.)
Belgrade, April 15, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of my despatch of the 13th instant, addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, on the satisfaction given by the Servian Government to the Consul-General Prince Wrede.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 798*.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Belgrade, April 13, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that the Servian Government has, in compliance with Prince Wrede's written demands, accepted the conditions of a reparation for the insult to the Austro-Hungarian flag, viz.:—

They have apologized in writing, and have inserted a paragraph to that effect in the official journal this morning.

They have promised the non-recurrence of such offences for the future, and have ordered an investigation with a view to the punishment of the offenders, and of such police officers as may have been culpable of negligence in this instance.

Count Andrassy has signified to Prince Wrede his approval of this result, and also his sense of the combination of firmness and moderation displayed by Prince Wrede.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 799.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received May* 8.)

(No. 30. Political.)
Belgrade, April 25, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of my despatch addressed, on the 21st instant, to Sir Henry Elliot, on the Austrian promise to intern Cara-George, Junior, which does not appear to have been kept.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 799.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Belgrade, April 21, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that a new cause of irritation has occurred between Austria and Servia on account of the son of Cara George, the Pretender.

This gentleman has been on several occasions fighting as an insurgent leader in Bosnia, with men recruited at his expense in Hungary, and at the end of each expedition he returned to Hungary unmolested. Latterly he has been sending emissaries to Servia, and has issued a proclamation.

Five weeks ago Prince Wrede was instructed by Count Andrassy to inform Prince Milan that the authorities in Hungary had been instructed to proceed to his apprehension, and that as an insurgent Chief, Cara George, Junior, would be treated exactly like Liubobratitch.

The Servians assert that nothing of the sort has been done, and that though their own detectives are able to follow all his movements, the Hungarian authorities pretend to be ignorant of his whereabouts.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 800.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received May* 8.)

(No. 31. Political.)
Belgrade, April 25, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of my despatch addressed, on the 21st instant, to Sir Henry Elliot, on the striking decline of Austrian influence in Servia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 800.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Belgrade, April* 21, 1876.

WITH a view to place before your Excellency every circumstance which may, however indirectly, influence the conduct of Servia at this critical juncture, I consider it my duty to notice what appears to me the deplorable decline of Austrian influence in Servia.

That Power is looked upon here by Prince, Ministers, and people in the light of an enemy; her reprimands and threats are not heeded, and certainly her moral influence appears slumbering.

Not longer ago than last August, I had opportunities of observing a very different state of things. The Prince and his Ministers appeared the most desirous to secure the good-will of the Court of Vienna and of Count Andrassy, to conclude a Commercial Convention between this Principality and the powerful neighbouring Empire, to establish a railway connection, &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 801.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 8.)

(No. 32. Political.)

My Lord, *Belgrade, April* 25, 1876

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of my despatch addressed on the 21st instant to Sir Henry Elliot, on the increase of Prince Milan's personal influence in Servian affairs.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 801.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Belgrade, April* 21, 1876.

THERE is no doubt that, since Prince Milan has shown a disposition to lend an attentive ear to the suggestions of the war party, and has to a certain extent taken upon himself the direction of the military preparations, he has gained immensely in influence and popularity, not only amongst his own people, but even amongst the Slavs in Hungary.

The active opposition which existed here against him twelve months ago is gradually disappearing and dwindling into insignificant proportions, and it is probable that, if matters go on in this way, the only remaining irreconcilables will consist of the few unscrupulous secret adherents of the dynasty of Cara George. This Pretender, who was accused of having been concerned in the murder of Prince Michael of Servia, and his son, reside both in Austria.

The Slav "Omladina" party used to consider Prince Milan as a lukewarm supporter of the national cause; but since he has merited the reproaches of Count Andrassy's Government, and the abusive language of the Hungarian press, it is evident that they are rallying round him, and completely new and dangerous combinations amongst various Slav elements, hitherto hostile, would appear to be preparing in the dark, which may acquire a much more revolutionary character, whenever Austria should feel impelled to cross the Save into Ottoman territory with a military force.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 802.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 8.)

(No. 33. Political.)

My Lord, *Belgrade, April* 28, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of my despatch marked Confidential of this day, addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, on the subject of the supposed purchase of rifles at Berlin by the Servian Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 802.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

(Confidential.)

Sir, *Belgrade, April 28, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that a great deal has been said during the last two months of a projected purchase of rifles for the Servian Government.

The Austrian Government having been advised from Berlin that 100,000 French Chassepot rifles had been bought there by some Russian house, gave strict injunctions not to permit the passage of any arms destined either for Servia or for the insurgents.

During all this time, people in office here gave a flat denial to any intention on their part of purchasing either muskets or rifles; but their denials appear to me to be fainter and more feeble of late.

Of course I cannot be quite certain, but I am inclined to believe, that a purchase of Chassepot rifles has been effected by Servia at Berlin, through some foreign firm, and with an engagement to pay for them six months after delivery.

A friend of mine has heard that some had even been actually smuggled through Austria; but if any have been actually delivered, it must be but a very small portion of the entire quantity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 803.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 8.)

(No. 34. Political.)

My Lord, *Belgrade, April 28, 1876.*

IN the political events which are either going on or preparing in this part of Europe, two distinct Slav bodies are likely to exercise no small influence, viz., the Omladinists in Hungary and the Slavonic Committee in Moscow.

The Omladinists are the Slav home rulers of Hungary; as such, they are hated and despised by the governing (Magyar) class in that kingdom; and hitherto they had shown so defective a political organization, that their importance arose much more from their supposed connection with certain parties at Court at Vienna, and on account of their actual relations with the Revolutionary party in the Principality of Servia, than on account of any immediate influence as agitators in Croatia, Dalmatia, or Slavonia. Actual events are foreshowing a change in this respect.

From 1849 to July 1875, these Slavs were chiefly aiming at the attainment of a recognition of certain Home Rule prerogatives, by means of their opposition to Magyar or Hungarian supremacy. With that view they took up arms under Tellachitch for the Emperor Francis Joseph in 1849, opposed the restitution of the ancient Hungarian Constitution till 1867, and have carried on a more or less factious constitutional opposition to the dominant party since that year.

But the sympathies which the Southern Slavs were able not only to set forth openly, but also to which they could give practical effect during six months, in favour of the insurgent Slavs in the Herzegovina, have modified their position, and the aspirations of that race have acquired fresh vigour from the Adriatic to the Drau, and from the Drau to the Theiss and the Save, by giving them a cohesion and a common bond of hope, by making them view the cause of the Turkish Rayahs as their own, and their emancipation from Ottoman rule as an object of primary importance for Austrian Slavs, by which they can attain an influence which they have not had for centuries, and which they have hitherto sought in vain on the hustings or in Parliamentary assemblies.

Their proximity to the scene of the insurrection has enabled the Croats and Dalmatians to give the insurgents far more real assistance than they can have derived from Servia, and the public men of the latter Principality have seen themselves gradually ousted by these, and by the Prince of Montenegro, from the leadership of the national cause, which Servia considered hitherto as its peculiar mission and attribute.

In a Memorandum I had the honour of addressing to your Lordship with my despatch No. 15, Political, dated 9th July, 1875, on the subject of the relations of Russia with other Slavonic populations, I alluded to the objects pursued by the Slavonic Committees in Russia.

These Committees, and especially the central one at Moscow, have contributed a good deal to propagate sympathy for the insurgent cause in the Russian Empire, and to collect funds for the support of that cause.

Amongst the agents employed by them, there is one whose name has been very much before the public of late, and who appears determined to play a part in the political negotiations pending for the pacification of the Herzegovina, viz., M. Wesselitzky-Bogidarovitch.

As the public journals have referred at some length to this gentleman, I need not trouble your Lordship with any further particulars concerning his movements, except to mention that he has been employed by the Metropolitan of Belgrade to distribute funds in the Herzegovina, and that it is an established fact now that the Russian Slav Committees and their different agents are evidently patronized by the Imperial Government, and called to play a part in Eastern questions without any responsibility attaching to them, as I anticipated in the Memorandum quoted above.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 804.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 8.)

(No. 35. Political.)

My Lord, *Belgrade, April 28, 1876.*

I FEAR that it is beyond my power to convey to your Lordship any accurate description of the state of affairs in Servia, in so far as to form any exact conclusions as to the real plan of Prince Milan and of his Ministers at the present crisis.

The Prince takes no pains to conceal that more than ever he considers a collision with the Porte as within the range of possibilities, but he continues to disclaim, at the same time, any intention to act as the aggressor. He pointed out to me the other day that that portion of Bosnia which is conterminous to Servia has been entirely free from armed bands since last November, when the Papas Zarko was repulsed into Servia, whilst the insurgents, who had within the last few weeks made their appearance on the River Unna between Bihatch, Novi, and Kostainitza, were all in proximity to the Austrian frontier, and he defied any one to show that Servia had been instrumental in fostering insurrection in that part of Bosnia, though he added that such an accusation had been made somewhere, evidently alluding to Austrian authorities.

Indeed, it is generally believed here that this last rising in that part of Bosnia, which I have described above, and which is generally known by the name of Turkish Croatia, owed its main support to Austrian Slavs.

To one of my colleagues the Prince said quite unreservedly the other day that he was not going to be either awed or deterred by any threats proferred at Vienna or Pesth from doing whatever he considered his duty to Servia and to his people; and if at any time circumstances should make him consider that he must take up arms he would certainly have no hesitation in doing so.

In a similar way M. Ristich, whose influence is said to be great at this moment, said to me last night, in answer to some observations of mine, that Austria was not likely to be a consenting party to any aggrandisement of Servia at this time, "Let her then prevent us by force."

Whilst the above are, no doubt, the views of the most influential persons in this Principality, corresponding military preparations are carried on unremittingly with immense care and attention, and although the purchases of stores of different kinds are contracted for on a scale corresponding to the smallness of the resources of this juvenile State, most of these indicate by their nature the contemplation of a regular warfare at no distant period, and payments for them have well nigh exhausted the small supplies of cash which either existed in the Treasury a few months back, or which have accrued to it since. It does not appear that any means have succeeded up to this moment in providing for a mode by which it would be possible to replenish the exchequer before it is thoroughly drained, a moment which cannot be far off.

The delivery of some of the stores will not be supplied by the contractors till May, and to the end of June, and the intended purchase of horses in Bessarabia having turned out a total failure, on account of their high price, these are brought daily across the Danube from the inundated districts of Hungary by dealers, and those that are approved of are bought by the War Department.

All these facts would lead one to suppose that a regular campaign was in contem-

plation, the militia has been divided in six divisions, and all the arrangements of this new organization are, I believe, sufficiently advanced to enable Servia to enter the field at a very short notice, and perhaps even before all the preparations are fully completed, should it be considered advantageous to do so.

In conversation with the foreign Representatives, persons in authority tell us that all these preparations have a purely defensive character, and that the advent of the war party in the Councils of the Sultan might at any moment expose Servia to an attack, and her Prince to the merited reproach of his people, were he to leave such a danger out of his calculations.

There are others, and amongst these are a few men of very moderate views, which deprecate the present war cry as extremely ill-timed, and forming an estimate of the personal temper of the present Prince of Servia, they draw from it the conclusion that it will be impossible for that Prince to adopt so desperate a determination at the last moment, and that he will embrace some favourable opportunity to recede from the dangerous position he has been induced to assume if he should be so fortunate as to secure at the critical moment the services of a set of men sufficiently devoted to him and to their country as to accept the duties and responsibilities of forming a Cabinet with a pacific programme.

I regret not to have been a sufficient length of time in this country to enable me to form an opinion as to which of these two contradictory opinions is likely to be more correct.

Thus much I may say, that I have not met a single politician of any note in Servia who did not contemplate sooner or later hostilities with the Porte, not with a view to independence, but for the purpose of the acquisition of Bosnia, and through the deeply-rooted desire of making the present Principality the nucleus of a larger Slavonic State under the suzerainty of the Porte, as long as European Turkey forms a compact State.

All are unanimous and agreed on this subject without any exception. A few entertain a faint hope that the same result might be attained by negotiations with the Porte if any of the Great Powers could be made favourable to such a project, but not even these exclude an appeal to arms altogether from their calculations, so that it may be asserted without hesitation that the only differences existing amongst Servian public men in this respect are as to time, and appreciations of the fittest opportunity.

With such dispositions, and with the permanent reorganization of the national Servian army, which I am told could muster about 90,000 men, besides a reserve almost as numerous, it must be admitted that, even should pacific councils prevail at the last moment at Belgrade during next summer, the growing weakness of the Ottoman Empire may afford a series of temptations to this population to disturb the peace of its neighbours.

For many years to come the fate of war or peace in this Principality will depend chiefly on the views of the politicians of Belgrade as regards the mass of the population. This consists in Servia of yeomen or peasant proprietors, and these, I am assured, even at this moment, look with considerable alarm on the prospect of a war, and desire, above all things, a pacific solution, so that it is probable that they would contemplate with equanimity, should their Prince adopt a determination to preserve peace, though their Deputies at the Skoupstchina would probably, in that case, demand a strict account of the moneys they might consider as wasted for military stores, and for preparations without any apparent countervailing advantage.

Even the enthusiasm of the population of Belgrade is of an extremely moderate kind actually, notwithstanding the assertions to the contrary of most of the Viennese and Pesth correspondents and of sensational telegrams.

The question of money is likely to become a very critical one for the Servian Government ere long, as it is very probable that all their pecuniary resources will soon become completely exhausted.

I hear that it is contemplated to issue Exchequer bonds bearing 8 per cent. and redeemable in five years, but it is not likely that foreign contractors for military stores will accept these readily in payment.

In case of an outbreak of hostilities the Government have the power of demanding the war tax in cash, and the contributions in kind voted at the secret sittings of the last Skoupstchina.

It looks like a paradox, but the exhaustion of the Exchequer constitutes in itself a danger not to be entirely overlooked in speaking of the condition of Servia, as her rulers may have no other alternative but war for levying new taxes, for which, in that case only, they could have a legal excuse.

The militia has not been called out, even for exercise, as was originally intended,

but as all the officers have proceeded to their respective depôts, and the men are ordered to be prepared to join their battalions on the shortest notice, I cannot place much reliance on the pacific character of the postponement of this measure.

There is no doubt that depôts of arms and of ammunition have been established in various parts of the country, chiefly in proximity to the Turkish frontier, and that a small body of Bosnian refugees is being organized at Shabatz on the Save.

It would appear that the war party here have two concurrent plans; they think that either Turkey will take the initiative of attack, or they hope that the insurrection will assume such proportions in Bosnia as to give Servia some pretext for giving open assistance to the Christians of the Province against the probable outrages of their Mahometan fellow-countrymen, the latter being all armed.

In either case a march on Bosna-Serai would probably be attempted by Servian troops, while the main body of the army would attempt to resist an Ottoman invasion from Nisch and Widdin.

Though, as I had the honour of stating above, it is believed that the mass of the Servian people is by no means disposed in favour of a war at the present moment, and would prefer by far a pacific solution; I am, however, assured at the same time that their patriotic feelings are being gradually strongly aroused, and the reappearance of their former oppressers on Servian soil would, it is probable, raise a spirit of desperate resistance.

Another alternative has ben spoken of, and recommended by some organs in Austria, and that with a view to avoid, if possible, the great dangers which must accompany an Ottoman occupation, which would be sure to be resisted, and the perils to the tranquillity of Europe which might ensue from the appearance of Servia as a combatant, in rebellion against the Suzerain Power; this preventive measure would be no other than an Austrian military occupation of this Principality.

I have discussed the possibility of such a measure twice in private conversation with my colleague, Prince Wrede, and I have no hesitation in repeating to your Lordship that I continue to see the greatest possible objections to its adoption, not only on account of the difficulty of fixing any limits to the duration or action of such an occupation, which however definite in its military objects, would soon have to be followed by an assumption of a larger scope in the administration of the country, and also in consequence of the dangerous precedent it would create for other neighbouring Powers; but likewise, if I may be allowed to express my humble opinion, owing to the internal dangers and complications for Austria herself which such a mission would be sure to bring in its track.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 805.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received May 8.*)

(No. 36. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, April 28, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that a considerable impression was produced here yesterday by the receipt of the news that the Great Powers had, at the invitation of the Russian Cabinet, been induced to make identical representations at Constantinople, with a view to prevent the Porte from attacking Montenegro.

The Servians admit that by this act the Powers have given fresh proof of the continuance of a desire on their part to circumscribe, as far as possible, the actual scene of the present conflict, and to prevent the area of hostilities from being enlarged, and on that account it might be supposed that the war party here would look upon such a step as rather discouraging than otherwise.

The impression produced here, however, has been very different, and is one of satisfaction, which it is not attempted to disguise.

Several causes may have contributed to produce this impression.

Foremost amongst these is the pleasure derived from any act initiated by Russia in the Sclavonic interest, so strongly is the Slav mind imbued with the belief that every act of that Power can have no other aim than to promote the cause they have so much at heart, and that, sooner or later, she will emerge from her apparent reserve, and take her stand openly and actively, as the chief and powerful protector of the Southern Slavs.

To this must be added the feeling prevailing generally here, that Servia would be exposed to greater dangers and sufferings by entering at once upon hostilities with Turkey, so that a respite of a few months would be considered as a great benefit, especially as it would enable the Prince and the War Minister to complete their military preparations during that time.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 806.

Sir P. Francis to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received May 8.*)

(No. 49. Consular.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 27, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to forward a copy of a despatch received from Mr. Vice-Consul Brophy, giving his experience of the reality of the much vaunted recent reforms in Turkey.

Mr. Brophy's accounts resemble those received from other places.

I have, &c.
(Signed) P. FRANCIS.

Inclosure in No. 806.

Vice-Consul Brophy to Sir P. Francis.

Sir, *Bourgas, April 9, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to submit to you some remarks upon the execution or non-execution, in this province, of the Imperial Iradé, dated December 12, 1875.

1. "The members of the various tribunals are to be possessed of fitness for their office, and to be of irreproachable character;" even the latter qualification is disregarded —*e.g.* amongst the new members of the Caïmakam's Council (Idaré Medjlissi) in Bourgas is a Circassian, who besides being unable either to read or write, has been repeatedly in prison for horse-stealing; his election was protested against on these grounds, but was nevertheless confirmed by the Mutessarif of Shumla. With regard to the other point, fitness for their office, it is of very secondary importance as far as the Christian agas are concerned, for, if the Cadi or Caïmakam be inclined to commit an injustice these members will make no opposition to it; their abstention may arise from ignorance or indifference, but is more generally caused by the presentiment that any representation by them will be out-voted or over-ruled, and by the fear of exciting the enmity of their official superiors.

After a pretty wide experience of Christian agas in the province, I am convinced that they are nothing but machines for signing any document presented to them by the Judge or the Governor.

2. "All cases arising between non-Mussulmans, or between them and Mussulmans, are to be decided by Civil Law, to the exclusion of the Sheri;" this most important provision, upon which hinges the acceptance or rejection of Christian evidence, is in the province either absolutely disregarded or resolutely defied; the Judges say openly "we are Sherah Memourlari, officers placed here to judge according to the Sheri; it is the only law we can recognize, and it is the only law we shall administer."

I have known many instances, since the publication of the Iradé, in which stolen cattle having been recovered, and Christians being ready to prove the ownership, their evidence has been refused, and Mussulman witnesses demanded, even if the village from which the cattle have been stolen is exclusively rayah the Judge will still insist upon the production of Mussulman witnesses, and if the plaintiff does not choose to lose his property, he is obliged to suborn a couple of Turks or Mussulman gipsies.

No point in the whole of the Iradé will meet with such opposition as this substitution in certain cases of the civil for the sacred law, and I doubt whether the members of the Ulema will, in practice, ever thoroughly concede it, they consider this innovation as a fundamental alteration in a system which according to their views is unalterable as long as Islamism exists, and as being a virtual negation of their religion.

The aversion on the part of the mufis and cadis to the application of the civil law has been much more strongly marked since the publication of this Iradé than before,

although the same orders were long ago received, but as they have now been more formally and authoritatively promulgated, the action of the Ulema seems to take the shape of a definite protest, none the less strong that it shows itself merely in passive resistance.

3. "Measures are to be taken for the security of the lives, honour, and property of Ottoman subjects: the agents of the police are to be of good character and enjoy the confidence of the population;" if ever such measures are to be taken it would be well for the Province of Adrianople that this should be done quickly for brigandage, already at a fearful height, is steadily and rapidly on the increase; not a day passes without numerous robberies being committed on the high roads; the peasant who has borrowed money at interest to buy cattle for his fields is robbed of it as he is returning to his village, those who have sold their grain in the towns are robbed of the proceeds on their homeward journey, the employés of traders sent into the interior are robbed of the moneys which have been intrusted to them, horses and oxen are stolen from the stables and the pasture, "the lives, honour, and property of Ottoman subjects" are in daily and hourly peril, and the authorities remain either powerless or apathetic. Within the last few months eleven persons have been murdered in the Caza of Bourgas alone, in none of these cases have the murderers been discovered, and in some instances not even the semblance of a search was made. The police force in the Provinces is always undermanned, the general character of the men is far from good, they are miserably underpaid, and therefore seize every opportunity of gaining a few piastres in the villages to which they are sent, either by acts of oppression or by connivance: unless the pay were raised I do not think a better class of men can be enlisted.

4. "The Bedel Askerié, or tax in lieu of military service, is to be paid by Rayahs from 20 to 40 years of age only; the sick and infirm are exempted;" this change in the method of perception, though at first sight it appears to be a boon, will in reality have the effect of causing the tax to press very heavily (which up to this time it did not) upon the Christian population. About three years ago a sort of census of the Rayahs was taken, with a view to the exaction of the Bedel Askerié; a village was found to number, say, 100 males, from the child-in-arms to the centenarian; the capitation tax being fixed in these parts at about 30 piastres, the village was called upon for a lump sum of 3,000 piastres. The collection and allotment of this tax being left to the elders and Mayor of this village, they settled that the amount should be divided amongst those able to work and get their living, so that the shepherd lad of 12 and the old man of 70 who was still able to follow the plough was each called upon for his quota, only the very young and those past work being exempted. Allowing the 3,000 piastres required to be thus distributed amongst 65 tax-payers, each of them would have to contribute annually 46 piastres, not a very large amount. At present the same sum of 3,000 piastres based upon the gross male population is be paid by, say, 25 persons between the ages of 20 and 40, so that each will have to give 120 piastres instead of 40.

In justice, a new census should be taken and the sum demanded from a village be fixed at thirty times the number (of piastres) that the village contains, men from 20 to 40 years old, but as this would materially diminish the receipts of the Imperial Treasury, it is not probable that it will be done.

A large number of petitions have been lately forwarded by the Bulgarians, asking to be permitted to serve in the army instead of paying the exemption tax, but these petitions do not represent the real feelings of the Rayahs, they are a sort of politico-economical move got up by the Bulgarian notables, who, being perfectly aware the offer will never be accepted by the Ottoman Government, will, nevertheless, make it the ground for demanding the abolition of a tax which according to them has no longer a "raison d'être." The Bulgarian peasant has no military proclivities, and if the signers of these petitions were taken at their word they would be greatly disappointed.

I think, Sir, that the questions I have touched upon—the question of the tenure of land would require a long pamphlet to be written upon it—are amongst those which are of the most important to the Roumelian Provinces, but I am sorry to have to give as my opinion that the execution of these promised reforms will be prevented by the incapacity, the indifference, or the opposition of the Provincial authorities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES A. BROPHY.

No. 807.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received May* 8.)

(No. 13. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, April* 28, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the information received from the revolted districts continues to be most unsatisfactory. No important successes have as yet been obtained by the troops, and the insurrectionary movement now extends throughout the entire frontier districts of Turkish Croatia, from Livno on the west to Gradishka in the north.

Only a few days since a caravan of some seventy horses, laden with sugar, coffee, rice, &c., for the merchants of this town, was seized by the insurgents on the Livno road.

The Ferik Vely Pasha, lately appointed Commander of the troops in Bosnia, left this on Sunday last for Bihach, to direct the military operations in the north, but I doubt his having a sufficient force at his disposal to occupy the extensive tract of country now in revolt.

Notwithstanding the oft-repeated announcement that large reinforcements are being sent to Bosnia, for the last month no fresh troops have arrived here, and it would appear that the Government intends, to a great extent, to rely on the irregular levies of native Mussulmans.

At the same time there are certain signs of preparation for a much larger military force than has hitherto occupied the country. The local Government is endeavouring to contract for 3,500,000 okes of flour, 4,800,000 okes of rice, and 120,000 okes of salt to be delivered within the space of six months, but no tenders have yet been made. The two chief contractors for the army in these provinces are said to be owed respectively about 35,000,000 and 10,000,000 piastres, and refuse absolutely to make any further contracts until they are paid. A Jew merchant of this town was offered an advance of 10,000 Turkish liras if he would contract for the required supplies, but he likewise has declined to do so.

The Commander-in-chief, Ahmet Moukhtar Pasha, has also requested the Governor of Bosnia to send down to the Herzegovina 1,000 baggage animals. The Government has not the means of purchasing them, so I suppose they will be requisitioned from the peasants of this Sandjak, by whom, it is almost needless to say, they will never be seen again, as few are likely to survive the starvation and want of care which will be their lot.

The Commission of control under the presidency of Haidar Effendi has now been named for more than ten days, but as yet no sitting has been held, and the members tell me that they have no idea when they are likely to commence their duties.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 808.

*Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received May* 8.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Private and Confidential.) *Vienna, May* 8, 1876.

THE King of Greece has said to me that as he has kept Greece peaceful during the present difficulties of Turkey, in order to prevent embarrassments to Europe, it would be unjust to grant territorial concessions to Servia or Montenegro in any new arrangements for the administration of Bosnia or the Herzegovina without some consideration being paid to the ambitious views of his subjects, and he seemed to think that in such a case he might be regarded as having prevented the aggrandizement of the country.

I answered that I did not believe Count Andrassy would assent to any territorial changes whatever, as his Excellency is of opinion that to give to one State might cause the others to claim concessions at the expense of Turkey, and create serious complications.

His Majesty has apparently exaggerated expectations as to what may be proposed by Russia at Berlin.

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* Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Rome, St. Petersburgh, and Constantinople.

No. 809.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received May* 9.)

(No. 11.)
My Lord, *Mostar, April* 27, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to state that I have received a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, written by your Lordship's instructions, and inclosing a copy of a despatch from his Excellency Raschid Pasha to his Excellency Musurus Pasha regarding the Turkish Government's appreciation of the manner in which I have performed my duties here.

I have to thank your Lordship for the kindness which suggested that this letter should be communicated to me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 810.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received May* 9.)

(No. 12.)
My Lord, *Mostar, April* 28, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch of April 28, addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, regarding passing events and the state of affairs in Montenegro and Dalmatia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure in No. 810.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Mostar, April* 28, 1876.

I HAVE little of interest to report this week. Moukhtar Pasha, profiting by the concentration of the insurgent forces in the Douga Pass, has revictualled Piva, and is now preparing for another attempt to get to Nichsich. He has collected about twenty-four battalions, and perhaps some 1,500 Bashi-Bozouks, and has probably by this time commenced his march; but if he is opposed, as before, by the whole strength of the insurgents, aided by some thousands of Montenegrins, I do not think he has much chance of success. Nichsich must then surrender, and this will most likely make the Porte feel that it has no alternative but to declare war with Montenegro.

Travellers recently from Cettigné say that all pretence of neutrality has been abandoned, and that the Montenegrins openly boast of their exploits, and say they are ready for war. They say they have furnished 3,000,000 of cartridges to the insurgents during the insurrection. There are several Russian officers there who have passports to travel, but they accompany the insurgents, and some of them actually directed operations in the Douga in the last affair.

The Italian Vice-Consul, who has just returned from a visit to Ragusa, states that the insurgents obtain provisions as easily as ever from Dalmatia, and that while he was there Luka Petkovich revictualled his band without difficulty.

Vessilitzki Bosidarovich has left viâ Vienna for St. Petersburgh.

The report of Lazar Socitza's death is not confirmed.

No signs of approaching pacification are as yet evident.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 811.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received May* 9.)

(No. 28. Political.)
My Lord, *Ragusa, May* 2, 1876.

AT 7 P.M. yesterday I had the honour to address to Sir Andrew Buchanan, for communication to your Lordship, a telegram in the following words:

"It appears certain that during combat on the 29th, garrison at Nichsich were able to bring in small quantity of provisions left by Moukhtar on previous occasion. But by latest apparently trustworthy accounts fighting was still going on in Duga Pass; Turkish force had not succeeded in passing, and Moukhtar's position was very critical."

The Turks assert that Moukhtar himself reached Nichsich, and introduced the provisions. The accounts from Montenegro received at the Russian Consulate, and the news obtainable from Slav sources, are to the effect of my telegram. It seems, however, that the sortie was made on the 28th, and that 500 men were employed in carrying the provisions, which were a part of those left at Prezoka by Moukhtar on his previous expedition.

The fighting was still going on according to the last accounts received at the Russian Consulate. Other reports announce that Moukhtar Pasha was yesterday already at Gatzko, and that his loss in killed and wounded amounted to 3,000 men. I should doubt whether any account approximating to the truth will be obtainable for some days.

A steamer with 17,000 sacks of grain arrived last week at Klek; another with 25,000 is to follow. 1,200 men have also been landed there within the last few days, and it is reported a very large force is expected there.

Major Gonne's reports will give a more detailed account of the military situation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 812.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received May 9.*)

(No. 269.)
My Lord, *Vienna, May 6, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship the inclosed despatch, which has been addressed to me by Major Gonne, Military Attaché to this Embassy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 812.

Major Gonne to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir, *Ragusa, May 2, 1876.*

I HAD the honour of submitting to you the telegrams of the battle raging in the Duga Pass, Saturday, the 29th April, and at 2 P.M. Moukhtar Pacha was reported at a standstill before the insurgent intrenchment.

It so chanced that on Friday afternoon an event took place which could not be seen by the scouts giving intelligence. Some 500 men from Nichsich took advantage of the confusion attending the insurgent primary battle formation, and coming up in their rear by a detour over rocks, were able to take from the Fort Presika* the loads for 300 horses, or about fourteen days' supply.

I think it may be taken for granted that the Montenegrins permitted this, for I have reason to suppose that as yet Russia is not anxious for Nichsich to fall. If it fell the Herzegovenians would be the masters, and this is by no means the Russo-Montenegrin intention.

As your Excellency may suppose, the barrier across the Duga defile has been made really formidable, and the Turkish regulars decline to crown the tops of mountains, whereas the Bashi-Bazouks, who numbered only 1,200 on the battle-field, did not prove sufficient.

When the Turkish assaults became less frequent, I am told that a band of Krivotians (Austrian subjects) and Montenegrins assumed the offensive. They say, and probably with truth, that about 800 of the latter were present.

The Turks fell back all Sunday, and at night were only half way to Gatsko.

* Not rightly spelt.

It is reported here to-day (Monday) that they effected this retreat to Gasko with a loss of 3,000 men. I can hardly believe the loss was not greater. The insurgents report their loss at 120 killed.

It appears that Moukhtar Pasha made great use of his mountain guns, but with very little effect. The charge of powder in a 3 lb. shell is not enough to make dangerous splinters, and shells bursting in "clefts" did no harm.

It is the opinion of those who ought to know that the moment is favourable for an armistice. The Pasha commands an army which is hardly fitted to face the Duga Pass again in fourteen days. The Prince of Montenegro fears a declaration of war by the Turks, and I am informed that Prince Nicholas will, through Austria, not only aim at an armistice, but at a Conference of the Powers. I am also told that the Prince will also try and get his country enlarged by a change of the frontier line to positions, including sufficient corn-bearing land, calculated to supply his people with food without importation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOS. GONNE,
Major, and Military Attaché.

Inclosure 2 in No. 812.

Major Gonne to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir, *On board steamer "Zara," May 3, 1876.*

MY telegram from Spalato will prepare you for a second version of the recent battle in the Duga "Pass." My letter marked X is the story told by the Russian party at Ragusa, and, though usually well-informed, on this occasion the Consul was led into error by the fact that his agents viewed the battle field from a mountain top too far from the scene of action.* The telegraph described what was to be inferred from the smoke and sound, but it chanced that the Turks† by a rapid march on Friday, 28th ultimo, fought at Presika Fort, on their return from Nichsich. The insurgents on Friday were either surprised or instructed to permit the provision train of Moukhtar Pasha to reach its destination. An eye witness tells me that few shots were fired and no losses were sustained on Thursday or Friday, and that in point of fact only 2,000 insurgents, in three bands, witnessed the passage of the Turks through the mountain "Pass" on to the plains of Nichsich. The entrenchment, of which I forwarded a rough sketch, was destroyed by the Turks, but a similar one between Presika and Gatsko cost them dearly on the 29th.‡ On this day the insurgent force reached 5,000.

The tactics of the insurgents were as usual. The Turks in their hurry to pass the defile did not crown the heights. A stone wall blocked the road, and a deadly fire rained upon the column from commanding positions on each side. My informant saw the Turkish troops in "rectangles" along the road firing volleys, as single shots from bad marksmen did not tell. On Sunday, the 30th, my friend left the insurgent camp and made for the frontier of Montenegro; he met some 600 Montenegrins marching under their captains to the scene of action.

Any figures representing loss must of necessity be guess work. The insurgent camp was well supplied with fresh meat, lean, &c., and a loaf of bread cost 40 soldi, or 10*d.* Peko Sosich and Simonich were the leaders. There were four Russians and two Italians present, but my informant tells me that not being able to speak the language well prevents these foreigners from being of use in the battle field except as individuals.

Altogether this series of fights may be considered in favour of the Turks; they gained their object, at a great cost it is true, but the 200 odd casualties in the insurgent bands is comparatively as great a loss as 3,000 in the Turkish army. The ammunition on the insurgent side ran short, but on Friday the Krevotians brought up a supply. I fancy the Montenegro companies arrived rather late, but Peko's band is exclusively of these mountaineers. On the Turkish side the best troops were three battalions of Albanian Redif, who greatly distinguished themselves, and will be heard of again if the war continues.

From a conversation with an ex-Senator of Montenegro, I see plainly that Prince Nicholas fears a declaration of war on the part of Turkey, and, therefore, the

* [illegible]
† The Turks were on the heights round Presika Fort on Thursday night.
‡ Thrown up by Simonich on Friday morning.

information of the Russian Consul relative to an application through Austria for an armistice and a conference is probably correct. Prince Nicholas has not the name of a great warrior, the only thing I hear in his dispraise is that he "hates fighting." I am told in confidence, which I need not ask your Excellency to respect, that three battalions of the Prince's subjects are placed on a war footing, say 2,000 men,* also that a battery of mountain guns will shortly find its way through Montenegro to the insurgents. I mentioned that these light guns are of little use against the insurgents, but I by no means say they are of no use against the Turkish battalions. Also by their means isolated forts and block houses will speedily change hands.

Whilst at Ragusa I was able to discover that up to March the Austrians were very lax in their border duty.† Insurgents without arms pass the frontier now, and, I believe, grain also.

The different forts along the coast are well found in everything necessary for a campaign.‡ Still there is nothing to denote a change of intention, and in truth the young conscripts forming the army are in no way fitted for the hard work they would have to face.§

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOS. GONNE, *Military Attaché.*

No. 813.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 9.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, May 9, 1876, 11 A.M.*

MONSON telegraphs for your Lordship. Demonstration of refugees occurred this morning before Russian Consulate. About 100 women collected. Demanded assistance on pretext that Government had ceased to issue allowance. Russian Consul declined interference. Police dispersed assemblage.

No. 814.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 9.)

(Telegraphic.) *Ragusa, May 9, 1876.*

RUSSIAN Consul-General received telegraphic orders this morning to go at once to Vienna. He started by steamer at 4 this afternoon.

No. 815.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 9.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, May 9, 1876.*

I HAVE communicated to Count Andrassy the substance of your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, acquainting me with Sir Henry Elliot's opinion‖ that the safety of Christians might be compromised by decisions being adopted at Berlin which could not be carried out unless imposed upon Turkey by force.

No. 816.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 9.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, May 9, 1876.*

COUNT ZICHY reports that insurgents in Bulgaria had retired into wood pursued by troops; but Baron Hirsch has just communicated a telegram to Baron Hofmann

* A company is said to be 200 men, and there are four in a battalion. Their only drill is the use of the rifle. The men to work these guns (foreigners) are at Cettinje.

† I am told an extra Austrian regiment is expected, but only to make the "cordon" more complete.

‡ Empty baskets and barrels were to be carried on men's backs.

§ It would take three Austrians to make one Turk in weight. No baggage animals have been bought, but they have been inspected.

‖ See No. 766.

stating that railway staff have fled to Philippopoli leaving the railway in the possession of the insurgents, who are advancing towards that town.

This information seems to confirm General Ignatiew's opinion of the nature of the outbreak.

No. 817.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(No. 196.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, May 9, 1876.*

I HAVE to express to your Excellency my approval of the language held by you to the Turkish Ambassador at Vienna, as reported in your despatch No. 259 of the 4th instant, on the subject of the results that should follow the recent fighting in the Dounja Pass.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 818.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 265.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, May 9, 1876.*

UNDER the circumstances reported in your despatch No. 380 of the 14th ultimo, Her Majesty's Government approve the course taken by your Excellency in agreeing with Count Zichy to abstain from urging the Porte to prolong the suspension of hostilities in the Herzegovina.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 819.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 10.)

(No. 15.)
My Lord, *Scutari, April 29, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, the copy of a despatch addressed this day by me to Sir Henry Elliot. I report to his Excellency the proceedings of Achmed Hamdy Pasha on the Montenegrin frontier, as well as in Scutari, and which have had a certain effect at Cettingé.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

Inclosure in No. 819.

Consul Kirby Green to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Scutari, April 29, 1876.*

WITH reference to my despatch of the 28th instant, I have the honour to report to your Excellency that Achmed Hamdy Pasha returned to Scutari from his inspection of the forts on the Montenegrin frontier the night before last, in conformity with telegraphic orders received from Constantinople.

His Excellency made a very bellicose speech to the garrison and inhabitants of Podgoritza on his arrival there, which was received with such enthusiasm that a number of Montenegrins who were in the town found it prudent to withdraw at once and the Pasha had, by a second declaration, to calm the effervescence produced by his first harangue.

Four of the most influential chiefs of that portion of the Koutchi territory that was placed within the Turkish boundary by the arrangement of 1862, have been brought to Scutari by Achmed Hamdy Pasha as hostages for the good conduct of the mountaineers under their control, but it is a question whether, if open hostilities break out between

Montenegro and Turkey, the step taken by the Pasha will prevent the Turkish fraction of the Koutchi from joining its fellow-clansmen on the other side of the frontier.

This proceeding, together with the activity displayed in military preparations and the prohibition placed two days ago on the exportation of grain from this province, have, I understand, caused a certain feeling of anxiety at Cettingé, which has resulted in the expression of pacific assurances on the part of the Prince of Montenegro. The preparations going on here for the reception of a large force have not, however, been suspended.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 820.

Mr. Harriss-Gastrell to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, May 10.)

Sir, *Buda-Pest, May 4, 1876.*

ACCORDING to an official statement published at Agram, 336 families, with 2,825 persons, have sought refuge from Bosnia within the frontier from April 21 to 26, making a total of 7,203 families, of 45,946 persons, upon the Croatian-Slavonian territory.

It should, however, be borne in mind that, on the one hand, such information from a Slav source may be exaggerated, and that, on the other hand, there are in Bosnia about a quarter of a million Roman Catholics and half a million Greek Catholics, of whom the refugees, who are willingly or unwillingly refugees, make only a small proportion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. P. HARRISS-GASTRELL.

No. 821.

Mr. Harriss-Gastrell to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, May 10.)

(Confidential.)
Sir, *Buda-Pest, May 5, 1876.*

WITH reference to the watching of the Croatian-Slavonian frontier, I am informed that General Mollinary, who is an intelligent man and energetic officer of independent character, belongs to one of the so-called military families of the Empire and is likely to act on an independent view of the needs of the monarchy, in accordance with the ideas of the military party rather than with a regard for the possible political results of a military policy for the aggrandisement of the Empire. Whether or not he have Slav proclivities, it is thought that he would be likely to choose out of two ways of carrying out Count Andrassy's policy the one least favourable to its success. But even when the Commander-in-chief might be desirous of carrying out such a policy both in spirit and in letter, his subordinates are, as a rule, so imbued with Slav and Christian sympathies that even the patrols show a wonderful skill in diligently watching points of the frontier after sympathisers have crossed over, and when a little blindness is no longer necessary.

It is, moreover, believed that no change of officers would bring about any improvement in these respects, and that it is wiser to do the best possible with the means at hand. In fact, there are two policies pursued: the one by the author of this foreign policy in the Eastern question, and the other by the instruments through which it should be carried out on the frontier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. P. HARRISS-GASTRELL.

No. 822.

Mr. Harriss-Gastrell to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, May 10.)

Sir, *Buda-Pest, May 5, 1876.*

IT is generally considered here that Count Andrassy's position has been much strengthened by the successful result of the influence which he alone could have exerted upon the Hungarian Cabinet to avoid by concessions a breach in the recent negotiations, and that his Excellency goes to Berlin not only with the important advantage of representing a re-united Empire, but also with the additional advantage of possessing a stronger personal power.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. P. HARRISS-GASTRELL.

No. 823.

Mr. Harriss-Gastrell to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, May 10.)

(Confidential.)
Sir, *Buda-Pest, May 5, 1876.*

I LEARN that Count Andrassy has given the most authoritative assurances to persons here that peace will be maintained this year, and that there will be neither annexation nor occupation of the Turkish provinces, nor even an intervention. As these assurances have been given on the eve of the assembling of the Delegations, it is held to be most improbable that his Excellency will assent to a different policy.

Moreover, the Budget to be presented to the Delegations contains no increase in the ordinary expenditure for military purposes, and only a new item of 1,000,000 gulden for the refugees in the extraordinary expenditure.

But, on the other hand, I gather from the personal opinions of many well informed persons that Count Andrassy may agree to a military intervention on the ground of putting an end to the anarchy in Turkish provinces, which had become too serious a danger in the neighbourhood of the Austrian Empire; and, by a few, it is feared that his Excellency may even, at such a risk, support his hitherto unsuccessful policy of keeping the insurgents quiet, and may thus be led into involuntarily betraying the interests of Hungary.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. P. HARRISS-GASTRELL.

No. 824.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 10.)

(No. 271. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, May 6, 1876.*

I UNDERSTAND that General Eber, who left Vienna some time ago for Belgrade, with the intention of visiting the Turkish camp at Nisch, has not yet gone there.

He has been, however, to Widdin, where I am told he found a force in garrison of 17,000 men of all arms, of whom 14,000 might be at once employed on active service. The men were well cared for, and well dressed and armed, and provided with excellent shoes.

The cavalry belonging to the force did not, however, appear as efficient as the infantry.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 825.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 275.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, May 10, 1876.*

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency a copy of a telegram from the Porte, which was communicated to me by the Turkish Ambassador on the 27th ultimo, remonstrating against the hostile attitude shown by Montenegro towards Turkey.

Upon the receipt of this communication I despatched my telegram to your Excellency of the 28th, and I informed Musurus Pasha in reply that a telegram had been sent to you and to the British Representatives at the Courts of the other Powers,

acquainting you with the contents of the Turkish telegram, and stating that Her Majesty's Government considered that the demands of the Porte were just and reasonable, and they trusted that the other Governments would concur with Her Majesty's Government in this opinion, and would strongly advise the Prince of Montenegro accordingly.

I added that Her Majesty's Government considered that, as the Porte had disclaimed any intention of attacking Montenegro, the latter should be called upon to observe an efficient neutrality.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 826.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 10.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, May 10, 1876.*

COUNT ANDRASSY has arrived, and is to have his first interview with Prince Bismarck at 1 P.M. to-day.

Both Count Andrassy and Prince Bismarck profess to be entirely ignorant of Prince Gortchakow's intentions, proposals, and policy.

No. 827.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.†—(Received May 10.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, May 10, 1876.*

A SHIP of war has been ordered to Smyrna for protection of Austrian subjects, in consequence of a telegram from the Consul expressing apprehension of disorders occurring there.

No. 828.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 11.)

(No. 29. Political. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Ragusa, May 3, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a despatch addressed yesterday by the Turkish Consul-General here to the Governor-General at Mostar, containing a translation of the bulletin published yesterday by the Slav Committee at Ragusa upon the recent fighting in the Douga Pass and the revictualling of Nichsich.

I understand, however, that to-day the Committee have rather modified the version to which they had at first committed themselves, and admit that eight battalions of Turks did force their way to Nichsich. Indeed, it is not easy to understand how otherwise the revictualling could have been effected by a sortie of the garrison; and to get over this difficulty the Russians give it to be understood that there was connivance on the part of the insurgents and the Montenegrins.

A Russian agent and journalist, who arrived here yesterday direct from the field of battle, and who is himself a military man, praises the energetic action of Moukhtar Pasha, and the skill with which he conducted the operations. He speaks also very highly of the Pasha's personal bravery. The most interesting and serious piece of intelligence, however, which the Slavs do not attempt to conceal, and which the Agent above mentioned has, I am told, confirmed, is that the reinforcements received by the insurgents consisted not only of Montenegrins, but of a considerable number of Austrian subjects, namely, of the inhabitants of the Bocche di Cattaro and of the district of Crivoscia. According to some accounts as many as from 1,200 to 1,500 of these took part in these engagements; but estimates of numbers on these occasions, from whatever source derived, are entirely untrustworthy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

* Repeated to Paris, Vienna, Rome, St. Petersburgh, and Constantinople.
† Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Rome, St. Petersburgh, and Constantinople.

Inclosure 1 in No. 828.

The Turkish Consul-General at Ragusa to the Governor-General at Mostar.

Au Vilayet et Muchirat à Mostar, *Cettigné, le 1 Mai, 1876.*

JE transmets à vos Excellences le bulletin publié aujourd'hui par Comité Raguse, qui renferme nombre de contradictions et d'exagérations. Si vos Excellences jugent opportun de le refuter je les prie de m'en transmettre les éléments, ne pouvant le faire officiellement sans les données précises et les détails circonstanciés des derniers combats. Les Slaves si empressés à proclamer leurs succès imaginaires ont eu, cette fois-ci, un échange de télégrammes avec Cettingé qui a duré plusieurs jours, avant d'arrêter la rédaction de leur bulletin. Dimanche encore ils assuraient que la plaine de Niksich était couverte de fumée et qu'on ne pouvait discerner les résultats de la bataille; aujourd'hui leur ciel s'est éclairci et ils mettent plus de 3,000 Turcs hors de combat, tandis que les insurgés auraient à peine à déplorer la perte de 120 hommes. Ils parlent aussi de renforts qui ne leur sont certes pas tombés du ciel, et la preuve qu'ils ne pouvaient s'en procurer en Herzégovine c'est qu'ils avaient détaché Mussich avec 400 hommes, et ordonné d'opérer une diversion du côté de Klek, s'il pouvait se procurer encore 800 Latins du Popovo.

Les mêmes insurgés qui, au nombre de 5,000, avaient vainement essayé pendant quatre jours de déloger deux pauvres compagnies Ottomanes retranchées derrière quelques pierres, arguent d'avoir enlevé les retranchements d'une armée forte, disent-ils, de 20,000 hommes, et secondée par de l'artillerie. Si cela n'était pas exaspérant d'impudence, cela serait d'un suprême burlesque.

Publié à Raguse, le 2 Mai.

Inclosure 2 in No. 828.

Bulletin published by the Slav Committee.

(Traduction du Slave.)

BATAILLE Duga à eu bons résultats, quoique les Turcs aient été 20,000 et les insurgés 5,000. On s'est battu pendant quatre jours consécutifs. Vendredi, Turcs se frayèrent passage jusqu'à Presseka, assaillis par derrière ils soutinrent un engagement très-vif. Dans cet instant survinrent les citoyens de Niksich et emportèrent 300 chevaux de vivres, Moukhtar Pacha ne pouvant se porter en avant et effectuer la totalité de l'approvisionnement, se retrancha à Presseka.

Samedi tous les insurgés assaillirent les retranchements Turcs, le combat dura toute la journée.

Dimanche, les insurgés reçurent des renforts et toutes leurs forces combinées attaquèrent les Turcs, les défirent et les délogèrent de leurs retranchements. La bataille dura toute la journée; les insurgés pourchassèrent les Turcs de Presseka à Nosdra. Depuis que l'insurrection existe il n'y a pas eu d'action aussi sérieuse. 3,000 Turcs sont tombés sur le champ de bataille, et les insurgés ont eu 120 morts. Moukhtar Pacha cette fois-ci encore s'est retiré à Gasco sans atteindre son but de ravitaillement.

Pas un homme sensé ne croit à ce bulletin. Comme le but qu'on désire atteindre est d'ébranler l'opinion de la Sublime Porte et d'obtenir une trève, veuillez, si vous le jugez utile, transmettre *in extenso* à la Sublime Porte ma dépêche, en l'accompagnant de vos observations.

(Signé) DANISCH.

Raguse, le $\frac{2}{14}$ Mai, 1876.

No. 829.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 11.)

(No. 30. Political. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Ragusa, May 3, 1876.*

SINCE I wrote my immediately preceding despatch No. 29 of this date, a telegram, of which the following is a translation, has been received by the Turkish Consul-General from Ali Pasha:—

"*Mostar, May* 3, 1876.

"In view of the erroneous reports emanating from Slave sources I hasten to give your Consulate a detailed account which the Marshal has just sent me of his expedition. Moukhtar Pasha having left Gatzko, on the morning of Thursday, April ½⅔, arrived next morning early at Pressicha. He found there about 8,000 insurgents, whom he attacked upon two lines, and dispersed after a combat of five hours. He passed his provision trains into Nichsich, whither he himself went towards the evening. He left Nichsich Saturday morning, the 29th, on his return to Pressicha, where about 1,400 insurgents, having attacked the Imperial army in the rear and on the flanks, Moukhtar Pasha drove them back after an engagement of eight hours. The Marshal passed the night from Saturday to Sunday at Pressicha. At dawn he began his march. The rebels, who had received reinforcements, and whose numbers are calculated at 16,000, occupied the mountain tops and the forests, stretching for a distance of an hour and a half between Pressicha and Nosdra. Moukhtar Pasha assumed the offensive, and, after a violent struggle, dislodged them from their entrenchments and positions, and pursued them for some time through the forests which they had occupied. Returning to his old route, the Marshal proceeded to Gatzko, without suffering any annoyance on his march. The losses inflicted on the rebels in these three combats amount to about 1,500 men. The Imperial Army has lost only 54 killed and 157 wounded.

(Signed) "ALI."

The extreme anxiety of M. Yonine during the combat, and the constant exchange of telegrams between the Russian Consulate and Cettingé, before the publication of the Slav Bulletin, induce me to believe that this telegram contains an exaggerated, but not wholly inaccurate, version of what really happened.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON

No. 830.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received May* 11.)

(No. 273.)
Vienna, May 8, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith some extracts from the Vienna newspapers on the subject of Count Andrassy's visit to Berlin, in which the feeling of the country against an Austrian occupation of the Turkish insurgent provinces is strongly expressed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 830.

Extract from the "Correspondance Autrichienne."

LA presse Viennoise continue ses commentaires sur la prochaine entrevue de Berlin sans toutefois produire de nouveaux points de vue. Selon leurs tendances politiques les organs respectifs font ressortir avec plus ou moins d'assurance l'importance toujours plus évidente de l'alliance de trois Empereurs en désignant comme une nouvelle et précieuse garantie de paix le fait que les trois hommes d'Etat qui dirigent la politique extérieure de l'Allemagne, de la Russie, et de l'Autriche-Hongrie vont échanger à Berlin leurs vues personnelles.

Le "Fremdenblatt" attend avec une vive impatience l'ouverture des Conférences de Berlin, convaincu qu'il est que les résultats de l'entrevue mettront fin à l'agitation des esprits. La "Presse" fait ressortir que la situation en Orient n'est pas assez grave pour nécessiter une occupation. Il est encore, dit-elle, d'autres moyens pour arriver à la pacification. Quant à l'idée d'une occupation, ajoute cette feuille, elle ne pourrait être admise en Autriche que le jour où l'on n'aurait plus que le choix entre deux maux ou d'être entraîné dans une conflagration générale en Orient, ou de s'engager directement en Bosnie et en Herzégovine, éventualité très-éloignée.

Le "Fremdenblatt" dit sur le même sujet: "Nous n'avons jamais eu la prétention d'exposer dans nos colonnes l'opinion d'un Ministre, mais nous ne croyons pas parler sans motif en déclarant que la politique qui est recommandée par le Cabinet Autrichien, et dont le Comte Andrassy se fera l'interprète à Berlin, ne sera pas cette politique esquissée par les feuilles Berlinoises, celle de l'intervention à tout prix."

La "Tagespresse" se déclare, elle aussi, contre une semblable politique et prie les feuilles Berlinoises de bien vouloir laisser l'Autriche en dehors de toute combinaison d'intervention et d'avoir pitié de notre budget.

No. 831.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby,—(*Received May* 11.)

(No. 274.)
Vienna, May 8, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship the inclosed despatch which has been addressed to me by Major Gonne, Military Attaché to this Embassy.

I have, &c.
(Signed(ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 831.

Major Gonne to Sir A. Buchanan.

Hotel ——, *Agram, May* 6, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE just been granted the honour of an interview with General Mollinary, commanding the military frontier of Bosnia and the troops in Slavonia.

The General informed me that he had not a battalion or squadron under his orders above the normal military strength of his district. As in Dalmatia, I find the military store-houses in a condition at a moment's notice to supply an army in the field; also wooden huts have been constructed in the neighbourhood of the town, but as yet they are not tenanted. The frontier "cordon" is formed of six battalions of Austrians, in addition to the local army. General Mollinary explained to me that for years past fugitives have been in the habit of "squatting" on the frontier, so that the population has a preponderance of inhabitants belonging to Bosnia; and not only does this fact add to the difficulty of performing frontier duty, but, he added, "is a source of danger to Austria in the event of a Slav Confederation."

A flying column of Turks (2,000 strong, including cavalry and artillery) engaged the Bosnian insurgents yesterday near Novi. The result (unknown as yet) admits of little question; the only doubt is how many Bosnians have been driven over the frontier and interned.

The number of fugitives in this command is 45,000; and the General remarked: "These can never be induced to return to their homes without an escort of foreign bayonets." General Mollinary deservedly is most popular with all classes; his aim has been to hand over as much of the old military colony on the frontier as possible to civil government. He also prevented the Minister at Pesth from selling for the good of the State forests in the colony, which eventually he will hand over to the "Banns," or Civil Governor of Croatia. As regards Bosnia, I fear the Christian population is on worse terms with the dominant race than that of Herzegovina; this is greatly owing to the Greek Church.

I am told that when the Beys did give seed the labourers only pretended to sow. It is therefore a fact that there will be no produce. In both the insurgent provinces cattle also will be very scarce. The fugitives drove all the herds they could find over the frontier, and sold them at a nominal price. A cow with its calf has been on offer at 12 gulden, for instance.

General Mollinary expressed himself strongly against the policy of Austria permitting a Slav Confederation to form on her frontier.* He evidently thinks that the Turks will not be able to put down the insurgents, and described the misery of the

* I had no opportunity of calling on Baron Rodich at Zara, but undoubtedly Brigadier-General Jovanovich at Ragusa hopes to receive orders to occupy Herzegovina. The military opinion, which, however, is a mere sentiment without weight in Council, may be considered in favour of action on the part of Austria. If the Conference at Berlin coincides in this opinion, no doubt the necessary troops are ready for concentration, though not on the frontier.

Turkish troops, "who are forced to steal food or starve." I hazarded a remark that clearly Austria had no intention of crossing the frontier to do police duty, and received for answer: "It seems not." My impression is that the General would be in favour of an occupation as the only escape from a difficult position.

The railway from Novi to Banialuca is not seriously damaged, but there is little rolling stock. I hope to be at Belgrade on Monday. Your Excellency's instructions would reach me addressed to the Consulate.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOS. GONNE, *Military Attaché.*

No. 832.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 282.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, May* 11, 1876.

HER Majesty's Government approve the advice given by your Excellency to the Grand Vizier against making an attack upon Montenegro, as reported in your despatch No. 400 of the 20th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 833.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 284.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, May* 11, 1876.

HER Majesty's Government approve the advice given by your Excellency to the Turkish Minister of War, urging the imprudence of any precipitate action against Montenegro, as reported in your despatch No. 407 of the 21st ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 834.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 286.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, May* 11, 1876.

WITH reference to your despatch No. 438 of the 28th ultimo, commenting on the inaccurate statement of the Russian Government that your Excellency had not joined your colleagues in protesting against the contemplated attack upon Montenegro, and recapitulating your Excellency's proceedings on that occasion, I have to express the approval by Her Majesty's Government of the action taken by your Excellency in that matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 835.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May* 11.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, May* 11, 1876, 2·30 P.M.

THE Russian Consul-General at Ragusa, and a Montenegrin senator, on the way to Berlin, are expected here on Saturday. The latter is the bearer of a memorandum of Prince Nicholas's views as to means of pacifying the Herzegovina.

The Consul-General's wish for a Congress and the employment of the Prince of Montenegro as a mediator between the Porte and the insurgents not likely to meet with Austrian support.

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* Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Rome, St. Petersburgh, and Constantinople.

No. 835*.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 11.)

(Telegraphic.) *Mostar, May* 11, 1876, 5·25 P.M.

ALI PASHA has been appointed to Scutari. He has sent his resignation.

The camp at Gatzko it is said has been ordered to be dispersed. Commander-in-chief has just arrived. These changes are incomplete here.

No. 836.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 12.)

(Telegraphic.) *Mostar, May* 12, 1876.

WASSA EFFENDI has to-day tendered his resignation by telegraph to Grand Vizier. This will have a bad effect here.

No. 836*.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 12.)

(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, May* 12, 1876.

THE final conference of the Chancellors is to take place to-morrow, but nothing is yet known as to what they will propose. The secret has been well kept.

No. 837.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 13.)

(No. 16.)
My Lord, *Scutari, May* 2, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of a despatch and its inclosures this day sent by me to Sir Henry Elliot, and conveying to His Excellency the notice of the prohibition imposed in this vilayet on the exportation of provisions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 837.

Consul Kirby Green to Sir H. Elliot.

Scutari, May 2, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith the copy of a circular received yesterday by me from the Governor-General of Scutari, and in which he informs me that, in compliance with superior orders, he has prohibited the exportation of provisions from this vilayet until the coming harvest.

I understand that the Consuls of Italy and Austria, the commercial interests of whose countries are considerable in North Albania, intend making representations against the imposition of the prohibition, as they believe it has not been applied in conformity with the stipulations of existing Treaties.

The Governor-General has informed me in conversation that the measure has been adopted purely out of military considerations with regard to the hostile attitude assumed by Montenegro, and that he is prepared to facilitate the exportation of the prohibited articles if they are not to be introduced into the Principalities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 837.

Hamdi Pasha to Consul Kirby Green.

M. le Consul, *Scutari, le 1 Mai*, 1876.

J'AI l'honneur de vous informer que d'après un ordre de la Sublime Porte, l'exportation des vivres du vilayet est défendue qusqu'au temps de la moisson.

Néanmoins, si réellement il y aurait nécessité absolue de transports dans un endroit des vivres, leur exportation ne pourra être faite qu'à la suite du consentement et de la permission de l'autorité locale.

Agréez, &c.
(Seal of Achmed Hamdi Pasha.)

No. 838.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 13.)*

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, May 12, 1876, 4·40 P.M.*

A RUSSIAN gun-boat has been ordered from Nicolaieff at request of General Ignatiew. Intelligence of the fall of Mahmoud Pasha, and of the appointment of Hussein Avni Pasha as Generalissimo, received here last night, has increased the alarm felt as to critical position of affairs at Constantinople.

No. 839.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.†—(Received May 13.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, May 12, 1876, midnight.*

TELEGRAM received to-day from Count Zichy represents the insurrection in Bulgaria to be spreading, anarchy to be prevailing at Salonica, and the fanatical excitement of the Mussulmans at Constantinople to be dangerous. The Emperor has, therefore, in compliance with his application, ordered a second vessel of war to be sent to Constantinople.

No. 840.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.‡—(Received May 14.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, May 13, 1876, midnight.*

I UNDERSTAND that the Russian Consul at Ragusa will go to Ems, but the Montenegrin senator has been advised by Baron Hofmann to proceed to Berlin. Besides being the bearer of a memorial on the Herzegovina question, he is to endeavour to obtain permission for the delivery of 4,000 rifles purchased by Montenegro, and detained here by the Government after the acceptance by the Porte of Count Andrassy's proposals.

No. 841.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.§—(Received May 13.)

(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, May 13, 1876.*

PRINCE BISMARCK has asked me and my colleagues of France and Italy to call on him this afternoon to meet Prince Gortchakow and Count Andrassy.

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* Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Constantinople, Rome, and Vienna.
† Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Constantinople, Rome, and St. Petersburgh.
‡ Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Rome, St. Petersburgh, and Constantinople.
§ Repeated to Paris, Vienna, Rome, St. Petersburgh, and Constantinople.

END

No. 842.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received May 14.)

(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, May 14, 1876, 3·44 P.M.*

PRINCE GORTCHAKOW and Count Andrassy leave Berlin to-morrow morning.